IFO

A STUDY OF AN IGBO VOCAL GENRE

by

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Thesis submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in Music at
the University of London

School of Oriental and African Studies

March 1979

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ABSTRACT

This study comprises a description and analysis of the textual and musical components of a homogenous corpus of Ifo songs - songs which occur within the telling of traditional folktales - from the Orumba area of Anambra State of Nigeria.

Because Ifo is a mirror of the mind and thought of the people, a reflection of the tensions and conflicts within the society, in Chapter One different but related facets of Igbo cultural life deemed essential for the understanding of the content of Ifo are delineated.

The two subsequent chapters demonstrate that Igbo concepts of music differ from those of the west, and that although Igbo vocal and instrumental musical expressions may have some features in common, basically they differ in idiom and style. Hence in Chapter Two Igbo concepts of music, musical categories, and types, are explained. In this context Ifo is established as sui generis in the gamut of traditional vocal music. The social functions of music, and the forces, both indigenous and foreign, that influence Igbo musical practices, are also discussed. In Chapter Three traditional vocal music is treated in detail, and in subsequent chapters the focus is on Ifo.

The special features of Ifo are described in Chapter Four; the textual components in Chapter Five; and the stylistic elements in terms of music-text relationships, vocal modes, and singing style in Chapter Six. Chapter Seven is devoted to musical analysis. Chapter Eight consists of a summary and conclusion.

The potential value of Ifo in Igbo studies, especially in the field of Arts and Humanities, is unquestionable. The melodies are of importance for composition; the subject-matter is appropriate to folk opera, and to use by novelists, and dramatists; and the texts provide excellent material for the study of Folklore, poetry, linguistics and sociology.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The co-operation, financial and moral support of institutions and many people made the production of this work possible. My appreciation is recorded foremost to the University of Nigeria, Nsukka for granting me leave of absence to undertake post-graduate studies in Britain and for providing me with a research grant; the Federal Government of Nigeria for awarding me a post-graduate scholarship which enabled me to complete my doctoral degree programme; and the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London for the loan of a Uher tape recorder for my fieldwork.

To all the singers of Ifo: Madams Akụezue Onyeje, Ọgọewelem Onyeje, Ugomba Onyeje, Monica Ike and Onyiridie Ike from Eziagụ; Madams Akụvuiro Madụka, Hurunewe Madụka, Chimerue Madụka, and Onyemaechi Madụka from Isulo; Madams Mgbọnkwọ Enwere, Nkwọduma Ọdọ, Ebere Okereke, Ọgọghụiro Okoli, Mgbọnkwọ Dim, all from Ogbunka; Madams Ọnụkwube Okoli, Mgbahọ Uchime, and Mgbọkwụ Uchime from Ezira. I am deeply indebted for their services, artistry and time which they gave unhesitatingly and cheerfully. I am grateful to all my informants in countless towns and villages in Aguata, Njikọka and Orumba areas which I visited, and my deepest regret is that it is not possible to acknowledge my gratitude to them all by name. No less do I thank those in whose homes I stayed when I was in the field, particularly, Messrs Dennis Nwafọ, Dim, Ụka Ere and Ịmaeke Okoli.

I am grateful to Mr F.D.D. Winston who checked and

corrected the translations of the texts and helped me with other linguistic problems I encountered in this work. Certainly, my greatest obligation is to Dr A.V. King who not only recommended that I should do research in Igbo music, but also offered invaluable suggestions on research problems in the light of his own extensive research experience, who worked strenuously to check and correct the transcriptions and notation of all the songs used in this work, and who supervised the whole project in the course of which he made invaluable criticisms and suggestions which improved this work while leaving him free of responsibility for its content.

More personally, particular thanks are due to my wife, Comfort and my second daughter, Ngọzi Chinyere: the former for bearing dauntlessly alone the family responsibilities throughout the duration of my post-graduate studies; the latter, for understanding why she missed badly the paternal companionship which she naturally deserved all these years. My first daughter, the late Ijeọma Adaọra, whose encouraging words "Daddy jisi ike" ("Daddy keep it up") at any time at which she called at my office at Nsukka during my fieldwork, still ring in my ears, I assure that "To live in the minds of those who live behind is not to die". For the errors and shortcomings that remain in this study, the author is solely responsible.

Azụbike O. Ifiọnụ.

PREFACE

This study is devoted to an analysis of the structural components of a corpus of *Ifo*[1] songs from the Orumba area of Anambra State of Nigeria.[2] Its purpose is to provide as meaningful a statement as possible on the nature of Igbo traditional vocal music and its relationship to its cultural background.

The present work is, as far as known, the first attempt to explore in detail a single *genre* of Igbo vocal music. To the extent that these objectives are achieved, the results complement existing studies of Igbo music. Hitherto, the three major studies of Igbo music have dealt with instruments,[3] choral music,[4] and instrumental music.[5] It is hoped that the results of this study will provide a basis for assessing the generalizations and "permissible conjectures"[6] about Igbo music made by previous writers. It may also yield new information of value not only to musicologists but also to sociologists and folklorists. This work is, of course, in some ways a preliminary rather than a definitive study, and because of this it is hoped that its results may stimulate yet further research in this vital area of Igbo music.

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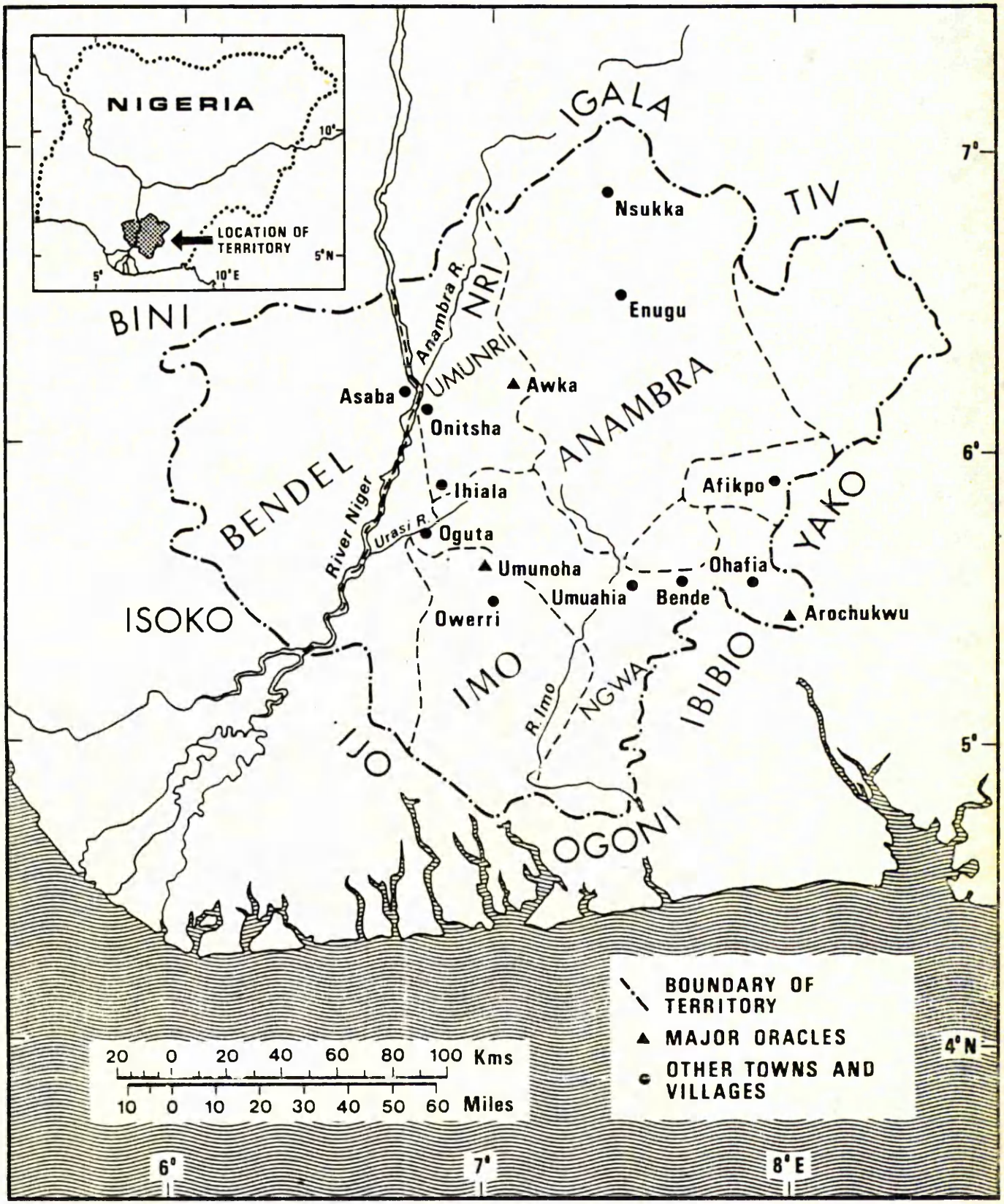
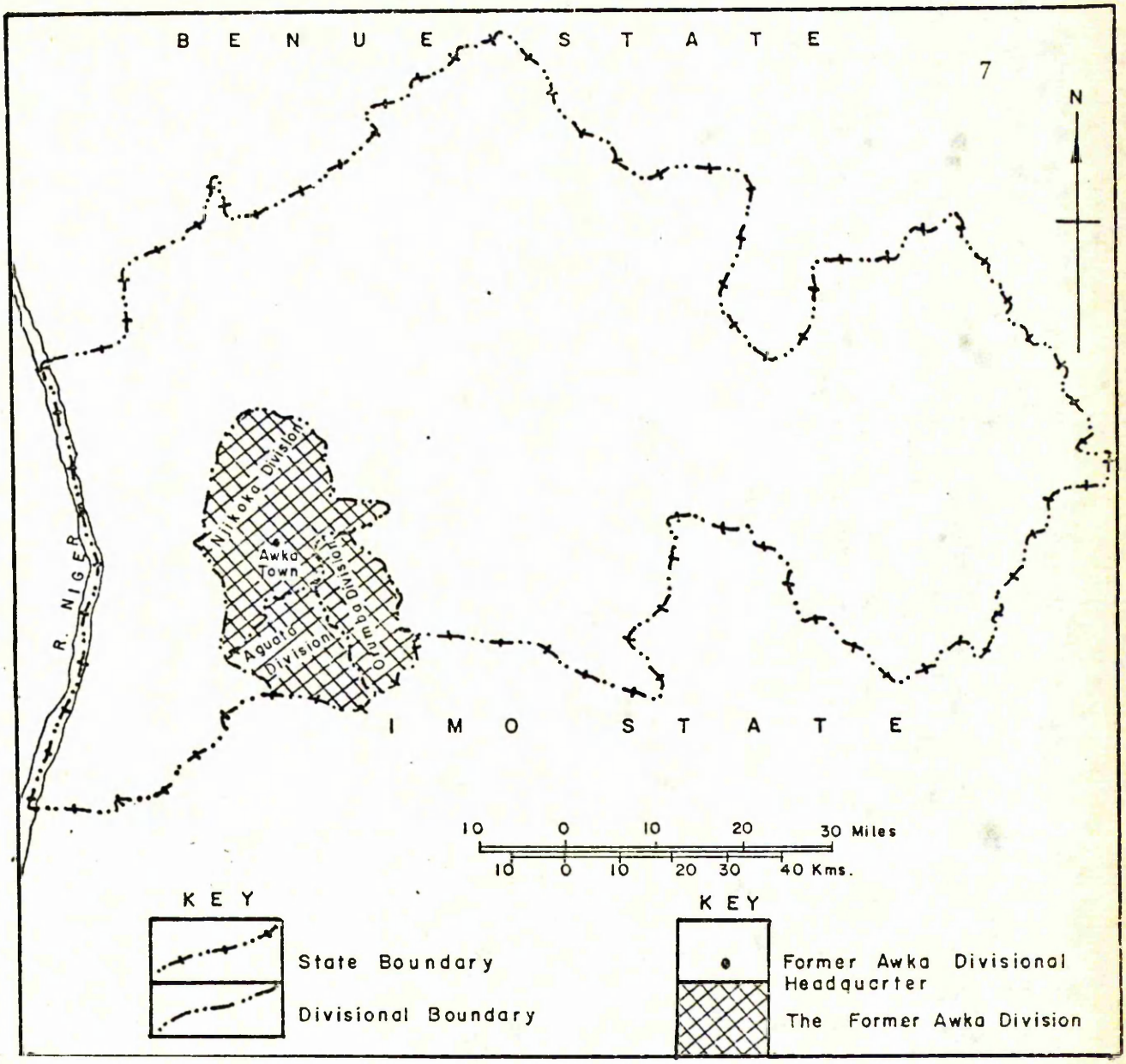
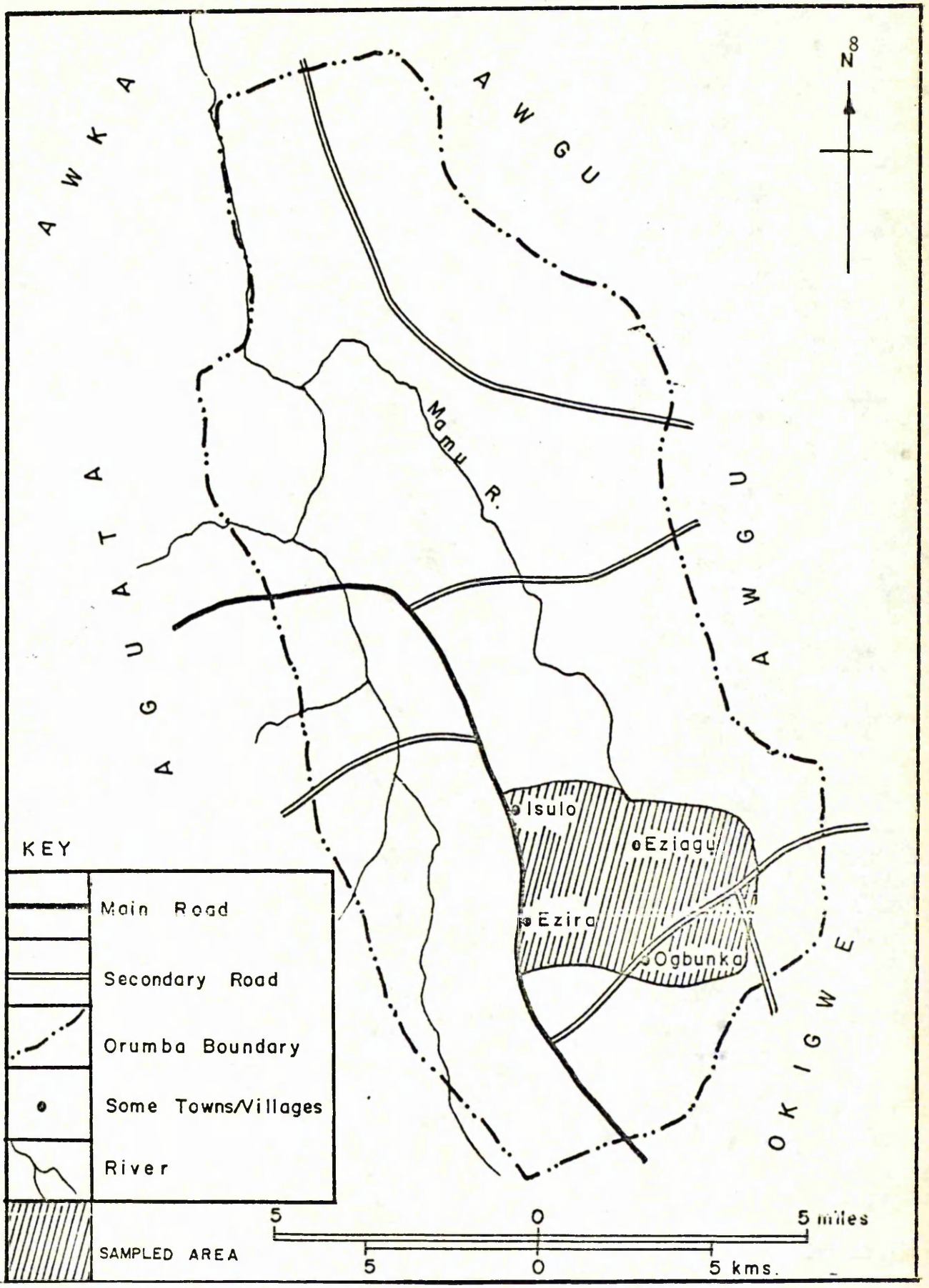
1. *Ifo* songs occur within the telling of a traditional folktale. For a detailed discussion of *Ifo* *vide* Chapter Four.
2. *Vide* map 3, p. 8.
3. Echezọna, 1963.
4. Ekwueme, 1972.
5. Nzewi, 1977.
6. Day, 1892, p.272.



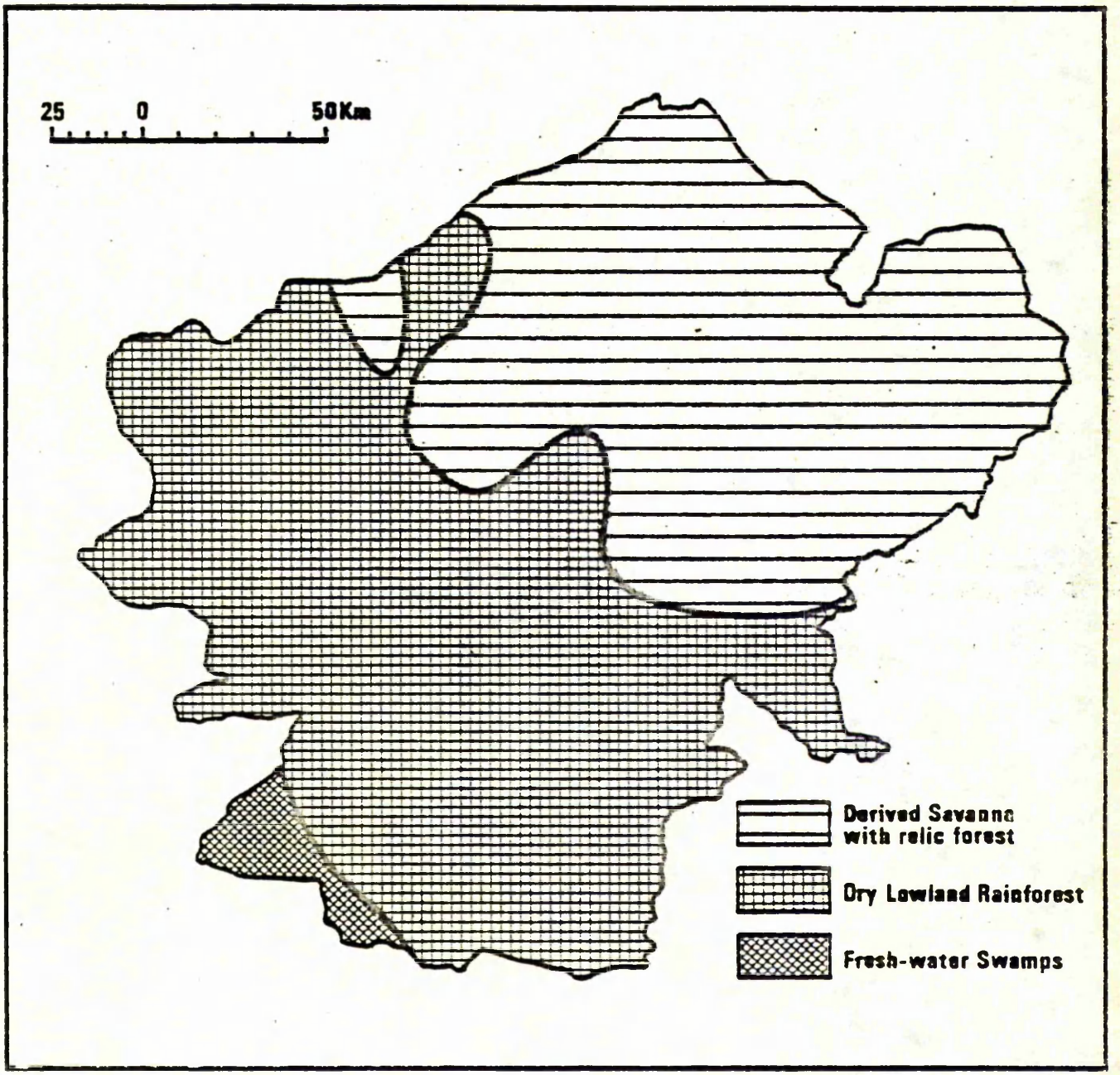
MAP 1. Igbo culture area.



MAP 2. Map showing the positions of Orumba, Aguata, and Njikoka divisions within the boundaries of the former Awka division.



MAP 3. Orumba Division and the sample area for IFO



MAP 4. Vegetation map of Igbo culture area.

The Collection of Data

The material used in the present study was collected from four towns in Anambra State: Eziagụ, Ezira, Isulo and Ogbunka, all in Orumba division.[1] During the course of my research, I spent three periods in the field. I devoted the first period (15th December, 1975 to 16th March, 1976) to familiarizing myself with the whole of Aguata, Njikọka, and Orumba areas.[2] As a result I decided to restrict my survey to Orumba since the extent of the three areas was such that I could not adequately study its music within the time allotted for my field-work.

Although every Igbo community has its own tradition of Ifo, my choice of Orumba in general, and of these four towns in particular, was dictated by a number of factors:
(i) my desire to concentrate my study in a rural area. In spite of over 50 years of continuous contact with Christianity and Western education in Awka,[3] other towns in Orumba, such as Ezira, Eziagụ, Isulo and Ogbunka, were and still are comparatively less affected by the influence of Western culture. They still maintain many of their older customs and musical practices, including an authentic tradition of Ifo. In addition, Orumba was comparatively unaffected by the Nigerian Civil war (1967-1970) which dislocated the cultural

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1. Vide map 3, p. 8.

2. Vide map 2, p. 7.

3. First Christianity, and then Western education were introduced in Awka town in the last decade of the nineteenth century by the Church Missionary Society which also built Awka college in 1904 for the training of indigenous missionaries.

life of most towns in Igbo speaking areas of Nigeria.

(ii) Geographical proximity and cultural homogeneity were equally important. In Orumba, these four towns are close neighbours and this nearness helped to reduce the cost and time involved in travel. They are also, with minor variations, culturally homogeneous.

(iii) Very few of the celebrated Ifo singers in these towns have undergone a Western education, and few are Christian. Their ages range from 35 to 55 years,[1] and they learned Ifo from their mothers during their childhood. They are also bound by traditional religious beliefs and hold tenaciously to their people's ethos and mores. This, to some extent, ensured a more authentic corpus of Ifo which the singers themselves described as: "Ifo nwere mkpụrụ" ("Ifo which has seed or kernel", i.e. substance).

(iv) My familiarity with the locality, its people, their dialect and ways of life. Although I come from Orumba, I do not, however, come from any of the actual sample towns.

The second period of my field-work lasted from March 26 to May 30, 1976, while the third and final period was from 26th June to 10th October, 1976.

Methods Used in Collecting the Data

Interviewing

On the first occasion I approached my informants as informally as possible, introduced myself, and stated the

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1. With the exceptions of Madams Ebere Okereke, Mgbọnkwọ Dim and Ọnụkwube Okoli, who are all over 60.

purpose of my visit, elaborating on the purely academic motivation of the project in contrast with the commercial aims of Radio and Television producers. This explanation was necessary in order to make it quite clear to my informants that the project was neither for commercial purposes nor was it government sponsored. I also made it clear that I was interested only in Ifo and not in Egwu (i.e. in music involving singing and dancing with instrumental accompaniment). I assured them that in each case, the name of the singer would be recorded against the Ifo she sang. These assurances helped in no small way to establish a genuine spirit of co-operation, while helping also to reduce the costs involved. The general procedure was to ask my informants questions framed in as general terms as possible, and to allow them to expand on the topic as far as they were able.

In all these places I interviewed traditional musicians, minstrels and singing masqueraders, and discussed general concepts of music, their music typology, and musical practices in general. Ifo was discussed exhaustively in terms of its name, types, manners and occasions of performance, methods of transmission and its social functions. I also interviewed local elders, who are regarded as custodians of their town's oral traditions, and discussed the origins of their towns, their customs, religious practices and moral values, the impact of external influences, both from their neighbouring towns and from the "Whiteman", such as Christianity and Western education and their impact on the social and cultural systems. Because some of the informants knew my town, and some my parents, and because I knew

by name most of their sons who were my colleagues at school, college and university, a relaxed atmosphere was created which made it possible for discussion to be frank and cordial.

Recording

I recorded all the Ifo songs on a portable battery-operated Uher tape recorder (4200 Report Stereo IC), with an AKJ D190 microphone, using standard tape (600 ft) at a speed of 7½ inches per second. The spoken part of Ifo (Akụkọ Ifo), including the songs as they occurred, were recorded separately on a portable battery-operated cassette recorder (Superscope C-104). About 400 songs in all were recorded.

Data Analysis

The transcription and notation of the songs, the translation of the texts into English and the writing of the thesis were all done at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London from November 1976 to March 1979.

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VOLUME I

VOLUME II

PRONUNCIATION AIDS

I have supplemented the official Igbo Orthography as recommended by "The Onwu Committee" in 1961 with some further letter-combinations representing additional consonant sounds (not all, however, necessarily phonemic) found in the dialect of the sample area. For convenience the following brief notes are given:

i) Consonants

b, d, f, g, h, k, l, m, p, r, s, t, v, w, y, z have their normal values, approximately as in English.
K, p, and t are unaspirated; r has been recorded as flapped.
gw and kw are labialized velar stops, voiced and voiceless respectively.
bh and gh are voiced fricatives, bilabial and velar respectively.
ch and j are (unaspirated) post-alveolar affricates, voiceless and voiced respectively.
sh and zh are post-alveolar fricatives, voiceless and voiced respectively.
gb is a voiced labio-velar stop, slightly implosive.
kp is a voiceless implosive labio-velar stop.
wh is a voiceless labio-velar approximant (i.e. voiceless w).
nw and ny are respectively labio-velar and palatal nasals.
ṅ is a velar nasal.
n preceding a vowel is an alveolar nasal; preceding h,

it is palatal or velar; preceding another consonant it is homorganic with that consonant.

Vowels

a, e, i, ị, o, ọ, u, ụ.

a open front

e half-open front

i close front

ɪ half-close front (often very close to i)

o half-open back, rounded and centralised

ɔ open back rounded

u close back rounded

ʊ half-close back rounded (fairly close to u)

iii) Tone and Tone marking

Igbo words and texts have not been tone-marked except in the index, in cases where it is necessary to distinguish words which would otherwise have identical spellings.

The following conventions have been used:

High tone: unmarked

Low tone: marked with grave accent, e.g. as à

Step-down between two high tones: marked with a macron over the second vowel, e.g. as agụ̄ū

In addition, the abbreviations H, L, and H'H have been used to represent, respectively, high tone, low tone, and a step-down between two high tones.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Throughout the body of the thesis the texts and the songs are referred to by their index numbers. For example, the first song performed by the first group of performers at Eziagu is referred to as Eziagụ A1, the third song performed by the second group as Eziagụ B3, and so on.

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CHAPTER ONE

THE IGBO AND THEIR CULTURAL BACKGROUND

The purpose of this chapter is to survey the social and cultural background of the Igbo people. For this reason, the Igbo are viewed as a cultural group and not as a political unit.[1] As a cultural group, they occupy a culture area which is here defined as a geographically delimitable area which has the same dominant and significant culture traits, complexes and patterns.[2] The Igbo share a common language, albeit with marked dialectal variations, almost identical political organisations, customs and traditions, similar religious beliefs and world views. These facets of Igbo culture influence in varying degrees traditional musical practices. An understanding of the above therefore, is a necessary background for a proper understanding of Igbo musical practices and behaviour, and of Ifo in particular.

Geographical Location and Population

The Igbo, with a population of about ten million,[3] occupy an area of about 15,800 square miles between latitudes 5 and 7 degrees north of the Equator, and longitudes 6 and 8

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1. With the division of Nigeria into 12 states in May 1968 and into a further 19 states in 1976, it is preferable to discuss the culture and especially the music of a people in terms of their cultural grouping rather than their political unity.

2. For a discussion of the Igbo culture area, vide Onwuejeogwu, 1975, pp. 1-10.

3. Nigerian Census, 1963.

degrees east of the Greenwich line.[1] Their neighbours are the Ịgala and the Tiv on the North; the Ijọ and the Ogoni on the South; the Bini and the Isoko on the West; and the Ibibio and the Yako on the East. Evidence abounds to demonstrate that the Igbo were and to a large extent are still closely linked to their neighbours whom they influenced and who in turn influence them.[2] For example, the pattern of monarchy as well as the title systems and the paraphernalia peculiar to such institutions found in Onịtsha, Abọ, and other towns along the river Niger can be traced to the Edo kingdom of Benin and the Ịgala state of Ịda. Igbo social institutions such as the practice of head-hunting, the secret society and the age-grade organisations of the Eastern and Ngwa Igbo, according to Afigbo, originated from the Ibibio, the Ijọ, and the Cross-river peoples.[3] It is very probable that the musical activities associated with these institutions were borrowed at the same time. It would also be natural to suppose that speech and some aspects of material culture of peripheral Igbo towns were influenced by the languages and material cultures of their close non-Igbo neighbours. Greenberg[4] has established that Igbo, Bini, Ịgala, and Ijọ, belong to the Kwa-subgroup of the Niger-Congo

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1. Vide map 1, p. 6.

2. For detailed account of Benin and Ịgala influences on the Igbo vide Meek, 1937, pp. 4-5; Jeffreys, 1956, pp. 119-131; Shelton, 1971.

3. Afigbo, 1975, p. 47.

4. Greenberg, 1963, pp. 8-9.

family of languages of which Tiv, Yako, Ogoni and Ibibio are also members.

Vegetation and Wild Life

The Igbo cultural area falls within the rain forest belt and enjoys a tropical climate.[1] Four important rivers drain the territory: the Niger, the Imo, the Anambra, and the Ụrasi.[2] The importance of rivers and streams in the social life of the people is reflected in their importance in Ifo in general. In Ifo, rivers are generally called by the generic term Oshimiri, and occasionally they act as characters in the plot, sometimes interacting with animals,[3] and at other times with human beings.[4] Some rivers are notorious because it is believed that water-spiritis inhabit and control them, and they are called by their praise-names as, for example, Ude Ngụma[5] ("Notorious Ngụma"), and Ude Gwururu[6] ("He who roars Gwururu" i.e. like thunder). Such rivers had holy days when nobody dared to fetch water from them, and it was on those holy days that sacrifices were offered to the spirits that owned them.[7] The generic names for

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1. Vide map 4, p.9.
2. Vide map 1, p.6.
3. Eziagụ A67.
4. Eziagụ A69a-b.
5. Eziagụ C39.
6. Eziagụ C38.
7. A living example of such stream is the Ọtamịrị in Egbu Owerri.

streams in the Ifo used in this study are Ngene, Ọdọ, and Ezu.[1]

The forests team with wild animals and birds. Among animals the most important from their occurrence in Ifo are leopards, elephants, bush-cows, Maxwell's Duiker and especially the tortoise. Similarly vultures, hawks, kites, eagles, doves and parrots are favourite characters in Ifo. The variety of these animal and bird characters is further discussed in the section on "The Themes of Ifo".[2]

The horns of some of these animals, such as the elephant, the bush-cow and Bushbuck (Mgbada) are used as musical instruments. Drum membranes are made from the skins of some of these animals, especially the Mgbada which has a skin that is valued for its toughness and durability.

The main trees are the ọji (the iroko; Chlorophora excelsa), and the ọtọsị (the bamboo). They supply wood for furniture, building and for carving including musical instruments such as the notched flutes and slit-drums. Bamboos and the branches of ahaba tree (Acio bateri) supply the most valuable sticks for staking yams on a farm. The primary source of fuel for domestic purposes, particularly, in rural areas, is firewood which is collected in the forest. There are innumerable species of wild fruits, among which are the ụdara, the ube, and vegetables such as the ọkazị. Both of these are mentioned frequently in Ifo because they are the surest means of sustenance for orphans.[3] There is also a

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1. Ezaigụ A34.

2. Infra, p. 187.

3. Ezaigụ C40a-b, A79a-b.

wide variety of medicinal herbs and roots. Due to very intensive and extensive cultivation, especially during the Nigerian civil war (1967-1970), the forest has in many areas deteriorated into derived savannah.

Climate

There are two well defined seasons: ọkọchị (the dry season), and udu miri (the wet season). With the exception of a short break of about a month between July and August, the wet season runs from April to October and is usually the planting period. The monotony of the dry season, which stretches from November to March, is briefly interrupted by the ụguruụ (the harmattan), a dry cold and dusty northeast wind from the Sahara desert. In spite of its severity, the harmattan is welcomed by farmers who believe that it is an auspicious sign of an abundant harvest to come, especially of such fruits as the ụdara, ube (the pear), oranges and other fruits. The dry season, with its favourable weather, is a period when traditional games such as wrestling, moonlight plays, important festivals and ceremonies are generally performed.

In Igbo traditional society, attendance at musical activities is generally open to anybody; the audience is almost always large and such activities are therefore performed in the open air: in town and market squares, in the obu (a square in the king's palace), and more recently, in school and college playgrounds.

Occupations

The Igbo are traditionally agriculturalists and traders. Almost every one in the rural areas makes a living by subsistence farming. Men, with the help of women, are generally responsible for the cultivation of yams which Basden rightly described as "the Ibo staff of life".[1] The yam is the most important and prestigious of all the staple crops in Igboland. It is the only crop which has a spirit associated with it, Uhiejiọkụ (the God of Farm work or the Yam God), whose festivals are celebrated at the beginning of farm work and during the yam harvest. Successful farmers take yam titles variously called Diji, Eze ji, or Duru ji (all with the meaning of Yam King).

The importance of yam farming is reflected in the corpus of Ifo forming the basis of this study. Thus Ezaigụ A31 is an Ifo in which celebrated farmers, referred to as Ndi ogonogo ọba ("Those with long barns", i.e. with innumerable yam-stands) are praised while poor farmers are ridiculed as "Ndị shi na mgbe mgbe laa" ("Those who are poor farmers because of procrastination and laziness") and "Ndị ka na-achọ ana achọ" ("Those who are still bargaining for pieces of farm land on which to cultivate"). Eziagụ A58 consists of both a chronicle of names of different species of yams and a poem in praise of yams in general.

Women cultivate cocoyams, cassava, maize, different

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1. Basden, 1921, p. 147.

types of vegetables such as okoro (Hibiscus esculentus), ụgụ (Fluted pumpkin), spinach, peppers, bitter leaves, and ańara (cabbages). The oil palm from which palm-oil and kernels are extracted, the raffia palm, coconuts, kola nuts, ụkwa (Treculia africana decne - a very rich source of protein), bananas, oranges and beans are important cash crops. Cows, goats, sheep, pigs, dogs and fowls are the major livestock reared.

In addition to farming, men and women engage in other occupations. Palm wine tapping, hunting, long distance trading and crafts such as blacksmithing, pottery, carving and weaving are among these occupations. In the past the performance of priestly functions including the initiation of chiefs and those taking Ọzọ titles, ịkpụ arụ (the purification sacrifices for removing pollution from a person, a house, or land), ịwa eze[1] (teeth-filing), and igbu-ichi na ịtụ mbubu (cicatrisation) were specialist occupations practised by men from Nri and Umadioka.

Craft products include most farm implements, such as hoes, cutlasses, diggers, and ọnya (iron traps), and are of course produced by smiths. So also are weapons such as guns, and spears; musical instruments such as the ogene (the single iron clapperless bell) and the ụbọ aka (the metal tongued lamellaphone), and ceremonial objects such as the oji (the iron staff of office). Objects produced from brass include bracelets, known as nja or okpogho (spirals), and

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1. Eziagụ A54 contains reference to this ancient Igbo custom.

brass-anklets. These were all ornaments of high value to girls before the advent of Western civilization. Carved objects include different items of domestic furniture, such as ceremonial stools for titled men, ọkwa (wooden trays), and eku (wooden spoons). They also include masks and idols and musical instruments such as the ekwe (the slit-drum), the ịgba (the single membrane drum), and the ọja (the vertical notched flute). Weaving and the dyeing of cloth, together with potting which includes the making of the udu (the musical percussion vessel), are mainly women's occupations.

The favourite pastimes are story-telling, singing and dancing, wrestling, and games such as iti mmanwụ.[1] The Ifo songs used in this study fall within these recreational activities and are full of references to both wild and domesticated animals, as well as to these occupations, crafts and pastimes. Animals also pursue such daily human activities as hunting,[2] farming,[3] and the making of fences.[4] They partake in recreation in the form of wrestling matches between wild and domesticated species.[5]

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1. For other Igbo traditional games, vide Ọgbalụ, Igbo institutions and customs (Onitsha).
2. Eziagụ A8.
3. Eziagụ A5 and A29.
4. Eziagụ A17.
5. Eziagụ A76.

Language

The Igbo language, according to Greenberg,[1] belongs to the Kwa sub-group of the Niger-Congo family of languages, which is characterized by its tonality, its monosyllabic root-words and the absence of inflectional endings.[2] The Igbo, as a whole, speak many dialects. Although Njaka has listed the following eight: Western, Central, North-Western Igbo, North-eastern Igbo, Ikpaye-Igbo, Ikwerre-Igbo, Ọmọkụ-Igbo and Ụbani-Igbo,[3] no definite number can authoritatively be given at the moment since no dialectal survey has been carried out. The Anglicized form 'Ibo', though commonly used, is not an indigenous word. Arịnze's explanation that 'Ibo' seems to have been adopted largely by foreigners who found it difficult to pronounce the 'gb' in Igbo,[4] is admissible since some non-Igbo Nigerians suffer from the same linguistic handicap. Arịnze does not however explain discrepancies in the use of the word by some Igbo scholars. Isichie pointed out that "a handful of linguists and anthropologists used the technically more correct Igbo, but among fellow scholars some use 'Igbo' and some use 'Ibo'".[5]

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1. Greenberg, op.cit., p. 8.
2. Bryan, 1952, pp. 89-90.
3. Njaka, 1974, p. 23.
4. Arịnze, 1970, p.2.
5. Isichie, 1976, p. XV.

Political and Social Structure

The Igbo are traditionally analysed as a decentralized and segmentary society. Decentralized because political power does not rest with one man, nor even with a single group of people in the form of an oligarchy. Matters of common concern are discussed by all adult members of each community. Even in towns such as Onitsha, Ogidi, Arochukwu and Nri, which have kings, these kings do not have absolute power. This absence of absolute power in the hands of the kings in Igboland is enshrined in the saying Ọha nwe eze ("The people own the king"). The praise name of one of the chiefs in Anambra State vividly illustrates the absolute power of the people: O biri na ọnụ onye? ("Who has the final say?", the answer to which is, of course, the people).

The basic Igbo political organisation consists of a patrilineal unit called the Ụmụnna. In a predominantly rural society with a low rate of literacy meetings are summoned, and information and news are circulated orally. One member of any Ụmụnna can be relied on to convey information to any other member of the same group. Levies are collected by members of the Ụmụnna. Crucial matters are discussed at Ụmụnna level before final decisions are taken on them by the whole community. In this way, the Ụmụnna "encourages political dialogue, communalism and egalitarianism at all levels of lineage segments".[1]

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1. Ọnwụejeogwu, op.cit., p. 6.

In addition to the Ụmụnna, other arms of Igbo traditional government include the council of elders, the association of title-men, the Ụmụọkpụ (the association of senior married women), the age-grades, and the Mmanwụ (the Masquerade society).

The Ụmụọkpụ see to it that the movement of live-stock are regulated by their respective owners in order to safeguard farm crops. They keep the compounds of the town's shrines clean and sweep the market squares. Consequently, they make and enforce the laws related to these activities. Male adults from different age-grades construct new roads and maintain existing ones. The Mmanwụ ehihie (the Day masqueraders), on the authority of the elders, collect fines from defaulters, and arbitrate in civil disputes. In civil cases the Mmanwụ preside over the tribunal and act as jury by putting "the stamp of ancestral authority on the verdict of the community tribunal".[1] The Mmanwụ abani (the Night masqueraders) guard the town in the night against marauders and expose in songs anyone who had indulged in any form of anti-social behaviour. Because of the anonymity of its members, coupled with the supernatural aura that enshrouds the Mmanwụ, the society uses it as a potent sanction against crimes.[2]

The mediatory and advisory role of the elders is epitomised in the Igbo saying: A hụ ekwughi na egbu okenye;

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1. Obiechina, 1975, p. 211. Achebe's Things Fall Apart (London, 1958), pp. 82-83, offers a dramatic scene where mmanwụ or mmụọ, or egwugwu acted as jury in the town's tribunal. But the civil power of the mmanwụ has been considerably curbed by Western forms of government.

2. For discussion on the sanctity and anonymity of masked ancestor vide Meek, 1937, pp. 66-79.

ma e kwue anụghị, na egbu nwata. ("Seeing wrong and failing to admonish, kills the aged; but refusing to heed the elder's advice, kills the young.") How very apt then is Meek's description of an Igbo community as "... a republic in the true sense of the term, i.e. a corporation in which government was the concern of all".[1]

Igbo traditional society is also segmentary. Each town is an autonomous political group, consisting of small but cohesive units ranging from Obu (families), the Ụmụnna (Patrilineages), to the entire village or town bonded together by a common dialect, similar customs, and traditions, and by occupation of a defined territory which all the members of the community cultivate and are prepared to defend should there be any encroachment by neighbouring towns. However, in the absence of a widely organised central political authority, trade, exogamous marriages, the Ọzọ society, the cult of Ana (the Earth Goddess), and oracles such as the Ibinụkpabị at Arochukwu (popularly known as "the Long Juju"), the Igwekala at Ụmụnọha in Owerri, the Agbala at Awka and the Mgbafọ Ezira at Ezira, were all forces integrating Igbo society.

In addition to the Ụmụnna, that is the system of patrilineal organisation which determines the individual's membership, rights and obligations within the group, the Naa m ochie and the Ikwu nne (also known as the Nwa-Agaba, a concept which stresses the mother's lineage), are also recognised. These two concepts are the hub around which

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1. Meek, op.cit., p. 130.

Igbo marriage, and Igbo moral, political and social organisations revolve.

There are also distinctions of age, sex, wealth and education and what Njaka calls "achieved qualification".[1] This concept of "achieved qualification" implies that by industry a person can acquire wealth and education and thus achieve a higher social status. In this way the late King Jaja of Opobo, who was born at Amigbo in Orlu, rose from slavery to kingship.[2] David Okparabietoa Pepple, who was born in Igboland, was ordained a deacon and ended his life as the pastor of Ohumbele, a town where he had been originally sold as a slave.[3] Nor are women denied this privilege for Basden attested that "a few women occupy very influential positions and by force of character and sheer ability have become wealthy".[4]

Religion and Family Life

Atheism was unknown in Igbo traditional society, for as a foreign visitor rightly observed, "there is none devoid of a belief in some deity and most have an idea of the soul and of a future state".[5] Three years before the first Christian service was conducted in Igboland by the

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1. Njaka, op.cit., p. 59.
2. Ojike, 1955, p. 120.
3. Isichịe, op.cit., p. 161..
4. Basden, 1966, p. 208.
5. Mockler-Ferryman, 1902, p. 252.

Church Missionary Society on 27th August, 1857, Baikie reported that "The Igbo all believe in an Almighty being, omnipresent, and omnipotent whom they call Tshuku whom they constantly worship and whom they believe to communicate directly with them through his sacred shrine at Aro."[1] Apart from confirming that before the advent of the Europeans in Igboland, the oracle Chukwu Ibinụkpabị of Arochukwu was one of the unifying factors in Igbo society, Baikie also throws light on the nature of Igbo traditional religion which can be seen as that part of God's original universal revelation of Himself to all men before Christ came.[2] Iwuagwu calls it "Chukwuism".[3] The Igbo believe in many deities, but the one worshipped by all is Chukwu (Chi-ukwu: the Great God). Chukwu is the creator of the universe, hence his other title: Chi Neke (God the Creator). Invisible to human eyes and incomprehensible to human thought, nobody could manipulate him, as in the case of other gods, with the result that the Igbo man's attitude to him is one of resignation.[4]

Chukwu created man and endowed him with Chi (a portion of divine being in man). Many Igbo sayings demonstrate the belief that one's Chi directs one's affairs in this world. Thus the expression "Onye kew, Chi ya ekwe" ("If one says yes, one's Chi will say yes"). A person who suffers misfortune may exclaim: "Chi m egbuem"("My Chi has

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1. Baikie, Reprint, 1966, pp. 311-314.

2. Romans 2: 14-15.

3. Iwuagwụ, 1971.

4. Ọnwụejeogun, op.cit., p. 8.

killed me"). Similarly, a person who has narrowly escaped danger may rejoicingly say: "Chi m azọ m" ("My Chi has saved me"). A successful person is usually believed to have Chi ọma ("Good Chi", i.e. good luck), but a less fortunate person has Chi ọjọọ ("Bad Chi", i.e. bad or ill-luck), and it is generally believed that Agwụ (the Trickster) has affected this person's Chi. To redeem him from this unfortunate situation, the concerted action of the diviner and the medicine men (Ụmụ dibie) are sought. In Ezaigụ A21, Ihirihi,[1] a young man who is isolated because he has the misfortune to be afflicted with an infectious and incurable disease, reflects on his pitiable physical condition, like the biblical Job. He concludes his lamentation by affirming the Igbo concept of Chi:

> Ajọ Chi kere madụ, hu e kegbuo ya.
> Agbara-ọchị-eze kere madụ, hụ e kegbuo ya.
> O, Chukwu Ụkpabị kere madụ, hụ e kegbuo ya.
> Ikpe ya amaghị madụ;
> Ọ mara onye?
> Ọ mara Chi ya.[2]
>
> Wicked Chi who created man, has ill-created him.
> Agbara-ọchị-eze[3] who created man, has ill-created him.
> Alas! Chukwu Ụkpabị who created man, has ill-created him.

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1. Ihirihi is an ideophone describing "a heavy, roundish object", or such an object which moves with difficulty; hence a short, fat woman who wobbles can, figuratively, be called an ihirihi. In this context this man's solitary and indefinite confinement to bed turns him virtually into an "ihirihi", a person in a state of immobility.

2. Eziagụ A36.

3. One of the lesser but nonetheless powerful gods.

Man's fate shall not be blamed on man;
Who, then, is to be blamed?
Man's Chi is to be blamed.

Among the pantheon of gods who rank next to Chukwu are Ana (the Earth Goddess), Igwe (the Sky God),[1] and Kamanụ or Amadịọha (the God of Thunder and Lightning, believed to be the wrathful messenger of the Supreme God). Ọnwụ (Death) is thought of as one of the incorruptible ministering spirits whose sole assignment is to fulifl Chukwu's command.[2] Ọnwụasọanya ("Death does not respect any person") is an Igbo proper name which conveys this idea. The Igbo traditional religious belief in Ana is immensely strong. Ana is the guardian of life, property and morals. She is the source of streams and rivers. As the God of fertility, she makes plants grow and she accommodates minerals in her bosom. All the dead are buried in Ana, hence it is regarded as the land of the dead. Ndị-ịchịe, the deified spirits of dead ancestors who are regarded as the invisible members of the community, work conjointly with Ana in protecting the community from adversities such as famine and pestilence. That is why when natural disasters do occur, it is believed to be caused by the wrath of Ana, and oracles are usually consulted to ascertain the causes and the means of appeasing her. Other minor gods are non-human spirits, which Ilogu described as

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1. Eziagụ A34 contains the story of how Ana challenged the seniority and power of Igwe; and of how Igwe eventually subjugated Ana thereby acquiring the praise name "Igwe ka Ana" ("Igwe, the superior to Ana").

2. Eziagụ A 63, C13 and D33 embody this idea.

"personifications of facts and features of nature and daily life".[1] Chief among them are: Uhiejioku (the God of Farm work and particularly of Yam); Agwunshi (the God of divination and herbal medicine); water spirits such as Idemili, Nwangene, Udenguma and Ulashi Ogboro (which, according to Ilogu,[2] is also a lineage God prominent in Ihala); and finally Ikenga (the God of Fortune).[3] These gods are worshipped through their respective priests in the expectation of life, health, prosperity and above all, the gift of children which, to the Igbo, is the most precious gift of all from the gods.[4] Ndukaaku ("Life is more important than wealth") is a proper name which confirms the idea that health is more important than wealth. In fact, life and health are intrinsic wealth, as the name Ndubuaku ("Life and health are wealth") confirms. Three proper names, among others, express the value placed on children in relation to wealth: Ifeyinwa ("There is nothing comparable to children"), Nwakaego ("Children are more precious than money") and Nwakaaku ("Children are more valued than wealth").

Both male and female children are valued and are therefore welcome by all parents, but because it is through male children that lineages are perpetuated in Igboland, parents, especially fathers, prefer in general to have more

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1. Ilogu, 1974, p. 35.

2. Ibid., p. 240.

3. For information on Ikenga, vide Jeffreys, 1954, pp. 25-40.

4. Information from Alachebe Ukaorie, the chief priest of Aja ana (the Earth Goddess) of Eziagu, July 1976.

male children than female. Furthermore, female children are generally regarded as Akụ onye ọzọ ("Another man's wealth"), because they will eventually marry outside their agnatic families. Eziagụ C14 illustrates this somewhat special value placed on male children, while an example of the extremes of this idea is furnished by this extract from another Ifo song:

> Nna m eze tiri iwu:
> "Ọ mụrụ nwoke kunata,
> Ọ mụrụ nwaanyị kufuge."
>
> The king, my father, passed a law:
> "Any (of his wives) who delivered a baby boy
> should bring the child home,
> But if a female child, she should take her away."

However, Christianity and Western education have largely changed this attitude. The result is that well-educated girls now do almost all the professional jobs usually considered the preserves of men: female engineers, lawyers, doctors, teachers, architects, drivers and even constables and soldiers abound all working with their male counterparts, and giving financial help to their families.

Female children are nevertheless generally held in great esteem because they are potential mothers. In addition, by giving them in marriage, one widens one's circle of influence and adds to one's family allies through Ọgọ (in-law) relationships. Ọgọ is a very important and complex social concept in Igboland, but we do not intend to go into this institution in detail. Since marriage, from which the Ọgọ system derives, is a prominent and constant Ifo theme, a few relevant comments are nonetheless necessary.

Marriage may be endogamous or exogamous. In the past exogamous marriage was discouraged and parents who allowed their daughters to marry in distant towns were ridiculed as people who "sold" away their daughters. There are reasons for this somewhat insular attitude. First, the enmities that existed between certain towns in the past made marriage negotiations of this kind difficult, if not impossible. Almost all marriage negotiations take place in the evenings and continue far into the night. This is necessary because, as Uchendu has pointed out, "Igbo marriage is an alliance between families rather than a contract between two individuals".[1] And "family" includes one's Ụmụ nne ("Children of one's mother") as well as one's Ụmụnna (patrilineal family). The former, in keeping with the extended family system, embrances one's brothers and sisters, uncles and cousins, and Ụmụ agaba ("Children of one's sisters"), no matter how distant the towns or villages where these females are married. Marriage negotiation is also a protracted affair. There is no hurry about it, and in the past (and to some extent today in many communities), no one stage of the negotiation process is omitted. It follows that since what concerns all must be discussed by all, the time for such negotiations must be fixed at the convenience of almost all concerned. Because the society is based on agriculture and trade, the evenings are usually the most suitable time of the day for the majority of the people. But insecurity, and

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1. Uchendu, 1965, p. 50.

distance because of lack of transport other than walking, make visits to distant towns uncomfortable and hazardous.

Secondly, the Igbo say: "A naghị erebe Nwadiana ọkụkọ ụkwụ rụrụ" ("A deformed fowl is never sold to a person from one's community"). Generally the legs of a fowl for sale are tied together in the market to prevent it from running away, and more often than not a prospective buyer spares himself or herself this risk by not untying them. If a Nwadiana (a freeborn citizen of any town, in this context the town of the seller) comes to buy it, the seller must warn him that the fowl is maimed, otherwise it is an offence of which one of the penalties is that the buyer must return the fowl to the seller and get back his money. By extension therefore, it is strongly suspected that a girl who is married to a distant town has something wrong with her, either she has a bad character, or a hidden sickness, or some shameful family history such as being an Osu (A cult slave).[1] Osu, of course, has been abolished by the "Untouchability Act" passed by the former Eastern Regional Government of Nigeria in 1956.

Thirdly, it was traditional to convey the corpse of an Ada back to her home for burial among her kinsmen.[2] Should such a situation involve an Ada who was married in a distant place, the task of carrying the corpse home would have been costly in terms of money, labour, time and risks.

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1. For information on Osu, vide Leith-Ross, 1937, pp. 206-220; Basden, 1966, pp. 243-258.

2. Basden, op.cit., pp. 284-285.

This situation is dramatised in the Ifo "Agbọ ngerede ngede".[1]

In an endogamous marriage, only the members of the two families directly concerned in the deal are ọgọ (in-law), and they may freely call one another Ọgọ m nwoke ("My father/brother-in-law") or Ọgọ m nwaanyị ("My mother/sister-in-law").[2] Two or more men who married sisters, or girls with a close blood relationship, call each other Ọgọ ngọkọ m ("The brother-in-law to my brother-in-law"). But in an exogamous marriage, the Ọgọ-relationship may loosely embrace the members of the two communities concerned, while the bond of alliance between the two families directly involved is very strong and they support each other morally and financially in time of crises. That is why the Ọgọ concept is often spoken of as being Ikwu atọ, i.e. the members of one's father-in-law's family are the "third leg of the tripod of one's relationship"; the other two are one's mother's mother's lineage ("Ikwu nne m"), and one's father's mother's lineage ("Ikwu mne nna m"). The Ọgọ-relationship is always recognised and validated during occasions like yearly festivals, and funeral and marriage ceremonies when the traditional rights and obligations pertaining to Ọgọ-ship are discharged. In this way, children are vital factors in maintaining close associations between the husband's lineage and the wife's agnatic family to the mutual benefit of the two.

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1. Eziagụ A1.

2. Eziagụ A8Oa-b; A2b.

Although "the great majority of Igbo marriages are monogamous, reflecting, on the one hand, the force of economic circumstances and, on the other, the new tendency of the literate professional and 'white-collar' class to acquire modern status symbols (thus cars are replacing plural wives as status symbols) and to conform to the norms of their Christian faith",[1] polygamy is an accepted traditional life pattern in Igbo society. This is justified by the desire to have many children and more hands to help in farm work. It is also a symbol of high social status. Co-wives call each other Nwunye di m ("My husband's wife"). The practice of polygamy coupled with the domestic tensions arising from it such as jealousy, gossips, intrigues which sometimes erupt into open quarrels among co-wives are reflected in Ifo.[2]

Many Ifo songs also highlight the specific stages which form part of the traditional process of Igbo marriage. Asking for a girl's consent is one of these stages. Before a girl and her parents give their consent, they consider not only the family background of the suitor but also his character and ability to maintain his new family. In Ezaigụ A32, the Ijere Oru' family was rejected because of their characteristic snobbishness and lack of human sympathy. In Ezaigụ A61, Nzeoke was preferred to other suitors not so much for his wealth as for his proven generosity:

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1. Uchendu, op.cit., p. 49.

2. Eziagụ B13a-b, Eziagụ C11, Eziagụ D21a.

Ọ gị ja anụ,
I nyere ya Egu-ububo
Ka ya dị ime Ọnara,
Ọnaraakụ nwa ya.
Nze i jiri akụ,
Nze ja anụ Ọnara;
Nze i jighi akụ,
Nze ja anụ Ọnara.

... You will marry her (Ọnara),
You gave me (Ọnara's mother) Egu-ububo[1]
When I was expecting Ọnara,
Ọnaraakụ my daughter.
Nze, if you are wealthy,
(You) Nze will marry Ọnara;
Nze, if you are not wealthy,
(You) Nze, will marry Ọnara.

A decisive stage in the process of Igbo marriage is called Ị mara ụlọ di ("To know the house of the husband"). This is the period when "the girl is introduced to the prospective husband's home , during which time she is watched for social adjustment. Her capabilities in house crafts, her working habits, her temperament, her form and figure - all are observed. Every adult member of the extended family passes critical comments on the qualities and behaviour of the new member. She is given opportunity to make friends. After a month or two, she is decorated with uri (body painting) and sent back to her parents with rich presents, indicating that she has passed her test."[2]

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1. A kind of large caterpillar.

2. Uchendu, op.cit., p. 52.

Although, with some slight modifications, this is generally true, Eziagụ A25, Nwagbọgho nke na achọ di ("A young lady who is desperate to get a husband") complements Uchendu's account in many significant aspects. It demonstrates convincingly that the Ị mara ụlọ di stage is equally decisive for the prospective husband because the spouse may, after studying him, reject him (as in the case of the first man visited), or accept him (as in the case of the second man). In this Ifo the girl gives her reasons for rejecting her first suitor in the following words:

... Ya kpọọ ya, "Enyi ya nwoke,
Shị bata ụnọ mara di."
Ha hụ jekwere babha ụnọ,
Ha jekwere bata ụnọ:
Ọnụzọ mbe ya nwa ịtịkịrị,
Ụnọ mbe ya nwa ịtịkịrị,
Ute ọ tọrọ nwa ịtịkịrị,
Mbidimbi ya nwa ịtịkịrị.
Ya hụ gbakwara fụta ezhi
Shị shị zhie zhie nne,
Shị shị zhie zhie nna,
Ije ya gara na ọ ghụ hụkwa di.

... I told him, "My man friend,
Let's go to the house so that I'll know my husband."
Both of us set off to his house,
Both of us came into his compound:
His gate was small,
His house was small,
His sleeping mat was small,
His mbidimbi[1] was small.
I hurried to the road,
Sent a message to my mother,

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1. Mbidimbi is a euphemistic term for penis.

Sent a message to my father,
From my experience, the match is hopeless.

Convinced of the correctness of her decision, the girl agrees to visit a second suitor's home. On her arrival she is impressed:

... Ọnụzọ mbe ya nwa nnukwuru
Ụnọ mbe ya nwa nnukwuru
Mbidimbi ya nwa nnukwuru
Nwa ute ọ tọrọ nwa nnukwuru
Nwa ihe o ghuru nwa nnukwuru
Hụ kpọọ ya enyi ya nwaanyị-o
Shị ya ganụ tụzhie ute,
Ya hụ tie o, ya hụ bee o,
A dụ onye jeje ije be onye ọdọ
A shị ya gaa tụzhie ute?
Ya taa aka, ya mee hio, ya kwere.
O kwehu izu naabọ,
Nwa ahwọ ime nwa degem;
O kwehụ izu naabọ,
Nwa nwoke nwa shokom.
Ya hụ gbakwara fụta ezhi,
Shị shị zhie zhie nne,
Shị shị zhie zhie nna,
Ije ya gara na ọ kwa di.

... His gate was big,
His house was big,
His mbidimbi was big,
His sleeping mat was big;
The food he offered was plentiful;
He said to me, "My friend,
Go and make the bed";
I hesitated, protested;
Is it proper for someone going to another person's house
To be told to go and make the bed?
I hesitated, I loitered, I agreed.

In less than two Igbo weeks,
I became pregnant;
In less than two Igbo weeks,
I delivered a baby boy.
I hurried to the road,
Sent a message to my mother,
Sent a message to my father,
From experience, this match is ideal.

The second suitor's gate and house, his food, his sleeping mat and his penis are all big, indicating his economic sufficiency, his generosity, and his virility. In addition by begetting a male child, the girl has not only consummated her marriage, but has also ensured the perpetuation of her husband's lineage.

The World View

To the Igbo the universe is divided into three main spheres: Enu igwe (the sky and beyond), Ụwa (the world of men and all other living creatures), and Ana mmụọ (the land of the spirits). Enu igwe is the abode of Chukwu and some of his messengers such as Anyanwụ (the Sun), Ọnwa (the Moon) and Kamanụ (the God of Thunder and Lightning). The supreme position of Chukwu in the hierarchy of Gods and in the cosmos generally is demonstrated in the Ifo song popularly known as Nwakadụkpọrọ;[1] and it is the only Ifo in this corpus in which humans, gods, spirits, animals and plants are collectively involved.

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1. Ezaigụ A63, Eziagụ C13, Eziagụ D33.

The solar system guides the Igbo in measuring time, days and months and in counting the seasons which form the annual calendar.

The Igbo regard man's existence in this world as transitory, and the real purpose of man on earth is still an enigma. Rhetorical questions and definite statements inscribed on lorries and trucks, and sometimes on houses, suggest that people are concerned with the problem of man's life and role on earth. Such inscriptions are: Ụwa bụ nke onye? ("Whose is the world?"); Onye ka o zuoro? ("Who is self-sufficient in this world?"); or more categorically Ụwa ezu oke ("No one is sefl-sufficient in this world").

The belief in man's transitory existence in this world gives rise to the belief in the immortality of the soul and thereby raises questions about the destination of the souls of the dead. The concept of Ịnọ ụwa (Reincarnation) attempts to explain this problem. It is believed that a person may die and come to life again and again in human form up to seven times. On each occasion, one may or may not be reborn into one's former family or class, and people thus consult diviners to find out the origins of their children. This is called Ịgba afa agụ ("To divine one's namesake"). If, say Okeke's dead grandmother is reincarnated in one of his daughters, one of the names of his grandmother must invariably be given to this daughter and virtually the same honour and respect that were shown to his grandmother in her life are accorded to this child. It is also believed that "the higher the incarnation number, the more intelligent the person becomes because the

greater is the life experience he inherits".[1] Hopes for future life vary with individuals, and also with the circumstances of their present life. Ụwa m ụwa asaa, aga m abụ onye Igbo ("If I am reincarnated seven times, I must on each occasion be an Igbo") may be the wish of a lover of the Igbo people and their style of life. While Ụwa m ọzọ aga m ama akwụkwọ ("In the next world I will live, I must be an educated man or woman") may be the wish of an illiterate who has been abused or ridiculed in English. A child born of poor and wicked parents may pray that in the next world he will not be born by similar parents. Such a situation led a child in Eziagụ 22 to swear, as he was dying, never to be reincarnated in this world again:

Alaa ya, alaa ya.
Ị laje ibe one?
Ya laje ugwu mmụọ:
Ụwa bụrụ ogbo,
Mgbe ọdọ ma ya alọ;
Ụwa a bụghị ọgbo,
Mgbe ọdọ ma ya alọ.

I am going, I am going.
Where are you going to?
I am going to the hill of the spirits:
If living in this world is a must,
Next time I will not come to it;
If it is not,
Next time I will not come to it.

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1. Ojike, op.cit., p. 159.

Through this concept of reincarnation therefore, the worlds of the unborn, the living, and the dead form part of a continuum.

Ana mmụọ ("The land of the spirits") is a reality. It is conceived as a projection of the world of the living with all its institutions: political, social and cultural. Death is the only means through which a living person can go to the land of the spirits. In the past, "the street of the Nri family is the street of the gods through which all who die in other parts of Ibo pass to the land of spirits".[1] This belief still continues in the Eziagụ A54. The death of an elderly person is a good one and such a person is usually referred to as Onye gara ije ("A sojourner"), a term which not only connotes that the person has left this world for another place but also the idea that one day he may come back to this world. Thus in the past wealthy and titled men were buried with some of their wives and slaves who, it was believed, would continue to serve them after death. It is also believed that the spirits of the dead can and do visit the world of the living both as human beings and as animals. Many folktales describe episodes in which the living and the spirits of the dead meet in such institutions as marriage,[1] and the exchange of communal labour.[2]

The saying, "Agwa bụ mma" ("Good character is beauty in its own right") is a measure of the importance the Igbo

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1. Eziagụ A2a-b.

2. Eziagụ A47.

attach to this aspect of human nature. Among the virtues cherished by the people are obedience to and respect for parents and elders, for they are regarded as the custodians of worldly wisdom and experience, and as potential ancestors whose blessing are as welcome as their curse is dreaded. Irreverence to Omenani ("the codes of behaviour and the customs approved by the ancestors and enforced by the earth goddess through priests and titled elders and heads of various extended families"[1]) is taboo, and the offender is promptly and severely dealt with by the community. While "A naeri ihu nwata bịaka rie ihe o ji n'aka" ("We eat the face of a child before eating what he has in his hand", i.e. the face of the giver is the index of the mind with which he gives) is an Igbo proverb which reflects the value placed on cheerfulness and politeness. Friendliness, generosity and hospitality, truthfulness, honesty and industry are also among the most highly prized virtues, while their opposites are vehemently detested. Ifo is a medium for inculcating these virtues in children as well as for teaching them the consequences of vices such as disobedience,[2] impoliteness,[3] talkativeness,[4] immorality and infidelity,[5] laziness[6] and insociability.[7]

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1. Ilọgụ, op.cit., p. 39.
2. Eziagụ A10a-c.
3. Eziagụ A4.
4. Eziagụ A65a-b.
5. Eziagụ A62.
6. Eziagụ A31.
7. Arnott, 1967, pp. 24-32.

Oracles and Divination

This review of the Igbo cultural background would not be complete without a few remarks about oracles and divination, because these two ancient and related phenomena are deeply embedded in Igbo traditional practices, and from time immemorial oracles and diviners have exercised tremendous influence on the thoughts, decisions and actions of both communities and individuals. Basden, who witnessed the veneration accorded to certain local deities accredited with supernatural powers of divination, appreciated that "these deities inspire great awe and they are consulted on various pretexts, and in cases of serious dispute they are the final courts of appeal, and no one dare question their verdicts".[1] Like Ifa of the Yoruba, most of these oracles[2] were (and to some extent are) held as "teacher of gods and men".[3] They were, therefore, consulted in time of war, famine, epidemic and during any social disaster. The whole political community or a lineage or a family may consult them. Individuals resort to divination for various reasons, such as to find out who has stolen their property, or who is responsible for the premature death of a relation, or to find out the cause of barrenness or prolonged illness. Basden who saw the impact of divination on society almost a century ago and described the whole affair as "deceptions

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1. Basden, op.cit., pp. 244-254.

2. Supra, p. 37.

3. Gleason, 1973, p. 1.

of a most impudent and specious nature", also attested that "yet they are tolerated with guileless simplicity by those who submit to their verdicts, but who cannot fathom their mysteries".[1] The grip of divination on the people has not relaxed even today, and the self-styled 'prophets' and 'prohpetesses' who promote most of the so-called 'African Churches' in the society compete with traditional diviners for clients. Ifo songs contain many references to divination, and three instances will suffice. In Eziagụ B30, the spirit of a dead child rebuked her parents for her death because of their refusal to propitiate certain gods with fowls on the advice of a diviner. In Eziagụ A53, jealousy and envy moved Ọmarịngwọ's peers to conspire to kill him, a prosperous young man, by poison on one of the festive days. The secret was divulged to Ọmarịngwọ by one of the conspirators who, in order to circumvent the oath taken that no one should 'say' the secret, preferred to play the message on a musical bow and warn Ọmarịngwọ to consult a diviner because his life was in danger.

The following excerpt from Eziagụ A9 deserves detailed analysis because of the light it throws on the practice of divination in the past. After the birth of Anyahwụrụzobhakụ, her mother found it difficult to bear another child for many years. She was virtually declared an Aga ("a barren woman") by her co-wives, but fortune smiled on her and to the great surprise of everyone, she

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1. Basden, op.cit., p. 244.

became pregnant. She, with her husband, consulted an oracle to ascertain the sex of the child, and to obtain a suitable name for it because its birth would be an important event, and because traditionally the name had to reflect the circumstances of the birth. The oracle, speaking through its priest, assured them that the child would be a boy and that two special names would be given to him: "A ghara m aga" ("I am no more an Aga"), and "Nze ja anọkwa ụwa? ("Will Nze reincarnate?"). To give credence and authority to the declaration, the oracle concluded by giving his praise-name "Ihejiọkụ na-eme onwe ya" ("Ihejiọkụ - the Yam God, who looks after himself"). The fee was modest and in kind not in cash - a pot of wine from the father, and an earthenware bowl (ọkụ) full of special food prepared from a specific type of yam called Mbana which, after being ground fresh, is wrapped with the tender leaves of the cocoyam and cooked. This food is called Mbụgụnụ, and the mother was responsible for its preparation. Thus in the Ifo the priest of the oracle revealed the information to Anyahwụrụzobhakụ in the following words:

... I rue ụlọ,
Gụ hụ shị nne ghụ, shị nna ghụ:
"Nna ghụ hụ pata nwa ite mmịị,
Nne ghụ hụ ghuo nwa ọkụ mbụgụnụ,
Mmuo were bịa n'ụkwụ ebe,
A shịkwa ime nụ nne ghụ dụ,
Ihe ọ ja-amụ ya nwa nwoke,
A gụọ ya 'Aghara m aga',
A gụọ ya 'Nze ja-anọkwa ụwa?'
Ya ghụ 'Ihejiọkụ na-eme onwe ya'.

... When you (Anyahwụrụzobhakụ) get home,
Tell your mother, tell your father:
"Father, you are to bring a pot of wine,
Mother, you are to prepare an earthenware bowl
full of Mbụgụnụ
Both of you are to bring them to the shrine square";
It is said that your mother who is expecting a baby
Will deliver a baby boy;
He shall be called 'I am no more a barren woman',
He shall also be called 'Will Nze reincarnate?'
It is he, 'Ihejiọkụ, the Yam God, who looks after
himself'.
(who says this).

We have delineated the cultural background of Igbo traditional society highlighting especially those aspects that are relevant to a proper understanding of the music in general and of Ifo in particular. We have also seen that Ifo, as a genre, refers to certain facets of Igbo beliefs and views of the world. In Chapter Four, Ifo is discussed not only as a mirror of Igbo culture, but also as a dramatic representation of Igbo ideas, of the Igbo philosophy of life, and of the Igbo view of the world.

CHAPTER TWO

MUSIC AND IGBO SOCIETY

About eight decades ago, G.T. Basden, who was one of the first missionaries to come in direct contact with Igbo life at the turn of the twentieth century, and who lived among the people for nearly forty years, declared that Igbo "ideas of music do not coincide with those of the Europeans ..."[1] In spite of his penetrating observation, no specific study of Igbo concepts of music has as yet been made. Ignorance of the nature of Igbo music, and of the framework upon which the Igbo organise their music, is probably responsible for some of the many misleading assumptions made by writers on this subject. A.M. Jones's confession buttresses this point: "European musicians ignore or belittle African folk music mainly because no one can explain it to them."[2] The purpose of this chapter is, therefore, to attempt to clarify some of the confusion that has arisen on Igbo concepts of music.

1. Igbo Concepts of Music

The nearest Igbo word for "music" is Egwu (Nkwa or Uri are its dialectal equivalents in Ngwa, Umuahia and Bende areas respectively). Egwu is, however, a complex

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1. Basden, 1921, p. 365.

2. Jones, 1953, p. 39.

concept which includes not only the phenomenon of sound called music in the Western meaning of the word, but also other cultural phenomena such as poetry, dance, and drama, all of which are frequently translated into the three-dimensional musical activities of igụ egwu (solo or group singing, with or without instrumental accompaniment), iti or iku egwu (producing musical sounds from instruments), and igba egwu (dancing).[1] This inclusive concept of Egwu is reflected in the idea of the musician - a concept explained by Mazi Mbonu Ojike:

> In Africa, the musician is not just the originator of the harmonious sounds, or the composer of the rhythmic stanzas or the vocalist that sings the piece. No, the musician is not even the dancer who lends dramatic vigour to the whole art, nor the whole contingent of artists whose instruments are the sine qua non of music. To us all these are musicians for the word music means egwu, or Muse, the goddess who orders harmony, rhythm, sounds and movements into a hair-raising unity. It is that unity that we call egwu, or music.[2]

In Igbo traditional society, where instrumental music "is limited to those who have special gifts",[3] and "where individual differences in musical ability are recognised and a person can enjoy considerable measure of personal

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1. Figure illustrates the somewhat loose association of these three musical activities.

2. Ojike, 1955, p. 184.

3. Basden, op.cit., p. 362.

The Concept of Egwu (Music)

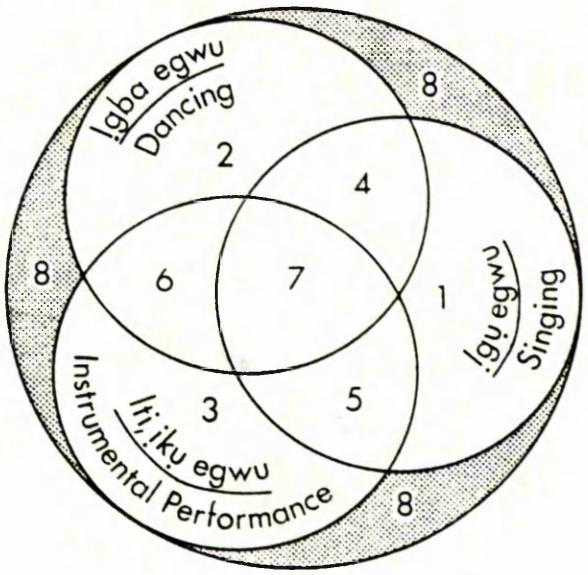

FIGURE 1.

1. Igụ Egwu - Singing
2. Igba Egwu - Dancing, i.e. performance of special dance steps with characteristic body movements without any instrumental accompaniment and singing. It is called Itụ ọna or Iti aziri (when performed by women), and Ida iya (when performed by men)
3. Iti or ịkụ Egwu - Instrumental performance
4. Egwu a na-agụ agụ, na-agba agba - Singing and Dancing
5. Egwu a na-agụ, na-eti eti - Singing and Instrumental performance
6. Egwu a na-eti eti, na-agba agba - Instrumental performance and dancing
7. Egwu a na-agụ agụ, na-eti eti, na-agba agba - Singing, Instrumental performance and Dancing.
8. Ọgbọ Egwu na ngwo ngwo Egwu - Paraphernalia of Egwu, i.e. audience, constume, banners, jeers, applause, calls and whistles, etc.

prestige as an expert",[1] any acknowledged singer, dancer, or performer on any of the many traditional musical instruments, is regarded as a musician: literally translated as Onye Egwu.

The area of specialization in Egwu is derived from the verbs ịgụ ("to sing"), iti or ịkụ ("to beat, pluck, or strike"), or igba ("to dance"). For instance, a singer who is a soloist in his or her own right, or who is the song leader of a group of performers, is called Ọgụ Egwu ("A singer of Egwu"), a dancer, likewise, is referred to as Ọgba Egwu ("A dancer of Egwu"). In the case of an instrumentalist, Egwu is omitted, the verb prefixed to the instrument showing the way the sounds are produced. These sounds are produced by beating or striking, by blowing and by plucking. An expert on the ịgba (any drum), is called the oti ịgba or ọkụ ịgba ("the beater or the striker of the ịgba"), and the oti ngedegwu or oti udu ("the beater of a xylophone or of the udu"). Ifụ, or ịgbu, in musical terms means "to produce musical sounds by blowing an instrument"; hence a flautist is called an ogbu ọja or ọfụ ọja. Similarly, ịkpọ, a word which simply means "to call", when used in musical terms refers to the production of sounds by plucking. An expert on the ụbọ (the wooden or metal lamellaphone), or on the ụbọ-akwara (the pluriarc), is called an ọkpọ ụbọ.

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1. Ames, 1973, p. 263.

2. Musical Instruments

Related to concepts of music are ideas of what are and what are not musical instruments. However, a detailed treatment of Igbo traditional musical instruments is dispensed with here as irrelevant to the subject of this study, and in any case this in itself constitutes a major study in its own right. To some extent this has already been undertaken by Echezona.[1] Since the focus of this study is on Ifo, a homogeneous corpus of Egwu a na-agụ sọ ọgụgụ ("music that is sung" - without instrumental accompaniment or dancing), it is thus only necessary to enumerate traditional musical instruments as an indication of the resources from which instrumental combinations are drawn in accompanying other categories of vocal music.

Examples of chordophones, membranophones, aerophones and idiophones are all found in a limited list of traditional instruments used in accompanying vocal music. Idiophones, which are the most common among the four groups, consist of the ekwe[2] (the slit-drum), the ogene (the single or double clapperless iron bell), the ngedegwu (the xylophone), the nkwọnkwọ (the wooden clappers), the ụyọ (the basket rattle), the acharido and the ekpiri (shell rattles), the ụbọ-aka (the wooden or metal lamellaphone with wooden or

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1. Echezọna, 1963.

2. The ikoro (the largest slit-drum in Igboland) is principally an instrument of signalling rather than a musical instrument. Even when it is used in conjunction with other instruments in ikoro music, its role is limited to punctuating the performance with coded rhythmic patterns.

gourd resonators), mgbịrịmgba (bells), the udu (the percussion vessel), and mpi anụ (horns of animals such as goats and rams).

Membranophones include the ịgba (the single-headed drum), the ufie (the royal drum), the ogwe (the tallest ịgba in Igboland), and the okpiri (the kazoo, a ritual instrument used mainly in masquerade music).

Aerophones consist of the ọja (the vertical edge-blown notched flute), the opu (the transverse horn made of gourd or of the horns of large animals such as the atụ (the bush cow)), the ugene or ọkpọkpọ (the ocarina), and the ọdụ (the elephant tusk or ivory horn).

The use of the ọdụ (the elephant tusk or ivory horn) is restricted to Ọzọ titled men and chiefs. They are traditionally the only people who carry them and blow them. Confirming this and at the same time saying more about their use, Basden said: "the chiefs entitled to carry ivory horns send out messages by powerful blasts of 'dot-and-dash' notes. The horns are blown flute-wise, and the note can be varied in length, and higher or lower in tone. The chiefs are experts in the art of trumpeting on the horns, and use them for communication of quite long messages. More often, they perform upon them purely for display, especially in assemblies."[1]

The ụbọ-akwara (the pluriarc), and the une (the mouth-bow), constitute the sole chordophones.

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1. Basden, op.cit., p. 358.

In terms of their orchestral function, these instruments fall broadly into two types - 'solo' and 'percussion' groups. Besides being capable of employment in the general ensemble, 'solo' instruments can independently imitate the speech contours of the songs. This is so because Igbo is a tone language and as Akin Euba explained, "in a typical tone language, there is an economy of vocabulary and a single word often has different meanings depending on the tone level or combination of tone levels with which the word is spoken. This dependence on tonality makes ordinary speech in such a language akin to a musical activity and enables musical instruments which can differentiate pitch to act as speech surrogates."[1] Typical of these solo instruments are the ọja (the vertical edge-blown flute), the opu (the transverse horn), the ugene (the ocarina), the ọdụ (the elephant tusks), the ụbọ-aka (the wooden or metal lamellaphone) the ekwe (the slit-drum), the ikoro (the largest slit-drum) and the ngedegwu (the xylophone).

With the exception of the kazoo whose aesthetic contribution is more psychological than musical, all other remaining types of instruments are percussion instruments.

Also with the exception of the ikoro, which is the property of the whole town and is kept either in the town's market square or in the grove of the principal shrine of the town, other musical instruments are generally owned

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1. Euba, 1977, pp. 10-11.

by individual members of the community, each instrumentalist acquiring and keeping the instrument he plays. Often a performing group buys a set of the instruments it needs for performance. Such instruments are stored in the uko (a bamboo ceiling over the fireplace) in the house of the leader of the group, and they can be loaned to other performing groups on special request. The uko is usually favoured as a store for these instruments because it is one of the most isolated parts of the hut, and is high enough to be outside the reach of children. In addition its dry and smoky environment helps to preserve the instruments from changes in humidity and attacks from insects.

3. Musical Sounds

Though the Igbo do not define what are and what are not musical sounds in acoustical or other terms, yet they have a clear idea of what sounds are musically acceptable and what are not. With the notable exception of akwa (crying) and mkpu (shouting), almost all other human vocal sounds are potentially musical, as is whistling. Whistling and humming are interchangeable with singing, and they may be used to fill the gaps when the singer wants a breathing space or, especially in the case of inexperienced singers, when the singer needs to recall ideas and find the correct words to use in a song; in performance singing and composition are in many cases a simultaneous operation, and improvisation is thus part of the compositional technique. Ululation and rapid alternations of ude (rhythmical grunting)

and ọshịọ (rhythmical sucking of lips), feature prominently in dance music as well as in both masquerade and minstrel songs, for they accentuate the rhythm while adding vigour and colour to the whole performance. An experienced artist knows the best moment and manner of utilising these with maximum effect during performance.

Musical instruments of course produce musical sounds. And as we have stated earlier,[1] some melodic instruments frequently reproduce the melodic line of a song when not occupied in realising the contours of their own limited and independent texts. The ekwe (the slit-drum) and the ikoro (the biggest slit-drum) also imitate the linguistic contours of texts known to the community.

Also valid as musical sounds are those produced by the human voice, or by other instruments such as the obara (the bull roarer), in attempting to illustrate in musical terms non-musical ideas. This gives an air of realism to the object being depicted, or the idea being invoked, or the situation which is being described. The Agụ mmanwụ ("The leopard masquerade" involving the use of the bull roarer) is a typical example of this.

The last verse of "Ha jere gabha" (Eziagụ A16[2]) is full of symbolic and other illustrations which repay closer examination. In this Ifo, a young boy has performed an outstanding feat by killing Anya - an incarnate spirit in the form of a monstrous creature. The boy's

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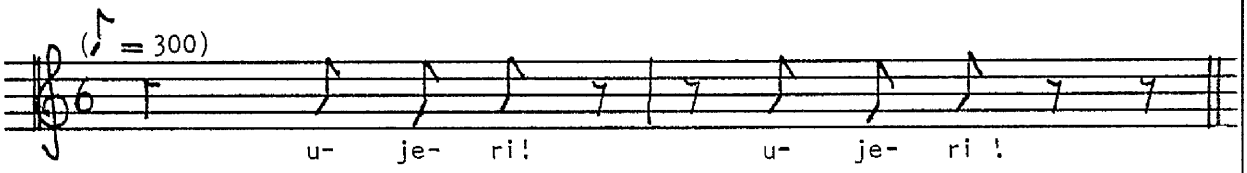
1. Supra, p. 66.

2. Appendix A, song 14.

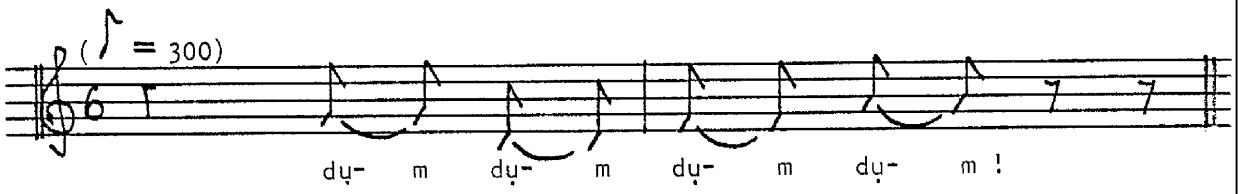
mother shows her happiness by ịtụ ọna or iti azịrị (Dancing - i.e. performance of special dance steps with characteristic body movements without any instrumental accompaniment, and singing). This show of joy is depicted in the words "ujeri, ujeri". The melody of the phrase (Ex) is such that each "ujeri" is separated by two beat rests which represent the measured foot work of the mother.

Example



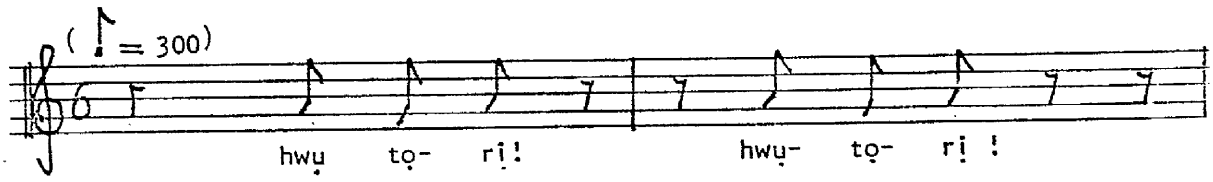
The father demonstrates his appreciation by firing a gun, the booming of which is depicted in the words "dụm, dụm, dụm, dụm":

Example



The brother, in his turn, showers praise-names on the hero through the medium of a flute, using characteristic flute sounds in the form "hwụtọrị, hwụtọrị", sounds which are melodically identical with those previously noted in Examples

Example



Music as well as musical instruments are used to identify and validate social status.[1] Hence heroes are praised in the texts performed on the ekwe and ikoro (slit-drums), performances which are based on the tonal and intonational patterns of these non-vocalised texts. In the latter part of Eziagụ A16, after the mother, the father, and the brother of the hero have paid homage to him, his praises are continued on the ekwe and the ikoro:

Ekwe akpọ ya:
"Idighiri, dighiri, di!"
Ikoro akpọ ya:
"Nwoke teghete,
Egbu egbukwakwa,
Ị ka ja egbu ọdọ "

The slit-drum calls him:
"Idighiri, dighiri, di!"[2]
The ikoro calls him:
"Man with the strength of nine,[3]
He who kills very often
You will kill again "

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1. Vide "The role of music in Igbo society", Infra, p.101.

2. "Idighiri, dighiri, di!" are onomatopoeic words symbolising 'power'.

3. Literally, "man nine".

4. Musicians

In Igbo society, musicians are generally valued and rated highly. Proved vocalists (who are invariably chorus leaders, not only because they possess what the traditional society appreciates as "a good voice", but also because of their command of a rich repertoire of folk tunes) as well as instrumental experts, especially performers on the oja (the vertical edge-blown notched flute), the ekwe (the slit-drum), the ikoro (the largest slit-drum), and the ngedegwu (the xylophone), are treated with great respect and their services are frequently demanded and generously rewarded both in cash and kind. Achebe's Unoka "was very good on his flute, and his happiest moments were two or three moons after the harvest when the village musicians brought down their instruments, hung above the fireplace. Unoka would play with them, his face beaming with happiness and peace. Sometimes another village would ask Unoka's band and their dancing egwugwu to come and stay with them and teach them their tunes."[1] And "Okoye was also a musician. He played on the ogene."[2] However, these musicians are neither recognised as occupational groups nor their product, music, as a craft, as is the case in Hausa society.[3] Though some musicians undergo formal and intensive training for years under the tutelage of recognised

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1. Achebe, op. cit., p.4.

2. Ibid., p. 5.

3. Ames, 1973, pp. 250-278.

vocalists and instrumentalists,[1] yet professionalism in the sense that the musician receives formal music training and depends solely or to a large extent on music performance for his living, is generally rare. The musician usually depends for the major part of his livelihood on farming or trading. M.M. Green suggested that the absence of professional musicians of this category in Igbo society may be "partly due to the absence of a king's court or wealthy aristocracy to encourage the growth of a differentiated class of this kind."[2]

5. Musical Talent

The high rating accorded to accepted musicians inevitably implies the recognition of musical talent, and the Igbo have a definite concept of such talent. Musical talent (whether in singing, dancing, or in the playing of an instrument), like expertise in herbal medicine, or ịkwa nka ("ingenuity in craftsmanship"), is regarded as a gift from one's Chi.[3] Hence the expression: Chi ya nyere ya egwu, ịkwa nka ma ọbụ mkpọrọgwụ na ahịhịa ("His Chi gave him

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1. For instance, Icheoku Nwokoye of Ezira studied singing at Anambra for over ten years. He is now a minstrel specializing in Egwu ekpiri (songs accompanied by a bead rattle); Messrs Owonta and Obi, specialists on the xylophone and the flute respectively, had over ten years' apprenticeship with their respective masters. They are part-time instructors in these traditional instruments in the Department of music, University of Nigeria, Nsukka.

2. Green, 1948, p. 839.

3. Vide the section: "Religions and family life", supra p.38.

egwu, craftsmanship, roots and leaves"). It is also a popularly held view that talent can be inherited from one's parents as well as from other blood relations; a view that finds expression in the saying: Ihe egbe mụrụ aghaghị ivu ọkụkọ ("The offspring of a kite must prey on the chicken"). Other expressions that state this view of hereditary endowment, particularly with respect to music, are Egwu dị ha n'ọbara ("Music is in their blood"); Nne ya / Nna ya gụrụ egwu ("The mother / father was a singer"); or Akpụkpara ha naagụ egwu ("Their generation produces musicians").

Opportunities for training are immediately available to children born of parents who are musicians, and whether the teaching is formal or informal, the method is by observation and imitation for Nne eghu na-ata agbara, nwa ya ana-ene ya anya n'ọnụ ("If a she-goat is eating agbara - a type of cover crop which is a favourite fodder for goats - the young one continues looking at her mouth"). However, there are musicians who, while not having musical parents, have acquired their musical ability by dint of hard work and by serving a period of tutelage under a reputed master.

Associated with the concept of the gifted individual is the idea that since talents come from one's Chi, the gifted person must never commercialise them. To do so would result in incurring the wrath of the gods who, in extreme cases, might neutralise the gift. Thus convinced, the traditional musician performs first and foremost for the aesthetic enjoyment of the community and for his own

pleasure; secondly, out of respect for and to further traditional culture (hence his services during certain religious festivals are free); and lastly, for gifts which are either in cash or kind.

6. General Categories of Music

An understanding of the occasions on which the Igbo make music, the uses of music, the sources from which the various musical types derive, and the names and organisation of these types, is dependent on an understanding of Igbo concepts of music and its resultant categorization.

How is Ịgbo music categorized? Various approaches are possible. Music can be grouped broadly according to sex: Egwu ụmụ nwoke ("Music for men") and Egwu ụmụ nwaanyị ("Music for women"); or according to age: Egwu ụmụ aka ("Music for children") and Egwu ndị okenye ("Music for adults"). The major demerit of these two approaches is that Igbo traditional music does not lend itself to a neat dichotomy based on either sex or age. Admittedly, there is music that is sung, played and danced solely by women, as in the case of Egwu mbubu ("Music connected with cicatrisation which is played with the udu or percussion aerophone vessel") and the Obịọma dance from Ọzara in Mgbidi area in Imo state, which is usually performed on social and ceremonial occasions and also during the Ngwuma-festival which precedes the eating of new yam. Likewise men have their own particular music such as Egwu mmanwụ ("Masquerade music") especially when performed at night, and rarer types like

Oke nkwa from Afikpo in Anambra state which is performed only once every twenty-five years. But these types of music form only a minor part of the total Igbo musical repertoire. Grouped according to sex therefore, the bulk of music which is open to both men and women, such as the Ikorodo dance from Obimo in Nsukka and Uhie music from Nnewi in Anambra State which is performed by both titled men and women, remain unclassified. Similarly, while the Igbo recognise a distinction between music for adults and that for children, they do not regard age as a significant basis for a meaningful categorization of their music.

Other possible groupings are into "sacred" and "secular", and into "vocal" and "instrumental". A division of traditional music into sacred and secular is however alien to an Igbo concept of music, because these concepts are themselves alien to Igbo thought. The division of Igbo music into vocal and instrumental is only partially viable, since it fails to take account of the majority of music which is sung, played and danced at the same time.

Perhaps the most comprehensive and meaningful general categorization of music should derive from the three-dimensional concept of Egwu stated earlier; that is, according to the degree to which singing, instrumental performance and dancing are involved, either individually or in combination. It is only by such an approach that one can contain the complete spectrum of Igbo music, and it is only by such an approach that one can establish a basis for identifying not only categories of music, but also musical types within these categories. It is thus possible to identify

the following seven broad categories:

I. Egwu a na-agụ sọ ọgụgụ ("Music that is sung", i.e. unaccompanied songs). Typical examples are Ifo ("Songs of the folktale Order"), cradle songs and lullabies.

II. Egwu a na-agba sọ ọgbụgba ("Music that is danced", i.e. without singing or instrumental performance). This category of music occurs as special dance steps with characteristic body movements without any instrumental accompaniment and singing, and is called ịtụ ọna or iti aziri (when performed by women), and ịda ịya (when performed by men).

III. Egwu a na-eti sọ otiti ("Music played on instruments", i.e. involving neither singing nor dancing). In this category Egwu une ("Music performed on the musical bow"), Egwu ụbọ ("Music performed on a lamellaphone"), Egwu ngedegwu ("Xylophone music"), and Egwu mkpe ("Music played on the sacred drum called mkpe, during the initiation of a traditional priest"), are classic examples.

IV. Egwu a na-agụ agụ, na-agba agba ("Music that is sung, and danced", i.e. involving no instrumental performance). Examples are Egwu ikpe ("Songs of gossip, satire, and mockery"), and women's songs for the worship of the Earth Goddess at Eziagu, called Egwu Aja-ana.

V. Egwu a na-agụ agụ, na-eti eti ("Music that is sung with instrumental accompaniment", i.e. involving no dancing). Some minstrel songs come under this category, so also does Onyekuru night masquerade music. But a typical example which the writer encountered during his field-work is called "Ọdị ụtọ eju afọ" ("Sweet but unable to fill the belly", i.e.

music that is so entertaining that the listener does not tire of listening to it), a type of xylophone music from Ezaigu.

VI. Egwu a na-eti eti, na-agba agba ("Music played on instruments and danced", i.e. involving no singing). This group includes all traditional dances such as Etiịọgwụ, Nkpọkiti, Ịgba Ogwurugwu, Ụbọ ọgazi; also Abia "Purely drum music"), Egwu mgba ("Wrestling music"), and once again Egwu ngederegwu ("Xylophone music").

VII. Egwu a na-agụ agụ, na-eti eti, na-agba agba ("Music sung with instrumental accompaniment and dance", i.e. involving singing, instrumental performance and dancing). Well known examples are Egwu emume ("Festival music"), Egwu echichi ("Music that accompanies title-taking and other initiation ceremonies"), and some women's traditional dances such as Ojoojo, and Nwaokorobo.

Any music that can be sung and that can be danced to, can equally incorporate instrumental accompaniment, just as most instrumental music can be danced to, if necessary. In the light of the above divisions, it is possible to state that though in theory seven broad categories are possible, nevertheless, in the majority of cases, only three comprehensive groups occur: purely vocal music confined to songs (Category I); purely instrumental music confined to instrumental performance (Category III); and music involving all these three activities - singing, instrumental performance, and dancing (Category VII).

7. Music in the Life Cycle

Music associated with the five major stages of an individual's life (i.e. with birth and infancy, childhood, puberty, marriage, and death) is only artificially separable from music associated with the society as a whole and with its social organisation. For convenience of description, however, music associated with the individual's life cycle will be listed first under its five main divisions, with further subdivisions into the previously established categories of vocal music, and music involving songs, instrumental performance and dance, before proceeding to a description of music in the society and its organization.

7.1. Birth and infancy

Vocal music comprises Egwu ọṅụ nwa[1] ("Songs connected with childbirth") and Egwu e ji eku nwa ("Cradle songs and Lullabies"). Songs of the latter type, in addition to their obvious function, also afford the mother the opportunity to reflect on her child and its birth. Examples include: Opunishi tụrụ m nwata ụra ọma ("Fontanelle give my child good sleep"), Onye mụrụ nwa na-ebe akwa? ("Who is the mother of the child crying?").

Music involving song, instrumental performance and dance occurs at the ceremony of Ịzụ ahịa nwa, or Ịpụta na ọmụgwọ ("The first 'showing' of the child"), which takes place seven Igbo weeks (izu asaa[2]) after birth. An

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1. Infra, p. 136.

2. Izu asaa is made up of seven Igbo weeks, i.e. one lunar month; four days, Orie, Afo, Nkwo and Eke make up Nkwe izu (one

example of music associated with this ceremony is Nkwa mgbede from the Ngwa area (Nkwa is the Ngwa equivalent of Egwu, and mgbede or ọmụgwọ is the period of confinement of a woman after she has given birth).

7.2. Childhood

Vocal music comprises Egwu ụmụaka ji egwuri egwu ("Children's game songs") and Ifo, Iwho, or Iro ("Songs integral to stories, and narrative songs"). Game songs are often more rhythmically complicated than other pre-puberty songs, and are generally accompanied with hand-clapping, foot-stamping, and finger-snapping rather than with musical instruments. It is possible to subdivide these game songs into those "valued for their words or music rather than their actions, and those songs sung to accompany games or dances or forming an integral part of them".[1] As an example, Gịnị gbara ajị? ("What has hairs?") belongs to the first of these subdivisions:

Gịnị gbara ajị?	What has hairs?
Gbara ajị!	Has hairs!
Oke gbara ajị,	Rat has hairs,
Gbara ajị!	Has hairs!
Eghu gbara ajị,	Goat has hairs,
Gbara ajị!	Has hairs!
Mbe gbara ajị,	Tortoise has hairs,
___ (Nkịtị).	___!(Silence).

This is a humorous game intended to evoke "Has hairs!" for a non-hairy animal, like a tortoise, lizard or a crocodile.

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1. Finnegan, 1970, p. 309.

A mistake may result in laughter, and sometimes in a friendly beating. At other times the defaulter will be carried shoulder-high and thrown into a nearby bush, and the song that accompanies this action serves to illustrate the second sub-group of game songs:

Tufuo nụ nwa mere arụ,
Orue echi a mụta ọzọ!

Throw away a child who committed a taboo,
Tomorrow we will get another!

Songs with instrumental accompaniment and dancing do not normally form part of the music of childhood per se, though children do of course sing and dance at more general social occasions.

7.3. Puberty

Vocal music associated with puberty includes Egwu mbubu which is sung by girls when one of their peers is undergoing cicatrisation. It serves to raise the morale of the girl in question and prevent the other girls who are kept at a distance while waiting their turn, from hearing any sounds of pain.

A typical example of vocal and instrumental music with dancing which is associated with puberty is Egwu udu ("Songs accompanied by the udu percussion vessel"). It is played during the "fattening" or confinement period during which girls are fed lavishly and are given instructions on the lives of married women. The themes range from love to satire. In songs the girls praise their parents for having given them a good home upbringing and for being

generous enough to initiate them into all the necessary puberty rites that will make them fully fledged women in their society. The beauty, virtue and industry of their would-be-husbands are also sung with pride. They also express their love and admiration for the high moral standards the members of their age group have maintained, while any of their peers who have shown moral laxity of any kind, especially by becoming pregnant before marriage (Ịtụ ime ọkwa, i.e. "Partridge pregnancy"), are mercilessly ridiculed.

7.4. Marriage

Purely vocal music associated with marriage is comparatively rare. On the other hand, Egwu e ji eti ahịa ("Music associated with the traditional marriage ceremonies") is a normal part of the marriage celebration and comprises songs, instrumental performance and dance. It is performed on the completion of the Ịnọ mgbede ("The premarital preparations and confinement of the bride-to-be") and marks the commencement of the Iti-ahịa ("Beating the market", i.e. the public appearance and announcement in the market that one is now a married women). This ceremony is the traditional wedding and after it the bride moves to her husband's home.

In this group, too, is the Ọkachamma dance, a ceremonial dance of maidens who have completed their transitional rites from puberty to marriage.

7.5. Death

Both vocal music per se as well as vocal and instrumental music with dancing occur freely and in variety in the various funeral ceremonies accorded individuals within the society. Funeral music as a whole is termed Egwu e ji akwa ozu, regardless of the variety of performance it embodies.

The main type of vocal music encountered in this category is Inine or Avụ ("Lament"), which is more fully treated in the next chapter. Egwu e ji ebu ozu ("Songs for bearing the corpse"), like the actual bearing of the corpse are today almost non-existent. Basden testified to the existence of this in the past, when it was customary to accompany ozu nwa Ada ("the corpse of an Ada") with song: "An Ada, i.e. a daughter being a native of one town married to a man in another town must be brought back to her original home for burial except if she has grown-up sons, in which case these will bury their mother in her own house or compound. I have often seen bearers conveying a corpse homewards in order to fulfil the last desire of their departed relative."[1] Eziagụ Al describes the episode of conveying the corpse of Agbo from Oru, the town of her husband, back to the town of her birth.

One special type of Egwu e ji akwa ozu deserves mention here. It is sung mainly by young men (Ụmụ ikorobịa), dressed in their loin cloths, carrying palm fronds and tree

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1. Basden, op.cit., p. 116.

branches, and running around the compound of the deceased. It has no special name, although it is sometimes referred to as Egwu ọgụ ("War song"), because it involves a mock battle in which the spirits that killed the deceased are attacked. The song is identified by the first line of its text: Kwenu na anyị abịala ("Shout that we have arrived"), and runs thus:

Kwenu na anyị abịala!
Anyị abịala!
Kwenu na ọ bụ a yị o!
Ọ bụ anyị o!
Hii!
Hoo!

Shout that we have arrived!
We have arrived!
Shout that it is us!
It is us!
Hii!
Hoo!

A typical scene of this Egwu ọgụ which occurred at Ezeudu's funeral is well described in Achebe's "Things Fall Apart" and it illuminates the account given above: "Ezeudu was a great man, and so all the clan was at his funeral. The ancient drums of death beat, guns and cannon were fired, and men dashed about in frenzy, cutting down every tree or animal they saw, jumping over walls and dancing on the roof. It was a warrior's funeral, and from morning till night warriors came and went in their age-grades."[1]

Music involving singing, instrumental performance and dancing, while in one sense the terminal of the individual's

1. Achebe, op.cit., p.84.

life cycle, tends however, to be associated with special classes of individuals. Thus for the burial of titled men and heroes, Abịa and Ufie music are the most common. Egbenu ọba music features in the funeral ceremonies of celebrated hunters. Women of high social status, especially those who took the Lọọlọ title - the women's equivalent of Ọzọ - also have special music played in their honour during their funeral: at Nimo in Awka, for example, it is the Odi music; while at Ngwa in Owerri, the Ukom and Ekereavụ drum music are performed. At Abatete in Idemili division, Egwu ogwe is played during the burial of a woman whose son had taken an Ọzọ title during her lifetime.

There is, of course, a lot of overlap in the association of specific music with various social functions. Most of the Egwu echichi ("Music connected with initiation and title-taking") also appear on funeral occasions. In Nanka in Awka division, Ọkpanga music, which was originally played to celebrate victories in inter-tribal or village battles and later on was performed during the burial of war heroes, is now performed at the burial of titled men. Egwu mmanwụ ("Masquerade music"), which acts as an entertainment during certain festivals, also occur during the burial ceremonies of elderly men.

8. Music in Society and in its Organization

The categorization of music associated with the society as a whole and with the details of social organization,

is perhaps even less clear cut than that associated with the individual's life cycle. For convenience of description it is possible to divide social music of this kind into six groups, albeit with considerable overlap and interchange of items within and between individual groups. These groups are then: recreational music, title-taking and other initiation music, festival and religious music, occupational music, war music, and finally miscellaneous satirical and other songs.

8.1. Egwu e ji egwuri egwu ("Recreational music")

Vocal music within this genre comprises minstrel songs and so-called "moonlight play songs". With the exception of Egwu ngedegwu ("Xylophone music"), which is purely instrumental, "moonlight play songs" are purely vocal and are dealt with in more detail in the next chapter.

Minstrelsy is a very old and popular Igbo vocal art - a gift from the ancestors of time immemorial. Its area of origin is difficult to establish, but most people would probably agree that no area has a better claim as the homeland of the pioneers, perfectors, and popularisers of this art than the "Olu" people of the Anambra division, and especially the Ọkụzụ, Nteje, Nando, Agụlụeri, Ugbene, Ukwulu and Achala. Nri and Awka helped in its dissemination to different parts of Igboland and probably beyond. Each singer makes music in his own style and uses different yet uniformly simple instrumental accompaniments with, in most cases, an almost purely rhythmic function. The most popular

of these percussive instruments are the Ekpiri (the bead rattle made from large pods of the ụkụ tree), the ogene mkpị naabọ (the double clapperless iron bell), the ụbọ-aka (the wooden or metal lamellaphone with gourd resonator), and the nkwọnkwọ (wooden clappers).

In Igbo, a minstrel's type of music is simply referred to by prefixing "Egwu" to the name of the singer, thus Egwu Nwoye nwa Ọkụzụ ("Nwoye of Ọkụzụ's music"), Egwu Obiligbo ("Obiligbo's music"), and Egwu 'Seven-seven' (the music of Christopher Asah of Enugwu Ukwu in Awka alias 'Seven-seven'). The type of song is further identified by the type of the principal instrument used in the accompaniment; hence the following: Egwu ekpiri ("Songs accompanied by a bead rattle"); Egwu une ("Songs accompanied by the musical bow"); Egwu ụbọ ("Songs accompanied by a lamellaphone"); Egwu ngedegwu ("Xylophone music). The most fascinating ngedegwu music the writer encountered during his field-work is called Ọdị ụtọ eju afọ ("Sweet but not able to fill the belly", i.e. it is so entertaining that one could not tire listening to it) which was played by a group of four Eziagu musicians with a blind minstrel, Chukwuago Ogu, as both the song leader and xylophone player.

Generally, two performers are sufficient to form a group comprising the solist (Ọgụ egwu), and his Okwe mgba ("He who sings the recurring phrases in the songs", i.e. the refrain). A third person who is a dancer plays an additional though optional role, for the performance is traditionally complete without him. Both the soloist and

his Okwe mgba play accompanying percussive instruments as they sing. The songs of the minstrels in general entertain, inform, satirize, observe and philosophise about the people, their ideas and actions, their beliefs and values. Minstrels were, and to a large extent are still today, purveyors of news and gossips in their local communities.

Instrumental music which entertains without necessarily being accompanied by either singing or dancing, includes: Egwu ngedegwu (Xylophone music), whose thrilling effect is more appreciated when it is played late at night; Egwu ikoro (Slit-drum music); Egwu ụbọ-aka (Lamellaphone music); and Egwu mgba ("Wrestling music performed on the xylophone").

Entertainment music combining vocal and instrumental performance with dance include: traditional dances per se, such as Etiliọgwụ, Ụbọ ọgazi, Nkpọkiti, and Ịgba Ogwurugwu. Nkwa Ụmụ-agbọghọ, a maiden's social dance from Afikpo in Anambra State, which in the past was performed to thrill and honour the heroes of wrestling contests, is also typical of this group. Girls also exploit the opportunity to charm eligible bachelors as suitors. Egwu mmanwụ (Masquerade music involving singing, dancing and other displays) is one of the principal forms of Igbo entertainment. On festive occasions, and on the burial ceremonies of important men, Iti mmanwụ is an important feature, and provides entertainment for the public in the form of songs and dances. Besides its entertainment role, the institution of mmanwụ serves two other important

functions - as an arm of government, especially in the past,[1] and as a corrective instrument.[2] Every masquerade is identified with a particular kind of music. Egwu is prefixed to the name of the masquerade to describe the specific music: thus Egwu ojiọnụ means the music associated with the Ojiọnụ ("He who has mouth", i.e. talks too much) masquerade; so also Egwu Achịkwụ is peculiar to the Achịkwụ night masquerade. Special mention should be made of the Umụhu war dance from Bende division in Imo state. Originally it served as a stimulant for warriors in the past or as a welcoming dance for heroes, but today it is performed only for social entertainment.

8.2. Egwu echichi ("Title taking and other initiatory music")

Various titles are taken in different parts of Igboland, and each title has its own specific music that is inseparable from it, either during the initiation of a new member or members, at the burial and funeral ceremonies of deceased members, or during other festivals and public occasions when initiated members are in attendance. As far as is known, almost all the music in this category consists of vocal music with instrumental performance and dancing as in Egwu Ọzọ ("Music associated with the Ọzọ institution") in which the Uhie or Ufie drum music, and the Ọdụ okike music played by the Ọzọ members with their elephant tusks is prominent. In parts of Mbano in Owerri, Okorobo, Okoroshi, Nwudebele and Ntụnala music feature

1. Supra, p. 36.

2. Carnochan and Iwuchukwu, 1963, pp. 99-100.

prominently during an accession to chieftaincy, and during the Ọzọ and Lọọlọ title taking ceremonies (Lọọlọ being the women's equivalent of the male Ọzọ title).

Special mention must be made of Amanwụlụ music which is associated with the Amanwụlụ title. In Agụlụ and Nimo towns, both in Awka division, the Amanwụlụ title is a prerequisite for other traditional titles which culminate in that of Ọzọ. Amanwụlụ music accompanies the procession which leads the neophyte from one shrine to another until he has visited all the necessary shrines connected with the ceremony.

Ọkọnkọ, Ekpe and Ọgboni music are important as examples of traditional music associated with secret societies. In addition, in Ngwa in Owerri, Mkpe music is played during the initiation of traditional priests. For any traditional priest to become an Eze mmụọ ("The priest of a shrine"), Ndị eze mmụọ (Other priests in the community) will provide him with his own idols and other Agwụ tools which form the core of the oracle which he consults for divination. The ceremony of equipping the new priest with these divination tools is called Ịnwụta Agwụ ("To catch or catching the Agwụ"). Mkpe music is played at this time, and derives its name from mkpe, a single membrane drum which is the sole instrument used in this ceremony, and which is played by one of the priests. To the accompaniment of this drumming, a soloist who is one of the priests sings: Nwa dibia la-agba aja ("The medicine man who is divining"). The chorus, who consist of the other priests, sings: E-ghe! e-ghe!

8.3. Egwu emume (Music connected with feasts, festivals, and religious worship)

Traditional feasts and festivals are so integrated with religious worship that all music connected with them is traditionally called Egwu emume. Though some festivals, such as Ọfala (The anniversary of a coronation), have political overtones, and others, such as the Ọnwa asatọ (The "Eighth month") of the Nri people, have social overtones in the sense that they serve a social function and generate a high degree of social cohesion within a community, nevertheless the religious aspects far outweigh both the political and social. Ọnwa asatọ is the most important Nri calendaric festival. Celebrated twelve days after the New Yam festival, Ọnwa asatọ has been wrongly described as the Ọfala of the Nri king because "it is primarily a sacrifice to ancestral spirits".[1] It lasts eight days and "the first six days are devoted to the offering of minor sacrifices. Everywhere, new altars of various shapes rise. Neglected idols are brought from their hiding places, cleaned up and made worthy resting places of the spirits who come into them to receive the offerings of the people..."[2] Thus once again feasts and festivals are invariably connected with community deities who, during the celebrations, are either invoked to grant prosperity and good harvests (as in the Ufejiọkụ festival), appealed to

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1. Nigeria Magazine (54), 1957, p. 287.

2. Ibid., p. 287.

to avert disputes, sickness and drought, or petitioned to increase fertility and life and ensure the general protection of the entire community (as during the Aja-ana festival in honour of the Goddess of Mother Earth). Examples of Egwu emume include: Okom music played during the Irinta festival in Mberi in Owerri; masquerade music which features in the Ikeji festival of the Aro; Egwu ọta and Ọkanga eze drum music which is an invariable part of the Ọfala festivals at Onitsha and Nri respectively; and Ike Nwọha music from Ngwa which is played in praise of the Nwoha god. Ivu and Eketensi deserve special mention.

Ivu is an ancestral ritual dance performed annually at Ututu in Arochukwu division in May, after the planting of yams. It is performed again during propitiatory sacrifices offered to the gods especially the Earth Goddess to ensure fruitful harvest, peace and happiness in the community. It is strongly believed that the neglect of this rite and dances associated with it would invoke the anger of the gods and the ancestors.

Eketensi ("Basket of poison") from Bende division in Imo state, "is a cult male dance during which the members claim to see and communicate with the dead. It is played after the planting season with the climax at the new yam festival when all reputed native doctors and other initiates of the cult are expected to display their art including black magic. To end the dance for the year, a dramatic battle is fought between the fully initiated members and the dead to drive the dead away from the land of the living."[1]

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1. Enem, 1975, p. 94.

8.4. Egwu e ji alụ ọlụ ("Occupational music")

In rural communities technological innovations are relatively restricted, manual labour is prominent, and such labour is occasionally accompanied with songs. These songs may be of the type that "every troublesome and laborious occupation useth for solace and recreation",[1] since they do not accompany the physical actions of the workers. For example, songs sung by wine tappers, or domestic songs sung by individual women while grinding tobacco, scrubbing floors of their huts, or knitting. Alternatively, they may be those songs "which on account of their rhythm and construction directly assist in the performance of the particular work with which they are associated".[2] In this group are cooperative songs to accompany work like the sawing of timber, the pounding of palm nuts from which palm oil and kernel are to be extracted, canoe-paddling songs, and gang songs which the truck-pushers sing. Both groups of songs come under purely vocal music, and in each case "the joint singing co-ordinates the action and leads the workers to feel and work as part of a co-operating group, not as separate individuals".[3] The extempore and ephemeral nature of these items is illustrated by this song sung by labourers sawing an iroko tree. It is called Ọjị nna m ("My father's iroko").

Ọjị nna m, ị yọ!

Ịya, ịya!

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1. Karpeles, 1973, pp. 61-62.

2. Ibid., p. 62.

3. Finnegan, 1970, p. 239.

Ọjị nna m, ị yọ!
Ịya, ịya!
Ọjị mee ngwa ngwa; chi ejie, chi ejie, chi ejie, chi ejie...!
Ịya! ... Ịya! ... Ịya! ... Ịya! ...
Aka m ị ga-ata anụ taa!
Aka m ị ga-ata anụ taa!

This may be translated literally as:

My father's iroko, you are welcome!
My father's iroko you are welcome!
Iroko please do quickly, the night is fast approaching;
O my hands, you'll chew meat today (in compensation for the bruises the palms have sustained).

The chorus "Ịya", echoes the sound of the saw as it draws up and down through the trunk of the iroko.

In addition to songs specifically associated with manual labour occupational music necessarily also includes music associated with occupational classes, such as hunters. However, Egwu nta ("Hunting songs") are fully discussed in the context of Igbo vocal music, the subject of the next chapter.

8.5. Egwu ọgụ ("War songs")

Before the effective occupation of Igboland by the British Government, there were periodic disputes among towns, especially in relation to land ownership. Songs associated with battles still abound. In actual fact these songs were not sung on the battle field, but were either sung during the period of preliminary preparation for a general attack, or at the end of the battle by the victorious

party. Sung before the battle, these songs were calculated to arouse warlike feeling among all able-bodied young men, and also to reinforce the military solidarity of a group. Those songs sung during the celebration of a victory were concerned with the glory of the occasion - touching on the events of the battle in retrospect. Every citizen shared the joy of victory by joining in the dance, although at intervals groups of songs associated with heroic deeds such as the Nkwa ike ("Strong dance") or the Ikoro dance, were played exclusively for dancing by the head hunters ("Ogbu ishi").

Examples of three war songs are given below: the first two are sung during the preparations for the fight, although they could equally be sung during the celebration of victory in reminiscence of the exploits on the battle field; the third song is sung exclusively by brave men. Each of the three songs is repeated over and over again.

(a) Enyi mba ("Elephant town", i.e. a town full of men each with the strength of an elephant). The warriors demonstrate how they, like the elephant, enyi, would trample their enemies to death.

Nzọgbu, nzọgbu! Trample, trample!
Enyi mba, enyi. Elephant town, elephant.

(b) Olee ndị nwe ndị a? ("Who are the owners or masters of those people?", i.e. their enemies).

Olee ndị nwe ndị a?
Anyị nwe ndị a, nwe ndị a, nwe ndị a; anyị nwe ndị a!

Who owns those people? (pointing to the direction of the enemies' camp);

We own those, own those, own those; we own those people.

(The chorus points to all the probable directions in which the enemies might be located.)

(c) Onye ụjọ e! ("Ah, a coward").

Onye ụjọ e!
Onye ụjọ abịala nga anyị na-aghu nkịta anya!
Onye ụjọ!

Ah, a coward!
Let a coward not come near where we are extracting the eyeballs of a dog. A coward (- a warning to you!).

Extracting the eyeballs of a live dog is a ghastly operation which a coward naturally cannot stand.

8.6. Egwu ikpe ("Satirical songs, songs of insult and mockery, and other songs of social control")

Like Egwu ọnwa ("Moonlight play songs") and Egwu nta ("Hunting songs"), Egwu ikpe are purely vocal music and as such are discussed in the next chapter under Igbo vocal music.

From the above analysis, a number of deductions may be made about Igbo traditional music. Firstly, we have ended up with three approaches to the categorization of music in terms of (a) Igbo concepts of music, (b) the life cycle, and (c) social organisation. The relationship between the three can be demonstrated by means of a simple matrix as in Table 1.[1] It can thus be seen that categorization through concept and social organisation (in spite

1. Infra, p.100.

of the fact that categories occasionally overlap, and sometimes partially merge) provides a comprehensive basis for grouping almost all types of Igbo music and for ascertaining its social function.

Secondly, Igbo musical types derive their names from different sources. Thus some are named from the principal instruments in the ensemble, as for example in Abịa, purely drum music which derives its name from the set of drums called Abịa (similarly Ufie drum music, and Egwu udu, songs accompanied by the udu percussion aerophone vessel). Some types get their names from the town from which the dance was learnt, as for example in Ịgba Ogwurugwu, a dance accompanied with drumming which originated from Ogwurugwu, in the Awka area. Proverbial sayings are sometimes transformed into the title for a dance as in "Etiliọgwụ?" ("Are the dancers dancing with any charms?"); the acrobatic display of the dancers in this case are so fantastic that people wonder whether magic is involved. Epekele sọ nkume ("Earthenware is afraid of stone"), a dance from Mbaise in Owerri area is another similar example.

Thirdly, music is one of the most dynamic unifying forces in Igbo cultural life. It cuts across social barriers, for everybody sings and dances: boys and girls, women and men (married and unmarried), paupers as well as the rich, commoners, nobles and kings. The significance of this point becomes clearer when it is realised that in Hausa society in Nigeria, according to Ames, "except for professional musicians and entertainers, married persons do not dance in public and it is considered shameful for them to

do so."[1] The existence of social barriers to participation in music among the Flathead Indians has been reported by Merriam:

> Music is also primarily an adult activity for the Flat. There are no children's songs extant today, and informants differ about whether such songs existed in the past. The literature on the Flathead is devoid of references to children's songs. Rather than singing songs specific to their age group, the children linger on the edges of adult music activity, sometimes taking active part in dancing for social occasions, but never singing with the established performance group.[2]

Fourthly, the analysis so far demonstrates how deeply music permeates almost all facets of Igbo traditional life as a truly "living" music. The breadth of usage of music can be seen from the variety of major musical types which accompany the celebration of all the rites de passage: birth, puberty, marriage, other forms of initiation, and death; as well as all feasts and political, religious and social ceremonies. Children's games are enhanced by musical accompaniments as are adult moonlight plays, wrestling matches and masquerade displays. Music is used therapeutically during Igbu ichi (Facial markings), Ịtụ mbubu (Cicatrisation of the body), and surgical operations such as Ịwa mgbọ (Extracting bullets from the body of a wounded warrior). Music serves ritualistic purposes not only during

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1. Ames, 1973, p. 258.

2. Merriam, 1967, p. 26.

the actual worship of the gods, but also at Igba afa (Divination).

Fifthly, the forum for music making in Igbo traditional society is not the 'Concert hall', or the 'Opera hall'; it is primarily in the open air arena - the market square, the town square, at the Obi Eze (the compound square in the king's palace), for in spite of the existence of indoor music making by singers of Ifo and minstrels, music making is principally a communal affair. Its attendance does not require advanced booking for no tickets are sold. Egwu, as can be inferred from the illustration of its concepts includes what we may term the "Paraphernalia" of Egwu - the audience, occasional supporting puppet theatre groups provided by masqueraders as in Ikorodo dance music from Nsukka and Igba Ogwurugwu dance from Akpugo in Orumba; costumes, banners and the total atmosphere of Egwu which is usually charged with applause, jeers, and the calls and whistles of the spectators. Performing groups may be hired in advance, or the performance may be spontaneously organised especially at weddings and wine drinking parties, or after wrestling contests. The time limit for a performance? This, generally, is never fixed; the usual attitude being: "If you are tired you retire". To the performing group, a valid judgement of an Egwu performance is contained in the saying that Ụra tọbha ụtọ, ekwobhe ya ekwo ("If sleep is enjoyable, the sleeper begins to snore", i.e. if the performance is good the performers will not mind continuing and the spectators will not tire in listening). Casual

visits by performing groups to members of the community are not ruled out, in fact, it is a measure of one's prestige and worth in the community if a band of performers calls on one uninvited. The audience is not a passive one: members of the audience react as they are moved by the performance. Some sit in their chairs nodding to the rhythm of the music, hence the expression Egwu bụ onye agbahụ n'ọkpa, o kwee n'isi ("Music is, if you cannot dance, you nod the rhythm"). If the standard of the performance is below's people's expectation, sympathetic individuals may simply shrug their shoulders and walk away, but those who cannot countenance the disgrace will jeer and hoot at the performing group. Such a performance is characterised as Ichu afa ("Besmirch one's name"). But if the performance is superb, people will encourage the musicians, shower praise names on the performers, and give generously to the group - money and other gifts. This demonstration of satisfaction is called Ịja egwu ("Praising the Egwu").

The marriage scene recorded by Achebe in his Things Fall Apart serves as an illuminating and therefore fitting closing comment on these attitudes:

> ... It was a great feast. As night fell, burning torches were set on wooden tripods and the young men raised a song. The elders sat in a big circle and the singers went round singing each man's praise as they came before him. They had something to say for every man. Some were great farmers, some were orators who spoke for the clan; Okonkwo was the greatest wrestler and warrior alive. When they had gone round the circle they settled down in the centre, and

Table 1.

		E G W U			
		Egwu a na-agụ sọ ọgụgụ	Egwu a na-agụ agụ na-etieti	Egwu a na-eti sọ otiti	Egwu a na-agụ agụ, na-etieti, na-agba agba
MUSIC IN THE LIFE CYCLE	Birth and Infancy	Egwu ọnụ nwa ; Egwu aji eku nwa;			Ịzụ ahịa nwa;
	Childhood	Egwu ụmụaka ji egwuri egwu; Ifo;			
	Puberty	Egwu mbubu;			Egwu udu;
	Marriage				Egwu e ji eti ahịa
	Death	Inine			Egwu e ji akwa ozu; Egwu mmanwụ; Egwu abịa, ufie[1]
MUSIC IN SOCIETY AND ITS ORGANISATION	Recreation/ Entertainment	Egwu ọnwa;	Minstrel songs;	Egwu ngedegwu/ ikoro/ụbọ -aka; Egwu mgba	Etilọgwụ; Ụbọ ọgazị; Nkpọkịtị; Ịgba Ogwurugwu; Egwu mmanwụ;
	Title-taking/ Initiation		Egwu mkpe;	Egwu ọdụ okike;	Egwu echichi - Egwu ọzọ/lọọlọ; Egwu ọkọnkọ/ekpe/ ogboni;
	Feasts/ Religion				Egwu emume; Egwu mmanwụ;
	Work/	Egwu e ji alụ ọlụ; Egwu nta;			
	War				Egwu ọgụ - nkwa ịke, ikoro;
	Satire Social Control	Egwu ikpe			

1. Reserved for certain individuals only, e.g. Heroes, Titled men, and Kings.

> girls came from the inner compound to dance. At first the bride was not among them. But when she finally appeared holding a cock in her right hand, a loud cheer rose from the crowd. All the other dancers made way for her. She presented the cock to the musicians and began to dance ... The musicians with their wood, clay and metal instruments went from song to song. And they were all gay. They sang the latest song in the village ... The night was already far spent when the guests rose to go ... They sang songs as they went, and on their way they paid short courtesy visits to prominent men like Okonkwo, before they finally left for their village. Okonkwo made a present of two cocks to them.[1]

Thus having established the concepts, the categories, and the uses of music, we concluded by discussing the overall function of music within the society.

9. The Role[2] of Music in Society

The occasions for music making in Igbo traditional society have been enumerated. To an observer who is foreign to Igbo cultural life, it would appear that music serves as mere entertainment on those occasions. But music performs other vital social functions besides those of entertainment

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1. Achebe, op.cit., pp. 82-83.

2. The word "role" as used in this context, combines the meaning of "uses" and "function": "uses" refers to the situation in which music is employed in human action; while "function" concerns the reasons for its employment and particularly the broad purposes which it serves. Vide Merriam, 1964, p. 210.

aesthetic enjoyment and the accompaniment to dances, as will be demonstrated below.

Egwu ọnwa ("Moonlight plays and dances"), Mgba (Wrestling), and Iti mmanwụ (Masquerade displays) are probably the most universal of the traditional recreational activities in Igboland, and form entertainments which bring people together not only from the same community, but also from neighbouring towns. Usually in an Egwu ọnwa session the different sexes are grouped and perform separately, but sometimes they interact. In wrestling competitions each group of competitors has its own Ekere mgba (Durmming for wrestling) in which the players, especially the flautist, call the praise-names of the competitors and encourage them to excel. The competitors observe certain wrestling ethics the most important of which is Ọdịka onye pụta mgba, ọdịka ya agbaa ya ("If a challenger comes out, another challenger of equal ability will come out"). This idea of grouping and regrouping the competitors to ensure justice and fair-play, together with the musically balanced performance by the ensemble of musicians, are effective means of unifying the community. Similarly, the role of the audience in applauding both the wrestlers and the instrumentalist, and the way the attendants at masquerades (Ụmụ ụkwụ mmanwụ) attach themselves to their performances, all infuse a sense of unity and oneness in the minds of the people. The attendance of mmanwụ or egwugwu (Masqueraders and masquerade displays) at funeral ceremonies is also more than an entertaining spectacle. Mmanwụ represent the ancestral spirits from the underworld, therefore,

their presence is the traditional way of dramatising the age-honoured Christian affirmation that "in the midst of life we are in death ..."[1] which more or less corresponds with Igbo belief that "the land of the living was not far removed from the domain of the ancestors. There was coming and going between them, especially at festivals and also when an old man died, because an old man was very close to the ancestors. A man's life from birth to death was a series of transition rites which brought him nearer and nearer to his ancestors."[2]

Instances abound to illustrate that in Igbo culture music functions also as a means of expressing emotions. Generally, it is in the text of songs that this is most strongly conveyed. Nwa enwe nne ("Motherless child"), a popular Igbo folktale song is a good example of the expression of emotion through songs. The words of the song portray the dejection and hopelessness of an orphan who, having performed all the domestic tasks from fetching water and firewood to cooking the food and washing the utensils, is nevertheless driven away when it is time to eat the food she has prepared.

E jebe nkụ	Une
A kpọba nwa enwe nne;	Une
E chube miri,	Une
A kpọba nwa enwe nne;	Une
E sibi nrị,	Une
A kpọba nwa enwe nne;	Une

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1. The Book of Common Prayer.

2. Achebe, op.cit., p. 85.

Ma e ribe nrị, Une
A chụpụ nwa enwe nne; Une
Nwa enwe nne, Une
A hụshiele m anya. Une
A hụshi anya, Une
A hụshi anya ka ọnwụ. Une

When it is time to fetch firewood,
The motherless child is called;
When it is time to fetch water,
The motherless child is called;
When it is time to cook food,
The motherless child is called;
But when the food is ready,
The motherless child is sent away;
Ah, the motherless child,
I have suffered beyond indignation,
Suffering!
Suffering which is more than death.[1]

Another somewhat extreme example in which a song offered people the freedom to express thoughts, ideas, and comments which could not be stated freely in normal speech, has been cited by M.M. Green. According to her, Afikpo women, in order to induce their peers to turn out in force to attend a trial, sang: "Women who will not come out in this place, let millipede go into her sex organ, let earth worm go into her sex organ."[2] Naturally, according to Igbo ethics nobody could say such obscenities to any woman on an ordinary occasion, but the song situation offered the Afikpo women the necessary immunity.

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1. Vide "The function of songs", infra, p. 173.

2. Green, 1947, p. 201.

Satirical songs and songs of insult, collectively called Egwu ikpe feature in the song repertoire. Women, minstrels, and gossipping masqueraders such as Ojiọnụ ("He who has mouth", i.e. is talkative), Icheoku ("Parrot"), and Onye kuru ("Who invited you", i.e. one who pries into both private and public affairs with impertinent curiosity) are the major singers of these types of song. In these songs names of persons are not generally mentioned, but symbolic references are so vividly and aptly used that the victims of the satire are easily identified. For the Igbo say in proverb that A tụọ inu nkịrịka nkata, onye tara ahụ amara ("If the proverb of a worn out basket is said, an emaciated person knows").

For example, at a drinking party, a drunkard who is not a wine tapper but who quarrels about the way the palm wine is being shared may be ridiculed indirectly in the following song:

> Ọ ṅụchaa o suchaa mpi kororo,
> ma ọ mahụ akụnye ete na nkwụ.
>
> He, who after emptying his cup of wine, beats the mpi kororo, but he does not know how to tie the climbing rope around the palm tree (how much more knowing how to tap wine).

The mpi is a drinking cup made from the horns of a cow or bush cow or buck; and kororo is onomatopoeic suggesting the sound of an empty mpi when beaten on the floor or ground. To beat the mpi on the ground in this fashion is a rude way of saying "I have emptied my cup, and I want more", a mark of selfishness and gluttony which does not escape the vehement criticism of the public.

Similarly, a self-willed chief who finds himself in a social and political impasse because of his obstinacy, can be satirised in the following song:

Ome ka ọ sọrọ ya
kọrọ ji n'ikpere ya,
kwee ya n'afọ ọnụ ya,
ya na ya huru.

A self-willed man
planted yams on his knees,
and staked them with his beard,
both himself and his yams stood still.

This group of songs entertain but more importantly, they function as effective means of negative sanction in the society.

A cultural group can use music as a means of cultural expression and as a means of self-identification. In Nigeria, during National days and festivals such as Independence Day and Christmas, it is a common practice especially in urban centres, for different ethnic groups to display some of their traditional songs and dances. When the Igbo, for example, perform on such occasions, they are imbued with a spirit of oneness, satisfied that they are participating in musical activities with which they are familiar, and which they value and cherish greatly. In this way their musical activities do not only entertain people, but they also provide the Igbo with what Merriam described as "a solidarity point"[1] around which they congregate for cultural expression and self-identification.

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1. Merriam, 1967, p. 26.

Music as well as musical instruments are used to validate people's social status and the status of social institutions. During the performance of traditional festivals such as Aja-ana (The worship of the Earth Goddess), and celebrations such as the Ọzọ title-taking, the coronation of a king, and Ọfala (The anniversary of the coronation which involves almost all the members of a particular town or community) there is music which is played for and danced to by special members of the community to show either their social rank or achievements. At Eziagụ, Ikoṛo music features prominently during the Aja-ana festival. As the music is played, heroes move into the arena to recount their respective exploits which range from the killing of large animals, such as leopards and elephants while hunting, to an outstanding record in head-hunting in the past, or to chivalrous accomplishments in battle. As they dance, the ọkwa ọja (the town flautist) calls them by their respective praise-names. Similarly, dancing to Abịa music and to Ite-odo (the Ohafia war dance) is the monopoly of the heroes, while dancing to Ekpe, Ọkọnkọ music is reserved for the initiated members of these societies.

Ọzọ title-holders also have their special music (Egwu Ọzọ). At every public cermony, Ọzọ members carry ọdụ enyi (elephant tusks) which are their special status symbol, and which they can use in playing their special Ọzọ music, as well as in sending messages to their members.

At Onitsha town the Obi (the king) presents a newly installed chief with a special bell among other

insignia, and "traditionally, when the chief is going anywhere or to a meeting of any kind, a little page-boy goes with him and carries this bell and the ringing of this bell tells the people that a big chief is passing by and that they should clear the way for him".[1] At Onitsha, too, the king as well as each of the Ndịchịe Ume[2] owns special drums called Egwu ọta which are exclusive to them. During the coronation and Ọfala ceremonies, each Ndịchịe is greeted with his special Egwu ọta music.

During the coronation of the Nri king, "the king is summoned to the templum to give audience to the visitors by striking a gong. He greets his visitors by beating a gong and all present clap their hands after each stroke."[3] In attendance at the same ceremony are the royal drummers called Ọkanga eze, and as they play the king's special music, "the king dances, attended by his dwarf, Adama[4] representatives and his sister who sings his praise. He (the king),[5] later dances to the Ufie music."[6]

Eziagụ A8, Anụ gburu bịa gbara nkwa ("Any animal that has killed, should come and dance") represents an extension to the animal world, of this man-evolved mechanism

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1. Mbanefo, 1972, p. 83.
2. Ndichie Ume are the six members of the Obi's cabinet in which the Obi is primus inter pares. They are the only class of Onitsha people who do not prostrate to the Obi.
3. Nigeria Magazine, 54 (1957), p. 286.
4. The Adama are the Nri arch-priests who control the king-making ceremonies and hold the royal regalia.
5. The words in brackets are mine.
6. Nigeria Magazine, op.cit., p. 288.

for validating social status.

Historical and social events are kept alive in the minds of people through the agency of songs. One instance will suffice. At Eziagụ, in Orumba, the death toll of the influenza epidemic in 1918 was so great that the few who survived it became objects of wonder and even today they are referred to as "Atụ Chukwu mara" ("Wonderful signs left by God"). Chukwuagọ Ọgụ, an Eziagu blind minstrel, still recounts this devastating epidemic in his songs.

Some Igbo festivals provide a means for reckoning the Igbo calendar. Thus the first day of Ikeji (the Aro yam festival), commonly called Orie egbugbu ("Orie of killing sacrificial animals"), is the first day of the Aro year. The Igbo year begins in February, and different areas mark the beginning of the year with different festivals. Ezira begins it with Ihe Eke festival; Eziagu with Ọkụka ọkọchị feast. The Ite ajụ feast at Eziagu takes place in the fifth month (Onwa ise). The social significance of this new yam feast is that after its celebration the chief priest of Aja-ana (The Earth Goddess) will not eat old yams in any form until the following year.

The ritualistic use of music is evident during the worship of the gods, at the initiation of traditional priests, and during Ịgba afa (Divination). At certain times in the procedure of Ịgba afa, Basden reported, "a drum (egede agwụ) is beaten and a rattle (ekpili) is shaken".[1]

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1. Basden, op.cit., p. 51.

Igbo traditional music evolved through the process of oral transmission. By constantly performing their music during "moonlight play" sessions, wrestling matches, festivals, and ceremonies, the Igbo give continuity to their music, thereby preserving their culture by linking the present with the past. This in turn promotes the enculturative role of music as a means of studying the culture of the people. In these two capacities, therefore, music contributes to the continuity and stability of Igbo culture.

In summary, we have seen that music features in almost all Igbo cultural activities. Besides its entertainment and aesthetic values, music in some contexts may be either a means of infusing a sense of unity and oneness in the minds of the people, or of expressing emotions or throughts and ideas, and comments which cannot be stated boldly in normal speech. Music functions as a vehicle of social control and integration, and as a means of validating social status and institutions, and finally, as an agent of continuity and stability.

10. Cultural Influences

It has been noted in the last chapter that the Igbo did not live an isolated life.[1] Pursuit of trade, and specialised occupations by ritual specialists (especially the Nri people), medicine men and craftsmen (Nteje, Ụmụdioka and Awka people among others), as well as visits to oracles in different places in the country, were incentives for people to travel far and wide and within and beyond the confines of Igboland.[2] It is relevant therefore at this juncture to establish that Igbo traditional music and musical practices were (and are still) significantly affected by these cultural exchanges between the Igbo and their neighbours, and between the Igbos themselves, before the advent of the cultural forces of Christianity (27 July, 1857), Western education (Monday 15 November, 1858), and later Colonialism (1900): forces which accentuated and promoted rather than inaugurated this cultural traffic.

Christianity penetrated Igboland through Onitsha, a town about 26 miles from Awka town; and if around 1899 "Awka was the furthest limit of white penetration on the Eastern side of the Niger", as Basden testified,[3] then it is probably safe to suggest that about 1857 the traditional

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1. Supra, p. 27.
2. Vide the section: "Occupations", supra, p. 31.
3. Basden, 1927, p. 61.

music and musical practices of at least the Igbo on the Eastern side of the Niger in general, and the Orumba people in particular (especially the survey towns of Eziagụ, Isulo, Ezira and Ogbunka) were typically Igbo. These practices were for the most part those contained in the categories and types of music discussed in Chapter Three. So also were Court music and musicians, whose survivors can be seen in some towns today which have maintained a long tradition of kingship. Egwu ọta or Egwu eze (The royal drums of the Obi of Onitsha), and the Ọkanga eze (The royal drummers of the Nri king) are examples.[1] Ames has also drawn our attention to Obimo in Nsukka where "special music was performed for the king of Obimo by non-professional musicians - farmers on special gongs and drums".[2] Echezọna also attested that the Eze Opi (The king of Opi in Nsukka) "owns and conducted his own orchestra".[3] Nevertheless, external influences especially in the sphere of borrowing of musical instruments which were used for purely traditional folk music probably pre-dated this period.

It has been strongly postulated that the loose-key xylophone which is used extensively among the Igbo, and also among the Tiv, a semi-Bantu people of Nigeria, diffused into the society during the Bantu migration through the Congo (now Zaire) via the Cameroon.[4] The same theory of

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1. Supra, p. 108.
2. Ames, 1973, p. 254.
3. Echezọna, 1963, p. 14.
4. Jones, 1960.

diffusion might also account for the existence of the slit-drum and the lamellaphone throughout Igboland. However, these three instruments have been so deeply integrated into Igbo cultural life that the people have come to accept them as indigenous instruments.

Within the Igbo culture areas, borrowing of music and musical instruments had been a long standing practice on an extensive scale. Egwu Udoka (Udoka age-grade music) in Ezira, led by Nwankwo Nlebhe,[1] was learnt from Umunze a neighbouring town. The people of Umunze in their turn learnt the Egbenu ọba dance (special music for celebrated hunters) from their neighbour Uga. The Etiliọgwụ dance, the author was told during his field-work, migrated from Igboadagbe, a riverine town in Anambra area, although Okonkwo claims that it originated from Udi.[2] Egwu ekpiri (minstrel songs accompanied with bead rattle made from the large pods of the ụkụ tree), which originated from Oru and Anambra areas with Nwoye Azodo of Ọkụzụ as one of its earliest and chief exponents, has been popularized by many singers from different parts of Igboland. The same applies to Egwu ogene, another form of minstrel songs accompanied with the clapperless iron bell, which is typical of Awka and Nri style of minstrelsy. Both

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1. Nwankwo Nlebhe is a native of Eziagụ but his mother comes from Ezira where he grew up. When it was divined that he should be the priest of the Ezeagụ shrine, one of the shrines at Eziagu, he stopped schooling and came back to his town to serve Ezeagụ, but he still leads the Udoka vocal group at Ezira.

2. Okonkwo 1965, p.148.

Egwu ekpiri and Egwu ogene are still in vogue in many towns in Anambra state today. The Igba eze dance, played by Nanka people in Awka division in the days of old, was learnt from Nando, a riverine town reputed for singing and dancing. Most of these dances change role, style of performance, and sometimes their names as they migrate. A few instances will suffice.

Ufie music which is danced during Ọfala and the funerals of titled men and heroes in Nri and other towns in Igboland, has changed its role at Onitsha. Nzegwu reported: "The Ufie, a band consisting only of drums, is also traditional. They are not used for dancing, but serve only to awaken the Obi and the town in the morning."[1]

Owu music, played by Mberi people during Owu (a yam harvest festival) was learnt from their neighbouring town Orodo, and the people of Orodo who learnt it earlier from the Oguta people. At Oguta, this Owu music was associated with the worship of the sea god. At Eziagu, a blind minstrel, Chukwuago Ogu, learnt xylophone music from Nicholas Onyeje who earlier brought it from Ogbunka. In its original form, the music was Ekere mgba (wrestling music), but as wrestling fell into disfavour as a pastime in Eziagu, Chukwuago transformed his Ekere mgba music into music purely for entertainment with a new name: "Ọdị ụtọ eju afọ" ("Sweet but not able to fill the belly", i.e. it is so entertaining that one could not tire listening to it).

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1. Nzekwu, 1956, p. 217.

Customs and cultural institutions were also borrowed during this period. Two notable examples were the Mmanwụ (Masquerade) and Ọzọ title-taking. Mmanwụ spread to different parts of Igboland and probably beyond from the Anaocha area. Speaking about masquerades in Onitsha, Nzegwu maintained that "the masquerades are mostly copied from neighbouring towns after the establishment of the new settlement".[1] Ijere masquerade, the most dignified and prestigious masquerade in Igboland, hails from Oru and Anambra areas.[2] Some towns, such as Enugwukwu, have imitations. Another Mmanwụ tradition, known as Ekwulu Igbokwe, was believed to be introduced to Egbeme Ozubulu in about 1840 by Okonkwo Ogbuchi "an Arochukwu immigrant whose home can still be traced and whose descendants are alive".[2] And from Ozubulu this tradition of masquerade spread all over the Nwaezenogwu area which stretches between the basins of the Urasi and Njaba rivers to the north and south, and between the towns of Olu in Anambra State and Abo in Bendel state to the east and west. "From the 1880s to the early decades of the twentieth century, mmọnwụ theatres were established all over such towns as Ukpo, Lilu, Ihembosi, Ihiala, Ihitenansa, Ugwuta, Akuma and others. Groups acquired their theatres either from the original Ekwuru Igbokwe in Egbema Ozubulu or from any other Ekwuru derived from it."[3]

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1. Eziagụ A32: Appendix A1 song 12.
2. Nnabuenyi Ugonna, 1974, p. 24.
3. Ibid., p. 25.

The Ọzọ title was an innovation of the Nri people, whose priests were instrumental in its spread throughout Igboland and beyond. The spread of Nri priestly influence in Igboland is proverbial:

> Everywhere, they had duties to perform. These, they claim, include assisting at the coronation ceremonies of the kings of Ihala, Ogwashi, Aguleri, Asaba, Aboh, Onitsha, Idah and Binin. They were consulted in time of poor crops, they held ceremonies to purify towns and they spread their title system the Ọzọ, far and wide. They were always present at title-taking ceremonies and they provide the ankle cords worn by title men.[1]

It is evident that both these institutions and ceremonies migrated simultaneously with the music and musical instruments associated with them.

Three Yoruba communities, Ukunzu, Ugbodu and Uburubu, who call their language and themselves Olukumi ("My friend") and who exist in the heart of Asaba division in Western Igbo, were discovered by H.U. Beier. They provide us with a classic example of cultural contact approaching almost complete assimilation. The degree to which these people absorbed the customs and social organisation of the surrounding Igbo villages was remarkable. H.U. Beier testified: "Of their original Yoruba culture the Olukumi have retained little, but they have become assimilated to the Ibo towns around them. Ibo is spoken

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1. Nigeria Magazine, No. 54, 1957, p. 280.

as the second language and the customs and institutions show mixture of Ibo and Benin influences that is so characteristic of Asaba division."[1] Beier further maintained that "there are numerous Ibo cults like Ikenga (the shrine of a man's right hand; representing his strength and his luck) and Onitsha Akodi, a cult introduced from east of the Niger".[2] Of the musical scene of this area, Beier affirmed that:

> ... The music and dancing seen in Ukunzu were completely Ibo in character. Prominent instruments were a horn made out of the neck of a calabash which is covered with pig's leather, and drums made out of round clay pots and beaten with a piece of leather. Both are Ibo instruments. The dancing too was in perfect Ibo style and one dancing group, the Otu Abuda, actually told us that they learned the dance in the Ibo town of Issele Uku.[3]

From the foregoing exposition it is suggested that before Western cultures impinged on the society, the maximum impact of Igbo traditional music was felt in all aspects of the people's life. Any African traditional instruments which were borrowed from neighbouring towns had been fully integrated into the culture, and within Igbo culture areas there had been extensive borrowing of music, musical instruments, and other cultural institutions and practices. The people found in their music an

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1. Beier, 1958, p. 238.
2. Ibid., p. 251.
3. Loc. cit.

indispensible vehicle for worshipping their gods, a meaningful mechanism for sustaining and edifying their traditional institutions, and consequently they practised it with singleness of mind observing strictly almost all the conventions related to the sphere of musical practices according to the Igbo cultural ethos.

10.1. The Early Christian era (1857 - 1900)

It is important to note that Igbo traditional music did not escape the influence of Western civilization through the agencies of Christianity, education and government. The first two factors appeared almost at the same time, and exercised tremendous influence in the society for over four decades before the inception of British Rule.

Missionary activities started in Igboland on July 27, 1857, the day that the Church Missionary Society (C.M.S.) had its first open air church service at Onitsha. Initially the missionaries were preoccupied with evangelism, but in the following year, convinced that Western education would be an effective means of "elevating" the Africans, and also seeing that the educated ones would be reliable allies in the battle against paganism,[1] the C.M.S. on Monday 15 November, 1858 opened the first day school of Onitsha. Music was included in the basic curriculum. And as a means of attracting more pupils, the children were

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1. Townsend, 1889, p. 6.

made to march round the various sections of Onitsha town singing the Igbo translation of this song:

> Children this is quite delighting,
> Schools are open all around,
> Where they teach the art of writing,
> And of reading which is sound,
> Come to school then,
> Let none in the streets be found.[1]

Ekechi reported that "this strategy impressed some of the local spectators and led to an increase in school enrolment. By 1864 the total enrolment for the day school was fifty and the night school seventy."[2]

We have seen that traditional religion and Omenani are the hubs on which Igbo social, political and cultural lives revolve,[3] and that it is the strength of Igbo music that it is deeply integrated into the social life of the people. These areas were the targets of the early missionaries. They, with the support of their converts who saw Christianity as a religion of salvation (salvation from the brutal murder of twin babies, salvation from social servitude and slavery, salvation from frequent and expensive sacrifice and traditional burial rites), banned all traditional "religious rites and manifestations, including the dance and music", and encouraged the converts "to dispose of any art works which had been used in religious

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1. C.M.S.: CA3/037, Taylor's Journal, 29 December, 1863.
2. Ekechi, 1972, p. 25.
3. Supra, p. 55.

rites". In practical terms, 'any art work' included aṛụsi (idols) and invariably musical instruments. Thus the destruction of idols went hand in hand with the destruction of all musical instruments with which those idols were worshipped. Consequently, almost all types of traditional 'sacred' music suffered. Masquerade dances and displays, which were and still are one of the healthy and cherished sports, were discouraged. Christians should not participate in them for they were heathen and devilish. Hymns (Ukwe, abụ), in the main excerpts from English hymnals, were translated into the vernacular for use in church worship.

Around the 1880s the blaze of Christian evangelism had raged with significant effect for nearly half a century in Igboland but educational work dwindled partly because of lack of trained personnel, but mainly "due to the fact that the Ibo people themselves had no incentive, at this time to welcome European education for their children. Their society provided amply for moral and vocational training of the young and they had no reason for seeking European-type of skills until these skills became saleable. This was not the case until the beginning of colonial rule."[1]

10.2. The Colonial period (1900 - 1960)

The Colonial era is known as Enu Bekee (The regime of Bekee, i.e. Whiteman). During this period, two institutions operating simultaneously but independently

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1. Isichie, 1970, pp. 105-106.

influenced Igbo music in varying degrees: the missionaries, directly and consciously, through Christianity and mission education; the colonial government, indirectly and unconsciously, through its educational policy, development of towns and construction of roads, introduction of Western technology, and establishment of both military and police bands which in addition to their official functions provided the civil servants and military and police officers with recreational music.

Basden observed that "these are days when gramophones and records are being imported in ever-increasing quantities, and the modern and foreign form of concert is now coming largely into favour. With their inherent instinct for music, the young Ibo people quickly master the latest ditty. They are also adepts at making some sort of music from the instruments they are able to purchase."[1] But he regretted that "little, if any attempt has been made to bring into service any of the native tunes". This lamentation was re-echoed by K.C. Murray about the state of art generally and music in particular: "the younger generation who have been to school are unfortunately mostly ignorant ... of their local traditions and history, and fail to appreciate ... African art. The old religious carvings are gone or are disappearing ... No study is being made of Nigerian music, and it is neglected in schools."[2]

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1. Basden, 1966, p. 363.

2. Fasuyi, 1973, p. 23.

Two main reasons might be given for this deplorable state of affairs. First, "the chief function of the government primary and secondary schools ... is to train more promising boys from the village schools as teachers of those schools, as clerks for the local native courts and as interpreters ..."[1] and not to promote the culture of the people. To do so would be tantamount to interfering in the religious and cultural affairs of the people - an endeavour which was contrary to the avowed policy of the colonial masters. To the missionaries, "schools and teachers go with the gospel. You can't have one without the other."[2] Therefore, it was not surprising that the mission teachers both native and foreign, excluded traditional folk tunes and dances from the curriculum because as they wrongly thought, they "are associated with undesirable words and topics which render them unsuitable for church or other general public use ..."[3] Consequently, Western hymns, anthems, canticles, and chants, Negro Spirituals (through the influence of the early West Indies mission teachers), choruses and carols were introduced in schools and teacher training colleges. While ukwe, Igbo translations of the textual excerpts from various "revivalist hymns of Britain and America of the last two centuries, or

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1. Nduka, 1965.

2. Miller, 1946, p. 134.

3. Basden, op.cit., p. 363.

the various old and new settings of the Latin chants of the Mass",[1] sung to European tunes especially those from Sankey and Barnby, generally featured prominently in the Christian church worship.

Since Igbo is a tonal language (the meaning of the words depending very largely upon their inflections and pitch), the imposition of European tunes which disregarded the language tones sadly resulted in gross distortions of the meanings of the words, which in turn rendered the hymns completely meaningless. Parrinder castigated this practice: "unfortunately the hymns and canticles have been translated or rather translitered, into the different African languages without any attempt being made at finding a poetic or musical form native to the language in question. The hymns of Wesley and Whittier have been turned almost word for word into Yoruba, Twi, Baoule, and a hundred other tongues. They have been sung to the tunes of Sankey, Barnby, and the rest, which have no kinship with traditional African music. And the tragic result has been that these hymns are utter nonsense."[2] But as time went on, and as more Nigerian academic musicians were trained, "in order to remedy this anomaly, Nigerian church musicians began to compose hymns whose melodies were in agreement with the inherent tonal patterns of the texts".[3]

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1. Parrinder, 1957, p. 37.

2. Ibid.

3. Euba, 1977 , p. 14.

Native Airs and Anthems based on folk tunes swell the repertoire of church music while accompanying songs with traditional instruments and dancing during church worship at special ecclesiastical feasts and harvest thanksgiving services became accepted musical practice in the act of Anglican church worship. Parrinder observed that even non-orthodox mission churches variously called 'Seraphim and Cherubin', 'Apostolic', etc. "tend more easily to revert to indigenous forms of music. Some of them do still use the hymn book of the mother church from which they broke away, but increasingly they use compositions by their own organists. 'The African Church (Incorporated) of Nigeria has its own book of some two hundred hymns of local composition."[1]

However, it is to the lasting credit of the missionaries, especially the Church Missionary Society, that they introduced music in their earliest primary school, and gradually made the teaching of music courses formal in their secondary schools and teacher training colleges, an effort which eventually produced pioneer musicians such as W.W.C. Echezona, Harcourt Whyte and David Okongwu.

During this period, too, "many of the villages now boast of a band composed of fifties, cornets and other instruments".[2] These bands were used for morning marching parades before the morning assemblies, during Empire Days,

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1. Parrinder, op.cit., pp. 37-38.

2. Basden, op.cit., p. 363.

and C.M.S. Anniversary celebrations, for cheering the atmosphere during sports and football matches. They were also played at Christian weddings and funerals. For morning assemblies in schools and colleges and for actual church worship, the harmonium reigned supreme, being occasionally supported by the accordion, and later by the pianoforte.

The creation and development of urban areas was the work of the colonial government. The influx of a heterogeneous population, who had abandoned their village life style, favoured Western recreational music more than its traditional counterpart because, among other things, the former was not socially bound to any traditional institutions and as such could be easily adapted to suit individual tastes. In 1961 Bob Ogbuagu observed that "culturally, Enugu has little to offer. It is a conglomeration of the cultures of many settling tribal groups. The culture of the original owners of the land has very little, if any, impact on the community of Enugu."[1] With little modifications his observation is typical of the state of affairs in other townships in Igboland at that time.

In addition to being free from traditional conventions, Western recreational music (and all popular music for that matter) tends to be transient. The form and style may persist for only a short time and may disappear as soon as new forms are introduced. Changes and innovations

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1. Ogbuagu, 1961, p. 248.

are introduced at will by outside influences as well as individuals within the society. The popularity and growth of night clubs and ballroom dances created the demand for more Western dances, such as waltzes, quick-steps, the tango and so on, which were provided initially by the Army and Police bands to the enjoyment of European government officials who were the patrons of these early recreational institutions. Through the use of the gramophones and records and the school bands, some of these European dances gradually penetrated the rural areas. With the admission of a few African elite into these European-owned clubs, and with the establishment of the counterparts of such clubs by some African businessmen to cater for the interest of the mixed cultural groups, a need arose for varied musical offerings. Hence the introduction of African-derived music such as Jazz, Calypso, and Latin-American dances along with Western-influenced traditional dances, such as the Juju-music of the Yoruba, and the Highlife. Privately owned indigenous bands also gradually sprang up, being established by some of the band-boys who played in school bands during their school days.

The compromise between Western music and African traditional forms was also reflected in the instrumental ensemble of the dance bands that played this popular music, and the texts of the songs sung. Western instruments such as the guitar, the pianoforte, brass and woodwind instruments, bells, tambourines and other western dance band instruments were used together with traditional drums and

idiophones. The Highlife, for example, was sung not only in 'pidgin' English, but also in different Nigerian languages - Igbo, Hausa, Yoruba and Efik. The themes of these songs were and are still similar to those of the traditional songs: love, death, praise, satire, topical and philosophical. Western harmony dominated the tonality while rhythm was and still is hybrid: an amalgam of Western and African patterns.

The government, through the establishment of the radio, and television stations and by the importation of commercial gramophones and records encouraged the growth of more popular bands and made the dissemination of music to all corners of the country possible, easier and quicker. Broadcasting stations encouraged the emergence of a new breed of traditional artist - musicians of all classes whose products fed the broadcasting programmes. However, these technological media are, to a large extent, responsible for the considerable decline in spontaneous music-making in the villages and for the commercialization of traditional music.

Another agency, quasi-governmental in nature, which made a significant contribution to the promotion of performing and aesthetic arts was the British Council. Although it sought principally "to ensure that the best of British drama, music and the visual arts is displayed overseas at the most effective place and time", it was also the agency that initiated the idea of a Nigerian Festival of the Arts in 1949 to enable Nigerian artists, musicians,

dancers and craftsmen to display their art to the public as an annual event".[1] Today, the Nigerian Festival of the Arts is a virile force in promoting traditional cultures both at the State and National levels.

However, in spite of the government's attempt at urbanization, Igbo society is basically agrarian and therefore rural; hence there are many people who are unaffected by an urban life style. There are also those who seem to have no desire to embrace Christianity or to acquire western education; they hold tenaciously to the tenets of traditional religion and customs, and guard jealously all the essential musical practices that support these cultural elements.

Furthermore, improved means of communication, a higher degree of social security and commercial incentives among other factors, have promoted more frequent and closer culture contacts between the Igbo and other tribes in the country and also with the outside world at large. Consequently, a greater borrowing of material and cultural elements is encouraged. For example, in more recent years, institutions such as the Ogboni cult infiltrated into Igboland from Yorubaland. So also are various types of the so-called 'African Churches'.[2] Similarly, Ofala festival

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1. "What is the British Council?", The British Council Annual Report 1965-66, London, p. 15.

2. For a detailed account of these 'African Churches', vide: Iwuagwu, 1971; "Cherubin and Seraphim", Nigeria Magazine, No. 53, 1957, pp. 119-134.

continued to circulate within the country. Commenting on the Ọfala festival which he stated originated in Igala division, Marius Nkwo pointed out that Ọfala was "the principal festival of all the Ibos around Onitsha. These places included Anambra, the Niger Ibos of Atani, Ogbaru, Osumari, Odekpe, Ndoni and Abo. Even towns farther in, like Asaba division and Olu in Igara division had Ọfala as their premier festival."[1] This Ọfala festival, J.O. Nzekwu testified, was introduced into Aguleri from Onitsha in 1912 by king Joseph Idigo II.[2] Chieftaincy is now a popular traditional affair among the Igbo and every chief tries to organise his own yearly Ọfala festival.

At the end of the second world war, the Nigerian soldiers who served in the army in different parts of the Commonwealth brought back many new songs and a new vocabulary, among other cultural innovations. W.J. Griffith reported that "the soldiers (during the second world war) brought back many new words and songs from the Army" -

"A-banna killer me die-oh!

and

"Male male male sodjer deidei
Male male male polis bansa."[3]

Ekpe music was borrowed from the Ibibio; Sakara music and musical instruments from the Yoruba; and

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1. For detailed information on the Ọfala festival, vide: Nkwo, 1974, pp. 3-15.

2. Nzekwu, 1960, p. 81.

3. Griffith, 1951, p. 93.

the Akara dance from Ghana (formerly Gold Coast). Harcourt Whyte gives an impressive account of one of such musical borrowings which is worth quoting in extenso:

> In the early part of the twentieth century, about 1915 or a little later, a type of music came from Gold Coast to the Rivers Province in Nigeria. It was known as the Asiko. It was brought by the ships' crews, and passed over to their comrades working on the beach. Within a short time, the natives started to copy the music of the strangers, and about three years afterwards the music became general among all who live along the coast. About 1920, the music changed into what was known as the Ijaw and was sung and danced for many years by the people of the Rivers Province. About 1940, the music passed northward through Southern Nigeria, where it changed from Ijaw to Okombo and from Okombo to Abaina, and as it changed, the singing and dancing changed with it. Now the difference between the Abaina and the Asiko is so great that if the ships' crews who brought it to the Rivers Province heard it, they would not recognise it as Asiko.[1]

10.3. The Post-Independence era (1960 to the present)

Music and Igbo society in Post-Independence Nigeria is a major study on its own which cannot be treated adequately in a section of a chapter. However, for the sake of completeness, a few indications of its trends serve as a fitting epilogue to this chapter.

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1. Whyte, 1953, p. 185.

Three phases are discernible, each corresponding to the different political, social, and cultural vicissitudes which the Igbo experienced: 1960 to July 1967; July 1967 to January 1970; and January 1970 to the present.

(a) Phase I: 1960 - July 1967.

Generally throughout the first phase which covered the attainment of Independence and the beginning of the civil war, the urge to revive and promote Igbo musical practices as a means of asserting nationhood was strong. Hence traditional songs and dances of all kind became a feature of a popular radio programme entitled "Our kind of music". The television house varied and intensified its live performance of folk drama to the delight of the people. The music of the "Classical masters" were not neglected because "Concert Hour", a two-hour music programme of these classics was a Sunday afternoon favourite. Regional and National Festivals of the Arts also were great incentives to people to become deeply involved in this cultural rebirth and evidence of this is seen in the performance of stereotyped dances such as the Nkpọkiti and Etiliọgwụ.

The court music and orchestras of the kings such as those of the Nri, Onitsha and Nsukka mentioned earlier, which had been essential elements of the traditional political organisation, were adapted to play a new role in electioneering campaigns. Ames reports: "Ikorodu bands played with an ensemble of calabash horns, are especially popular in the villages of Obimo, and can be heard all the year round at second burials, public festivals and on the

occasion of a visit by a minister of state or some other important dignitary."[1] As an agent of political expression, political songs generally condemn colonialism in its varied forms, castigate rival political groups, satirise party renegades, extol the virtues and greatness of party leaders and propagate party ideologies. Party supporters and thugs were and are still the purveyors of these songs, which are spontaneously composed, sung unaccompanied because the singers want the words to reach the people, and orally transmitted to all nooks and corners of the electorate with the aid of microphones mounted on party vans. Every political gathering, formal and informal, offered a forum for singing these songs.

The establishment of the University of Nigeria, Nsukka, in 1960 with a College of Music (among other disciplines), which offers courses in both African and European music, produced for the first time in Nigerian educational history a new crop of academic musicians with bimusical training.

(b) Phase II: July 1967 - January 10, 1970

The Nigeria-Biafra war (July 1967 - January 10, 1970), which marks the second phase, created a cultural lacuna in Igbo traditional music. Ọfala and other primary calendric festivals which offered opportunities for large scale music making in the communities were suspended. All

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1. Ames, 1973, p. 255.

and sundry were preoccupied with the war effort. But two main types of music dominated the radio programme: Western military music; and music of the traditional war dances and songs. 'Finlandia' by Sibelius, which furnished the melody of the Biafran National Anthem, is an index of the tone and mood of songs in Igboland generally at that time of crisis and distress.

(c) Phase III: January 1970 to the present

Not much can be said yet about the third phase - the music in post-war Igbo society. But one clearly noticeable trend is that with the end of the civil war there has been a resurgence of almost all the Igbo traditional practices: Ọfala celebrations, age-grade and other societies, festivals of all kinds, dances and songs. In short, one can say that a new cultural consciousness and values have permeated the Igbo cultural life in general and its musical practices in particular.

CHAPTER THREE

TRADITIONAL VOCAL MUSIC

Igbo music has been discussed in general establishing its concepts, its categories and types, and its functions within the society. It was noted that in spite of the existence of a major group of music involving singing, instrumental performance and dancing, there is a separate category of purely vocal music confined to songs of which Ifo (songs which are integral to stories; and narrative songs) among other genres, is a major type. In this chapter this category of vocal music, with the exception of Ifo to which only passing reference will be made, is discussed in further detail. More detailed discussion of Ifo follows in the next and subsequent chapters.

Two questions are pertinent at this juncture: first, why was vocal music chosen as the basis for this study; and second, why was Ifo in particular chosen? In answer to the first question, in Igbo traditional society recited poetry is extremely rare, and almost all poetry exists either as the words of songs, hence the importance of vocal music per se, or in combination with instrumental music. No one denies the importance of instrumental music in African societies in general, but unfortunately it has in the past been over-emphasised at the expense of vocal music, and especially of unaccompanied songs. Merriam laments this gross misrepresentation: "... our Western preoccupation with drum and drumming in African music has led us to

undervalue the importance of unaccompanied songs ... which certainly constitute the largest body of African music ..."[1]

In answer to the second question, it should be pointed out that Ifo, as a genre based on folktales,[2] forms a distinct and homogeneous group of vocal music recognised as such by the people. Transmitted orally from the past to the present, and as an art form through which Igbo traditional values and mores find expression and validation, Ifo would appear to be one of the oldest forms of Igbo vocal music. And if we agree with M.J. Herskovits that "an important part of each culture is that aspect of their creative expression that is verbal",[3] the relevance of Ifo as an index of Igbo traditional culture is further enhanced.

Ifo is not restricted by the kind of performance situation which surrounds either ritual or some instrumental music. Therefore the field-worker is not required to obtain the permission of the community before recording it, and recordings are negotiated on a private basis between the field-worker and the individual singers in their homes. Ifo, being a night song, is less likely to be easily exposed to new influences than other categories of Egwu which are performed on various occasions during the day and which change by virtue of their association with different social and political institutions that are constantly enriched by new activities, rituals, songs and dances.[4] Furthermore

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1. Merriam, 1962, p. 120.

2. For an illustration of the types of Ifo , vide Figure p. 156.

3. Herskovits, 1958, p. 166.

4. Vide the section: "Cultural Influences", supra, p. 111.

as unaccompanied songs, the structure, form, and style of Ifo is in no way affected by the nature or technique of instrumental performance, and the role of individual instruments, as is the case in songs with instrumental accompaniment and dancing. All these make Ifo excellent material for studying the structure and style of Igbo vocal music.

Egwu a na-agụ sọ ọgụgụ ("Music that is sung", that is unaccompanied songs) comprises the following types discussed in the pages that follow: Egwu ọnụ nwa (Songs announcing, and songs rejoicing in the birth of a child), Egwu e ji eku nwa (Cradle songs and lullabies), Ịtụ avụ or ịma inine (Declaimed speech), Iti ugori (Ululation), Ikpọ ogbe (A form of very high pitched singing), Egwu ikpe (Satirical songs), and last but not least Egwu ọnwa (Moonlight play songs) which include Ifo itself, as well as Egwu e ji egwuri egwu (Game songs).

1. Egwu ọnụ nwa

This group of songs is sung mainly by women to announce the birth of a child and for general rejoicing in the birth. The announcer, who may be either a co-wife or a relative of the woman who gave birth, sings in a very high-pitched voice:

Kpara akwụkwọ ebenebe!
Eegho! eegho!
Kpara akwụkwọ ebenebe!
Eegho! eegho!
Pick the ebenebe[1] leaves!

1. Infra, p.442.

O yes! O yes!
Pick the ebenebe leaves!
O yes! O yes!

As soon as other women hear this song, they ask: Ọ mụrụ nwoke, shị ọ mụrụ nwaanyị? ("Did she deliver a boy or a girl?"). If the child is a boy, the response from the announcer is: Ọ mụrụ ọgba egbe ("She gave birth to a gun shooter"), or Ọ mụrụ ọchị ụta ("She delivered a bow and arrow carrier"), since guns, bows and arrows symbolize manhood. Should the child be a girl, the response is simply: Nwata nwaanyị bịara kanụ ("A girl has arrived"). As they congregate, they burst into spontaneous song in praise of Chi ọmụmụ ("Goddess of fertility") in which they recount the different benefits mothers gain from their children: gifts of clothes, shoes, and ornaments; and care in illness and old age.

Ngara ma nwa
Onye ga-enye m
Ngara ma nwa
Onye ga-enye m
Ọ bụrọ ma nwa
Onye ga-enye m
Abada ukwu
Onye ga-enye m
Akpụkpọ ụkwụ
Onye ga-enye m
Afọ na-egbu nne
Onye ga-enye m
Ọ kọrọnụ nwa
Onye ga-enye m
Isi a waba nne
Onye ga-enye m
Ọ kọrọnụ nwa
Onye ga-enye m.

But for my children
Who would have cared for me?
But for my children
Who would have cared for me?
But for my children
Who would have cared for me?
Abada cloth
Who would have cared for me?
Shoes
Who would have cared for me?
When mother has stomach trouble
Who would have cared for me?
She tells her children
Who would have cared for me?
When mother has headache
Who would have cared for me?
She tells her children
Who would have cared for me?

Egwu ọnụ nwa in general, besides praising the Goddess of fertility, "deal with the relationship between husband and wife, with the desirability of having children, with sexual matters in general, and are specifically women's songs". [1]

2. Egwu e ji eku nwa

These are cradle songs and lullabies - a group of "songs designed for children but primarily transmitted by adults". [2] In Igbo society, the responsibility of looking after a child is shared between the mother and a

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1. Green, op.cit., p. 842.
2. Finnegan, 1970, p. 229.

baby nurse, commonly called Nwa na-eku nwa, who is usually a girl between the ages of nine and fifteen. In the past, a baby nurse was chosen from one of the children who visited a woman during the Ọmụgwọ, that is the period of twenty-eight days after childbirth. One of the customary observations during that period, relate J. Carnochan and Belonwu Iwuchuku,[1] is that "coconut and nzu are kept in the room where the mother and child are living chiefly to attract small children who are supposed to be accompanied by the spirit of the new babe. The children thus attracted will undertake little errands for the mother, and from among them the woman will be able to choose a careful child to look after her babe when she is not on the spot." Mothers and baby nurses alike sing lullabies, as for example:

Opunisi tụrụ m nwata ụra ọma,
Ọ gbaa afọ, enye m gị ji mbana ọcha.

Fontanelle, send my child sound asleep,
When it is one year old, I will give you white mbana[2] yam.

They may also sing in order to make the child stop crying, as for example in:

Onye mere nwa na-ebe akwa?
Egbe mere nwa na-ebe akwa.
Wete ụzụza, wete anụnụ,
Wee tee ọgba gugororo ofe,
Ka ụmụ nnụnụ rachaa ya,
Ka ọkpọ otutu kpọgbue ha.

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1. Carnochan and Belonwu, 1963, p. 88.

2. Mbana yam (Dioscorea Dumentorum).

Who beat the child that is crying?
Kite beats the child that is crying.
Bring ụzụza, bring anụnụ,[1]
Prepare pepper soup that is watery,
So that birds may lick it
And hiccup to death (in revenge for the kite's wickedness).

During the period when a baby is learning to stand and to walk, the mother may place him at one end of the room while the baby nurse, with flowers or any other object with attractive colours in her hand, stands at the other end waving the flowers sings:

Dere nde!	Walk stealthily!
Dere nwata!	Walk stealthily, my child!
Nwata ejehu ije,	If the child does not walk,
Egbe evuru ya.	Kite will carry him away.

The text of lullabies and other cradle songs may contain simple appeals to the baby to sleep or to stop cyring, as we have indicated above, but sometimes they contain indirect comments on the position of either the baby nurse herself or the mother. An oppressed baby nurse from a very poor family, a mother neglected by her husband and hated by her co-wives, and a mother who suffers frequent losses of children by death will all reflect on their sad conditions in some of the cradle songs they sing. Other songs may also reflect the mother's delight in playing with her children. A single example of this kind of song will suffice. A baby-nurse who is fed only on pounded cassava, and denied better food which other children in the same

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1. Ụzụza and anụnụ are both peppery spices.

household eat, may reflect on this discriminatory treatment in the following sarcastic cradle song:

Anaghị mụ eri ji, o-gho-ogho!
Anaghị mụ eri ede, o-gho-ogho!
Ọ gwụna ngwugwu aparapa, na ngwugwu mgbaduga,
Ihe ndụ na-eku nwa dụ na-eri.

I don't eat yam, o-gho-ogho!
I don't eat cocoyam, o-gho-ogho!
It is only pounded cassava,[1]
That's what baby-nurses generally eat.

3. Ịtụ avụ (Ịma inine)

The use of 'declaimed speech' in the expression of various emotions is called Ịtụ avụ or Ịma inine. It may be an expression of joy and satisfaction for a feat performed, as is expected of a hunter who has killed any of the big animals such as a leopard, an elephant or a bush cow. Nwaokereke Menihu of Isulo, who was a celebrated hunter in his youth but is now a doctor of herbal medicine, vividly recollects one of his declamations during a hunting expedition on which he killed a bush cow. This was a feat which earned him the praise name "Ogbu anụ ukwu" ("The killer of big animal"). Calling on his brother Berford, Nwaokereke declaimed as follows:

Berford, egbue m anụ!
Berford, egbue m anụ!
Bịakwa lele m!

1. Aparapa and mgbanduga are virtually synonymous terms for cassava after it has been fermented.

baịkwa lele m!
Egbue m anụ gbara agada che nwa ya ara,
Mụ gbara agada gbue ya n'ọhịa.
"Ọgbata-agbata, ewete-ewete"
Ọkụ nshị-egbe takpọọrọ m ya anya!
Gbata-o! Gbata-o!
Shị egbue m anụ.

Berford, I have killed an animal!
Berford, I have killed an animal!
Come and see me!
Come and see me!
I have killed an animal which stood astride
while breast-feeding its young one,
And I stood astride and shot it in the bush.
He who runs to the scene of battle unarmed,[1]
Let the fire of gunpowder blast off his eyes.
Hurry up! Hurry up!
I have killed an animal.

Songs of jubilation celebrating hunting feats of this kind, are purely vocal and the inclusion of an example at this point is justified by the content rather than by the genre of vocal music which it represents. The song opens with the refrain, which is then followed by the various solo lines:

Eeghe, eeghe, Ndugbele!
Eeghe, eeghe, Ndugbele!
Ndụ gburu atụ bịa gbara Ndugbele;
Eeghe, eeghe, Ndugbele!
Ndụ gburu agụ, bịa gbara Ndugbele!

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1. Ọgbata-agbata, ewete-ewete typifies one who belongs to the socially recognised category of 'coward'. In traditional society, a 'brave man' is fully armed and ready for action when running to the scene of danger, but a 'coward' runs to the scene unequipped, only to retreat on the pretext that he is going to arm himself.

Eeghe , eeghe, Ndugbele!
Ndụ gburu enyi, bịa gbara Ndugbele!
Eeghe, eeghe, Ndugbele!
Ndụ gburu edi, ... bịa gbara Ndugbele!

Yes! Yes! Ndugbele dance!
Yes! Yes! Ndugbele dance!
Those who killed the bush-cow, come and do the Ndugbele dance
Those who killed the leopard, come and do the Ndugbele dance.
Those who killed the elephant, come and do the Ndugbele dance.
Those who killed the civet, come and do the Ndugbele dance.
(Other big animals such as the antelope ... are mentioned.)

Ịtụ avụ, in the context of hunting is called Akwa ọhịa ("Bush cry"). Ịtụ avụ may also take the form of "self-praise" which occurs often on title-taking occasions.[1] In this case, Ịtụ avụ is synonymous with Ịtụ ọnụ (boasting). In Agụlụ in Awka division, the man about to take the Amanwụlụ title - a prerequisite title for Ọzọ - is expected to perform Ịkpọ avụ Amanwụlụ ("Amanwụlụ declamation") during which he indulges in self-praise, recounting with pride his vast worldly experience, his impressive record of conduct, and the achievements which qualify him to take this title.

Ịtụ avụ may also take place during the intervals which punctuate dancing sessions especially on festive occasions. While the drummers and dancers are resting, the

1. For examples of Igbo praise poems, vide Egudu and Nwọga, 1971.

song leader, with all the airs of pomp and arrogance she can muster, strides into the arena to demonstrate her singing ability and power of improvisation by declaiming ạvụ. She begins by singing the praises of the members of her dancing group, calling their praise names one by one, and recounting some of their successful dancing tours, mentioning names of their hosts and praising their respective degrees of hospitality. Next, she turns her attention to the prominent personalities in the audience. With her hands akimbo, her head turned to one side over her shoulder, and swelling herself like a peacock, she strides to each one of them in turn; she calls each one of them by his praise name and recounts his achievements and exploits. In return for these praises, money (both coins and paper) is stuck on her forehead. One of the dancers who is her attendant, collects the money for it belongs to the whole dancing group. The art of Ịtụ ạvụ in a dance situation is called Ịma inine, and the art of giving money during Ịma inine is called "Ịja egwu" ("Praising Egwu", by giving gifts). Specialized dance steps with characteristic body movements that accompany Ịma inine, and which heighten to a frenzy when the singer acknowledges the gift is called Ịtụ ọna.[1] While the song leader is engaged in Ịtụ ọna and Ịma inine, members of her dancing group interject her praise names such as "Ogene" ("The clapperless iron bell", which refers to her beautiful voice); or "Ugo" ("Eagle", in praise of her nimbleness).

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1. Vide No.2; "The concept of Egwu", supra, p. 60.

Ịtụ avụ may also express sorrow and dejection, as in the case of death. During burial and funeral ceremonies avụ takes the form of a lament in which the eulogy of the dead is declaimed by professional avụ chanters. In Ọhụhụ near Ụmụahịa, M.M. Green witnessed "the chanting known as Ịtụ avụvụ[1] which alternates with passages of horn playing. A woman chants and a man plays, both being professionals. The performance takes place on some notable occasion, such as the second burial of an important man, both celebrates his deeds and gives good advice to those listening. The chanting is an impressive feat of impromptu outpouring in a vibrant voice, which echoes the timbre of the horn."[2]

4. Iti ugori, Iku ogbe, and Igbu mkpọrọhịhị

Other minor forms of purely vocal music include Iti ugori. This is an expression of joy and satisfaction after theachievement of an objective. It may be a victory in a wrestling contest, or the recovery of a runaway cow after a long chase, or any other outstanding achievement which traditionally may be regarded as a feat and therefore worthy of acclaim.

Also included in these minor forms is Iku ogbe ("Calling my namesake", i.e. calling a member of one's age group, or one's comrade, or one's own namesake). This

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1. Avụvụ is the dialectal equivalent of avụ.

2. Green, 1948, p. 841.

consists of a very high pitched singing common among women in general, and girls in particular. It is used to rally the members of a group for a meeting, or for one type of communal work or the other such as cleaning the spring from which the town draws its drinking water, or sweeping the square of the town's shrines.

Igbu mkpọrọhịhị (Whistling), is also considered as a form of singing, albeit without words.

5. Egwu ikpe (Satirical songs)

We have pointed out earlier[1] that satirical songs are generally the speciality of women, minstrels and gossiping masqueraders. Corruption, injustice, oppression, immorality, laziness, greed, gluttony, in short any anti-social behaviour irrespective of the personality or institution involved, are ready themes in the hands of these satirical artists. A few random examples will illustrate these points.

The castigatory remarks of a certain Ojiọnụ masquerade on the mounting corruption in their local church, and especially on the hypocrisy of some of the church committee members who exhibited a "holier than thou" attitude to non-Christians, ended with this song:

Ekpere ndụ kọmiti,
Edpere ndụ kọmiti,
Nna m Chineke!
Nna m Chineke!

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1. Supra, p. 105.

Gbaghara m njọ m n'ehihie,
Gbaghara m njọ m n'anyasi,
Echi niile e mee ọzọ.

The prayer of the church committee members,
The prayer of the church committee members,
"God, our Father,
God, our Father!
Forgive us our sins in the afternoon,
Forgive us our sins in the evening";
And yet, tomorrow they commit more sins.

Another example can be cited from the organisation of traditional religion. Songs of a satirical nature, bordering on curses, and directed against members who did not participate in the building of the altar of the god Mbarị in Owerri, were reported by Meek: "When the fence is completed the builders are formally escorted inside, together with the priest and doctor, and there they live a life of seclusion and abstinence for twenty-four days, singing songs in honour of the gods and calling down his wrath on all who fail to carry out their duties."[1]

Songs which satirize the shameful action of individuals have also been documented by Egudu and Nwọga.[2] Specific examples are about Joseph[3] (a thief who stole sheep); a female sex offender[4] ("Did you tell your mother?"); and songs which deal with the current shortcomings of government authorities.[5]

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1. Meek, 1937, p. 50.
2. Egudu and Nwọga, 1971, pp. 90-137.
3. Ibid., pp. 112-115.
4. Ibid., pp. 120-121.
5. Ibid., pp. 122-123.

A situation in which a master had two servants who were so divergent in their qualities that 'A' was very hardworking but unintelligent, while 'B' was intelligent but very lazy, was satirized in song to the words:

Nma nnabọ dụ be Enekọcha,
Nke dụ ishi, aduhụ nkọ;
Nke dụ nkọ, aduhụ ishi.

Two matchets in Mr "x's" house,
The one with a handle, is not sharp;
The other which is sharp, has no handle.

Madụmere's four typical satirical songs called Oro in the Ụmụahịa area deserve mention in the light of the range of their subject-matter. The first is about a housewife called Titi who is ridiculed because when it was time for harvesting cocoyams, which is traditionally the work of a woman, Titi would run away to her parents "because she was too lazy to work".[1] This particular song is also worth quoting as an illustration of the degree of abuse to which singers of satirical songs can go. "... Titi the daughter of Kanu and her husband enjoyed yam but during the time of harvesting of cocoyams she ran away to meet her parents; instead of my using my money to marry a wife like her, I use it in buying a mouse, a mouse is better than her".[2]

The second Oro song makes mockery of a certain man called Ibejimatọ, a coward who "is very lazy and cannot even fight a woman. With fear in his mind he handles his

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1. Madụmere, 1953, p. 64.

2. Ibid., p. 64.

cutlass anywhere he goes in order to resist and defend himself against any opponent who may come across his way. One day he quarrelled with a woman who later asked him to wrestle with her but he walked away quietly carrying his cutlass on his shoulder."[1]

The third song makes Dinah Okorie, an Azumili girl, an object of ridicule because she "has recently travelled by passenger train to join prostitutes in another town".[2] While the fourth Oro castigates a certain Michael, who "is notorious in dishonesty" and who "has always taken a great delight in stealing cloths from both the rich and the poor", but who in particular stole "a cloth belonging to one old woman".[3]

Generally, all satirical songs are improvisatory and ephemeral in nature, and the singers are, as Titi's case demonstrates, free to use both abusive and obscene language. Since satirical songs are concerned with social control,[4] this group of songs uses gossip, scandal, insult and ridicule to effect change in the behaviour of erring members of society. In extreme cases the singers, in addition to verbal expression, may attack the offenders physically as Madumere testified: "All these Oro songs are provided with adequate musical instruments mostly with drums. As the people play the music the dancers march in groups to visit

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1. Madumere, op.cit., p. 64.
2. Loc.cit.
3. Loc.cit.
4. Supra, p. 105.

the house of the offenders and damage most of their things and this serves as a severe punishment for their offences."[1]

6. Egwu ọnwa (Moonlight play songs)

These take place mostly during the dry season when there is little or no farm work to do and when the village squares are dry. Moonlight plays are primarily children's affairs but adults are not prohibited from participating. In fact, most participants, such as minstrels, perform their particular types of music in their own houses purely for enjoyment. Similarly, adults play ngedegwu (xylophone) music at this time also purely for entertainment. Parents may, if they wish, come to the village square to watch the children play; and some mothers who do not want their children to join their peers in the village square, organise Ifo sessions for them in their own houses.

The various kinds of recreational activities performed at moonlight plays include the singing of Ifo,[2] telling riddles and other jokes, singing and dancing, wrestling, and games in general. Almost all the songs that accompany games are borrowed from children's game songs;[3] Just as those songs that accompany dancing are selected from music involving singing, instrumental performance and dancing.[4] Satirical songs[5] are also sung at Egwu ọnwa.

The forms of children's games are many but the

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1. Madụmere, op.cit., p. 65.
2. Supra, p. 150.
3. Supra, p. 150.
4. Supra, p. 77.
5. Supra, p. 146.

three most popular will be discussed here. "Akpakoro kpankoro" is a game in which children join hands while running round in a circle and the last to stoop down on a given signal becomes the loser. The song derives its name from the name of the game. As the children run round, they repeat the song in a solo-chorus pattern:

Akpakoro!
Kpankoro!
Akpakoro!
Kpankoro!
Udu mu-o!
Ogene!
Udu mu-o!
Ogene!
Onye ọ mara!
Ị-ya ..., ị-ya!
Akpakoro![1]
Kpankoro![2]
Akpakoro!
Kpankoro!
My percussion vessel - oh!
The clapperless iron bell!
My per cussion vessel - oh!
The clapperless iron bell!
Whoever is caught![3]
Yes! ... Yes![4]

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1. Àkpàkoro, "a large snail", but having been modified for musical reason to Akpakoro, becomes meaningless in the context, but it serves the purpose of rhythm. The auditory imagery and alliterative effect created by its repetition echoes the 'kororo' sound made by the shells of snails as they struggle while being cooked. 'Kororo' also echoes the sound of slit-drums in an ensemble of drums.

2. Kpankoro is a pun on Akpakoro; it is semantically empty, being used for purposes of rhyme and euphony.

3. "Whoever is caught" is the signal for the players to stop.

4. Ịya, literally "Yes", means "We agree that whoever is caught is the loser". The first Ịya serves as "get set", and the second as "stoop down".

Okereeke, Okereeke! is a game involving the passing of sticks in a circle in an anti-clockwise direction. Whoever has more than one stick before him at a time is the loser and as a penalty is carried shoulder-high to the near-by bush to the accompaniment of the song "Tufuo nụ nwa mere arụ".[1]

This song is divided into two sections, each corresponding to the two stages of the game: first the "preparation" and then its "execution". While the first part of the song is sung, every participant beats out the rhythm of the song with his own stick. This ensures that all the participants have got one stick each in preparation for what follows. The second stage begins with the signal "Kwenu ọ ga na-aga" ("All say it will continue moving"), warning that the passing of sticks is about to begin. The game is very rhythmic, and the "Ọ ga na-aga" of the refrain synchronizes with the picking up of the sticks, while the "Ịya" corresponds with the placing of the sticks in front of the next person to the right:

Okereeke, Okereeke!
Dududu kereeke!
Okereeke, Okereeke!
Dududu kereeke!
Kwenu ọ ga na-aga!
Ọ ga na-aga, ịya!
Ọ ga na-aga!
Ọ ga na-aga, ịya!
Ọ ga na-aga!
Ọ ga na-aga, ịya!

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1. Supra, p. 80.

Okereeke, Okereeke![1]
Dududu kereeke![2]
Okereeke, Okereeke!
Dududu kereeke!
Everybody say: "It will continue moving";
"It will continue moving!"
Everybody say: "It will continue moving",
"It will continue moving."

The third most popular type of children's game consists of a kind of mock battle in which two opposing camps fight each other, and the side that takes home the most captives is the winner. As they are marching to the agreed battle ground, each side sings a war song which may be any of the ones already quoted,[3] or alternatively:

Kwekee, kwekee!
Ebunu ji isi eje ọgụ!
Kwekee!
Ebunu ji isi eje ọgụ!
Kwekee!
Ebunu ji isi eje ọgụ!
Kwekee, kwekee![4]
The ram goes to battle with its head.[5]

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1. Okereeke: the name for a male child born on Eke day, one of the Igbo weekdays.

2. Dududu kereeke is an ideophone compounded of two elements: "du" taken from the word Udu (the percussion vessel), and "kereeke" taken from Okereeke in the preceding line. The phrase resulting from the union is used for its auditory imagery; as dududu kereeke is sung, it evokes the sounds of the udu and the ekere (drums).

3. Supra, p. 94.

4. Kwekee is an ideophone describing the furious nodding of the ram as it moves to attack an enemy.

5. The courage and endurance of the ram is proverbial; that is why a hero is always buried with a ram. The Igbo use the expression "I tụị isi n'ihe ọbụna" ("Putting one's head in anything", that is involving oneself deeply in any incident that entails great risk, especially of life, e.g. fighting). The ram moves into a fight relentlessly, hence

Kwekee!

The ram goes to battle with its head.

Kwekee!

The ram goes to battle with its head.

It is, however, the purpose of this thesis to demonstrate that Ifo are, for a variety of reasons, one of the major forms or genres of Igbo vocal music in general, and of Egwu ọnwa in particular. For this reason they are not discussed at this point under Egwu ọnwa, the genre to which they belong, but form the major part of the material for the remaining chapters of this thesis.

CHAPTER FOUR

GENERAL FEATURES

1. Types of Ifo

Ifo are concerned with folktales, and are of three different varieties.[1] The first comprises prose stories without songs, and is called Akụkọ Ifo ("Ifo stories"), in contra-distinction to historical and other non-fictional stories collectively designated Akụkọ Ana ("Stories of the Land"). The most common examples of Akụkọ Ana are: Omenana;[2] stories recounting the origins of towns, great families and certain secret societies; stories about Ije Chukwu (i.e. about consultation of the "Long juju" at Arochukwu) and other gods such as Igwe ka ala of Umụnọha in Owerri;[3] stories explaining certain ritual behaviour and taboos; stories based on specific episodes connected with events such as slave-raids, inter-village battles, and natural catastrophies such as earthquakes, the influenza epidemic of 1918, famine, and locust raids; stories about natural phenomena such as the eclipse of the sun in 1947; and finally, the exploits of powerful chiefs before the coming of the British, and during the fighting

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1. Vide Figure 2 p.156.

2. Supra, p. 55.

3. For an account of Ije Chukwu vide Meek, op.cit., pp. 44-48.

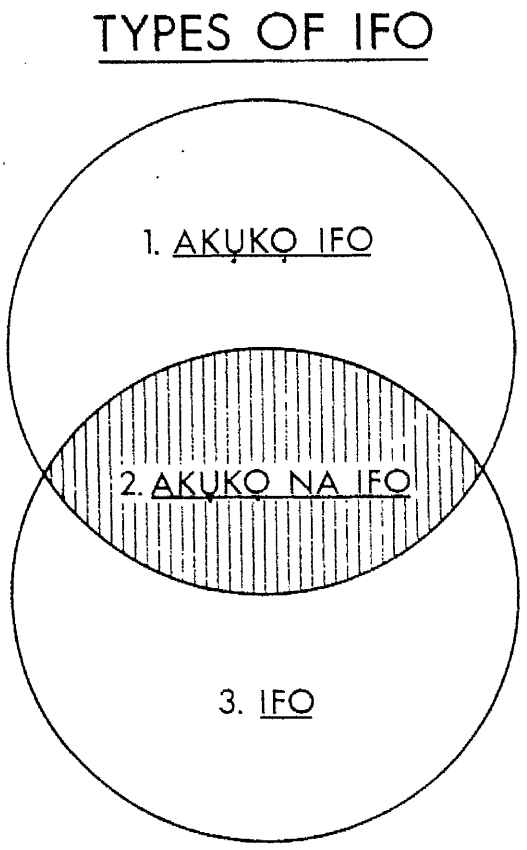

FIGURE 2

1. Akụkọ Ifo (Ifo stories)
2. Akụkọ na Ifo (Stories and songs)
3. Ifo (Songs which tell their own stories without any prose setting)

Table 2

Frequency of Akụkọ na Ifo and Ifo and Characters

Characters	Akụkọ na Ifo	Ifo	Total
Humans	72	40	112
Spirits	3	-	3
Animals	69	6	75
Human and Spirits	30	-	30
Humans and Animals	35	3	38
Humans, Spirits and Animals	9	-	9
Humans and Plants	10	-	10
Plants and Animals	-	1	1
Humans, Spirits, Animals and Plants	-	3	3
	228	53	281

resulting from the 'pacification' of Southern Nigeria.

The second variety is called Akụkọ na Ifo ("Ifo stories and songs", i.e. prose stories interspersed with songs). The majority of Ifo belong to this class, and representative examples are: "Kpoo! Kpoo! kpoo!" (Eziagụ A23); "Ụzụntị! Ụzụntị" (Eziagụ A78); "Kpobha ndi oma" (Eziagụ A24); "Kpambele mbele" (Eziagụ A34); "Akpụ ya gba ghere tụchie" (Eziagụ A2); and "Olee anụ je nhaahụ?" (Eziagụ A57). In almost all Ifo of this kind, because the stories form an essential background to an understanding of the songs, the stories are more than just vehicles for the songs.

The third variety consists of songs which tell their own stories without prose settings, and are simply called Ifo. Three examples will suffice: "Nwaanara, Nwaanara" (Eziagu A33); "Agbo ngerede ngede" (Ezaigụ A1); and "Ha jere gabha" (Eziagụ A16). By definition all the songs used in this study come from the second and third varieties.[1]

When a child says to a peer: "Bịa ka anyị foo Ifo" ("Come let's sing or tell Ifo"), she is inviting the peer to an Ifo session in which both story-telling and the singing of songs may feature. The verb 'foo' in this context is a homonym which means either "to sing" or "to tell". But in the expression "Okeke, foo Ifo" ("Okeke, sing Ifo"), 'Ifo' is a cognate noun of the verb 'foo' which in this context more correctly means "sing".

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1. Vide Table 2, p.15 for the frequency of these two types in the recorded sample.

2. Restrictions on Performance

Ifo is recited at night, around the fireplace in cold weather especially during the rainy season and the harmattan period, or by moonlight in the compound or village square in the dry season. It is taboo to sing Ifo during the day. The consequence of such an action is the death of the raconteur's mother, or such at least is the traditional belief. Should this taboo be violated, the transgression must be atoned for by saying one of the following incantations at the end of the performance:

Onye hworo ihwo n'ukori,
A pata ji mụ na ya erie;
A pata ede mụ na ya erie;
Ma a kaa ana, nna ya ekpuru.

The raconteur of Ifo in the day,
If yam is brought, I will eat with him/her;
If cocoyam is brought, I will eat with him/her;
But if a grave is dug, he/she alone will enter.

Or:

Ehwogbuhu m nne m,
Ehwogbuhu m nna m,
Ehwogburu m nnakoroche nọ na mgba aja na-asụ
anya rụrọrọ.

I did not sing my mother to death,
I did not sing my father to death,
I sang to death the watery-eyed old woman
in the crevice.[1]

An informant was asked why it was taboo to sing Ifo during the day. Because the interrogator belonged to the same culture, and because of the expression: "A mara

1. A metaphor for the Agama lizard.

aju, na-aju ma o bu ugbogiri na-ami anyu" ("He who knows the right answer to the question he is asking, and yet insists on asking whether it is the pumpkin plant that produces the pumpkin fruit"), she snappily retorted: "My mother did not tell me that Ifo may be sung in the day. Shall I do what my mother did not do?". It is tempting to dismiss her fears as superstition, but it must also be appreciated that generally the strength, the validity and the continuity of many oral traditions derive from the tenacity of their perpetuators.

We may assign another reason for this taboo in the light of an interview with another informant. Akuezue Onyeje, the finest singer of Ifo the writer encountered at Eziagu, and a mother of four, has lost her parents not through contravention of this taboo, but by natural death. She is more than forty-five years of age and became a Christian in 1972. She is a song leader and learnt singing from her mother who was also a renowned singer. Although illiterate, Akuezue has a prodigious memory, power of narration and command of the Igbo language, and an astonishing repertoire of Ifo and other songs. While she maintained that the fear of parental death could not be dismissed out of hand because "our parents are no fools", Akuezue pointed out that as a people who depend very much on subsistence farming, it would be a mark of laziness for one to stay in the house diverting one's self with Ifo while others were busy working on their farms. Did the Igbo not say that "Ngana kpuchie

ute, agụụ ekpughe ya" ("If laziness covers a man with a sleeping mat, hunger will remove it."). Also at Ogbunka, informants expressed both concern over violation of this time-honoured taboo, as well as over the demoralising psychological effect of singing Ifo in the day while their neighbours were at work. In addition, they pointed out that if sung at night, Ifo sounds better, and the singers sing in a more relaxed atmosphere.

Akụezue further described Ifo as "Nwata nebhe nwa enwe, ejeghi ọlụ" ("If a child continues watching the antics of a monkey, he will not do any work on the farm"). That is, Ifo is such an entertaining and captivating pastime that invariably it tends to distract the attention of children who sing it in the day from doing other domestic tasks assigned to them by their parents. To discourage such a state of affairs, the society maintains this taboo which incites fear in the minds of the children.

Although generally it is a taboo to have a formal performance of Ifo in the day time for reasons already suggested, nevertheless, Ifo stories, especially moralizing types may be introduced into a admonitory discussion for didactic purposes. For example, a mother who is worried about her daughter's hasty acceptance of a suitor without a thorough investigation of the man's family and social background may help her daughter to appreciate the danger of such a decision by telling her the story (Eziagụ A2) in which a girl took a hasty decision and ended up by marrying a spirit.

3. Origins and Dispersion of the Repertoire

Ifo are generally sung unaccompanied and are not danced to. They are anonymous, being transmitted orally from the past, and no one is able to assert their age, source, and their original composers. Individuals, or groups of people, may own Egwu, but no one owns Ifo. "A shị" ("It was said") is a frequently recurring phrase in Ifo recitation, and emphasises the anonymity of its authorship. References to places are vague: "O ruru otu mgbe n'obodo ahụ" ("Once upon a time in a certain town"); "Otu mgbe ụnwụ dara n'obodo ụmụ anụmanụ" ("Once upon a time there was famine in the land of animals"); and this yet further emphasises their common ownership and anonymous origins.

Ifo have spread through a process of non-deliberate dissemination whose main agents are usually individuals such as Nwa na-eku nwa (Baby nurses). Such individuals carry Ifo from their home towns to the towns of their mistresses or other employers. Similarly the repertoire which they absorbed during their sojourn away from home, is carried back to their towns at the end of their contracts. In the same manner, a married woman unconsciously carries her town's repertoire of Ifo to her husband's town. Also during annual festivals, relatives from different towns visit each other, and at night the singing of Ifo is usually one of the main forms of diversion. Such occasions offer a forum for the further dissemination of Ifo.

Finally, as a further aid to dissemination,

songs which tell their own stories tend to display a greater degree of stability than do, say, Akụkọ Ifo. These story songs, or Ifo, usually consist of a series of solo lines at the end of which there is a chorus. The solo lines as well as the chorus are traditional and 'fixed', and are not open to individual variation. In the prose stories (Akụkọ Ifo) however, while the subject matter is traditional and fixed, the presentation and minor details of the narrative are open to variation with each individual teller.

4. Preludes to Performance

The announcement used to introduce the performance of Ifo is known as Ịkụ ana Ifo ("To beat the ground of Ifo", i.e. to announce that Ifo is about to begin). Ịkụ ana Ifo varies from one area to another, but always serves the same purpose. In Bende area, a form involving parallelism is used:

Otii!
Ọyọ!
Otii!
Ọyọ!
Ọhịa ogwu mara ọkụkọ,
Anaghị epio ya epio;
Iyi riri ụgbala,
Anaghị egwu ya egwu;
Nkịta nyara akpa,
Nshị agwụla n'ọhịa.

Are you ready for Ifo?
Yes, we are.
Are you ready for Ifo?
Yes, we are.

Bush in which fowls are pricked by thorns,
No one dares walk in it;
A river in which a duck drowns,
No human being dares swim it;
If a dog emerges from the bush with a distended belly,
There is no more excreta left in the bush
(the dog has eaten it all up).

A modified version of the above is used in Mbaise in Owerri:

Chakpii!
Woọ!
Chakpii!
Woọ!
O ruru otu mgbe,
Otu mgbe erue;
Nkịta nyara akpa,
Nshị agwụla n'ọhịa;
Oke nyara akpa,
Azụ agwụla na mkpọ.

Are you ready for Ifo?
Yes, we are.
Are you ready for Ifo?
Yes, we are.
Once upon a time,
A time upon once;
If a dog emerges from the bush with a distended belly,
There is no more excreta left in the bush;
If a rat runs out from the pantry with a distended belly,
There is no more fish left in the basket.

Another very common spoken form of Ifo prelude is that in which the narrator says: "Ka anyị jee Iduu!" ("Let's go to the land of Iduu", to which the audience replies: "Iduu na Ọba" ("Iduu and Ọba"). The land of

"Iduu and Ọba" is the vague setting for most Igbo folktales and it represents the world of fantasy. Through this invitation, the narrator appeals to his audience to leave the world of reality for a while and join him in the world of fantasy by suspending disbelief. Thus, having created an atmosphere of makebelieve, the narrator proceeds to tell his tale.

On the other hand, the prelude may be simply an "appeal" by the raconteur to be granted an audience:

Ibe anyị enwere m akụkọ m ga akọrọ unu,
Kọọrọ anyị ka obi dị anyị mma.

Members of my group, I have a story to narrate,
Tell us to gladden our hearts.

Eziagụ, Isulo, Ezira, and Ogbunka, all in Orumba (the main survey area)[1] introdue Ifo performances by the use of what we may call "opening word formulae", some of which are spoken while some are sung. A typical example of the sung form is "Gbata m, gbata m" (Eziagụ A15).[2] Three examples of the spoken form will suffice, the first being:

Giri-giri fuo ezhi, ma lọghọ-lọghọ bata ụlọ;
Ashịrị ka ashịrị abịalakwa mbe anyị.

Let trouble stay outside, but peace come in;[3]
Let misunderstanding and quarrels not come to our house!

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1. Vide map 3, p.8.

2. Vide Appendix A, song 1 & 2 for both Eziagụ and Ogbunka versions of "Gbata m gbata m".

3. Giri-giri is an onomatopoeic word describing a tumultuous atmosphere; while lọghọ-lọghọ suggests peace and quiet.

Or secondly, the narrator may say: "O ruru mgbe a, rue mgbe a" ("It was at that time, and at that time"), thus suggesting an incident that has happened in the distant past.

The third formula is a proverb: "Ọ kpara nkụ ahụhụ, shị ngwere ghụrịtabhara ya ọnụ" ("He who collected firewood infested with ants, deliberately invited the lizard to bandy words with him"). Since ants are the favourite food of the lizard, the latter comes to eat them in the firewood; and naturally when the owner of the wood challenges the right of the lizard to eat them, an exchange of words arises.

The "spoken" version of the prelude are generally used to being the performance of Akụkọ na Ifo ("Stories which are interspersed with songs"), and Akụkọ Ifo ("Prose narratives"). But the raconteur of Ifo ("Narrative in songs") simply starts off with a formal invitation "Ihe unu ja na-ekwere m ghụ: 'shara' / 'mbeneke'" ("What you will respond or sing is 'shara' / 'mbeneke'", or any other phrase which makes up the refrain).

Another variation of the prelude to the singing of Ifo takes the form of a "tossing" game in order to select the person to open the session. In this case, a self-appointed leader of the group who may be the mother of the children (if the audience consists of only members from the same family), or the oldest among children of almost the same age, will begin by saying: "Mgbori, tụsuo Ifo" ("Mgbori, toss for the person to begin Ifo"). Mgbori will then say:

Tụ ntụwịrị!
Tụwịrị!
Tụ ntụwịrị!
Tụwịrị!
Ahụhụ akwa nne ya,
Tụwịrị!
Ngwere akwa nne ya,
Tụwịrị!
Ọ ka ja-akwa ọdọ?
(Nkịtị).

Throw in the dice!
Throw in!
Throw in the dice!
Throw in!
Ant is celebrating its mother's funeral,
Throw in!
Lizard is celebrating its mother's funeral,
Throw in!
Will he celebrate again?
(Silence).

If Ada Okeke is unfortunate to say "tụwịrị" when silence should be maintained, Mgbori will then declare "Tụwịrị ya Ada Okeke" ("The lot has fallen on Ada Okeke"). Thus selected, Ada Okeke will begin Ifo by singing either "Gbata m, gbata m", or by using any of the formulae we have discussed according to the type of Ifo she is presenting.

Sometimes an Ifo session is unwieldy either due to the large number of participants, or because there are boys in the audience who cause a commotion. This occurs most frequently during moonlight performances. Because of the smallness of traditional communities both in population and in geographical area, mischievous boys are well known by their peers. At the beginning of an Ifo session,

therefore, if Ada Okeke recognises such boys in the audience and senses that they may disorganise the Ifo session as usual, she will sing the following:

Gba n'ishi Iwho,
Njamnja!
Gba n'ishi Iwho,
Njamnja!
(In speech mode) Onye agbahụ n'ishi iwho, otu mkpụrụ akwụ gbajuoro ya ite mkpa manụ!
Njamnja!

Comply with the Ifo code of conduct,
Comply with the Ifo code of conduct,
He who fails to comply, let one ripe palm nut yield a pot of palm oil for him (a very bad omen).

With this special prelude, all the participants voluntarily take an oath of compliance with the Ifo code of conduct, and no one would wish himself ill-luck by disturbing the performance. Conformity is demonstrated by everybody saying the last "Njamnja".[1] Some children even shout it as a mark of unflinching loyalty. But any child who refuses to say the last "Njamnja" withdraws voluntarily or otherwise is beaten.

It will be seen then, that through these processes of opening Ifo performances, the orderly atmosphere conducive to an Ifo performance is established, the appetite of the audience for Ifo is sharpened, and their attitude of belief, disbelief, or humour towards the forthcoming Ifo is prepared. The first singer is chosen thereby creating not only the "raconteur-audience" dichotomy, but also legitimizing the role of the raconteur both as the

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1. Infra, p. 442.

'director' of the Ifo session during the period he is singing or narrating Ifo, and as the voice of tradition mandated to recreate, interpret, and dramatize the ancient tales for the purpose of entertainment, pleasure and didacticism.

5. Recognition of Types and Performance

The stage is now set for the actual Ifo performance. But at this point a few comments on the recognition of the various types of Ifo are necessary. An Ifo may be identified by the special role it serves, thus "Gbata m, gbata m" (Eziagụ A15) is an established Ifo prelude in Eziagụ and the neighbourhood. Ifo of the "Ajụjụ" ("Question" / "Riddle") type, such as Eziagụ A58, A59, and A71, and the satirical Ifo songs (Eziagụ A31; A70; D50) are easily recognised because of the peculiar nature of their themes.[1] To identify them one member in the audience will simply tell the singer to sing one of the "Ajụjụ" ("Question" /"Riddle") or "Ikpe" ("Satirical") Ifo. And one's standard of proficiency in singing Ifo is assessed by one's ability to recognise easily, and to sing correctly these special types of Ifo. The opening lines of an Ifo, and its captivating refrain, are yet other means of recognition, while the theme and the main characters are yet other possible ways. In these cases,

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1. Infra, p. 187.

to help the memory of the raconteur about a particular Ifo one fancies, one simply asks: "Don't you remember that Ifo which begins as follows (and one says the first line of the particular Ifo one has in mind); or the Ifo whose refrain is (say) "Ọmarịngwọ ka mma" (Eziagụ A53), or the Ifo in which the Tortoise and the Dung Beetle (or any other characters) did or said such and such a thing?"

But when a person is called upon to entertain an audience, the choice of Ifo is at his or her discretion. If the narrator, Ada Okeke, is presenting Akụkọ na Ifo (Stories interspersed with songs), she will appeal to the audience thus: "Ibe anyị enwere m akụkọ m ga-akọrọ unu" ("Members of my group, I have a story to tell you") to which the audience will respond: "Kọrọ anyị ka obi dị anyị mma" ("Tell us to gladden our hearts"). Then the story follows. At the point when the song portion of the tale is to be inserted, Ada will formally invite the audience to participate by saying: "Ihe unu ja na-ekwere m, ghụ: 'Shara'" ("Your response is: 'Shara'",or any other phrase which makes up the refrain of the song she is singing). Thus the "Solo-Chorus" pattern of most Ifo singing is formally established. On the other hand, if Ada is presenting Ifo per se (Songs that tell their own stories), she will simply start with the initial invitation. It is evident then, that in Ifo performance, "unlike the general pattern of Western European folk-song, the individual singer does not tend to stand out in a dominant position as against a passive audience but instead interacts with a chorus."[1]

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1. Finnegan, 1970, p. 241.

The interaction of the audience with the singer may take another form in which the singer during the performance chooses a particular person and assigns a special role which is integral to the total performance. In execution of this function the person so chosen becomes a subordinate solo-singer. Thus, whereas the general participation of the audience in singing the refrain of the song creates the "solo-chorus" pattern, the addition of a subordinate solo-singer results in a sort of dialogue between the main solo-singer and his subordinate while the chorus maintains the refrain. This pattern is the main characteristic of Ifo of the "Ajụjụ" type. The following translation of the Ifo, Eziagụ A59, serves as a good example of this type of performance:[1]

Main Soloist:	Chorus:
Who? who? Tell me, tell me!	Yes! Yes!
Tell me, tell me!	Yes! Yes!
Who? Who? Tell me, tell me!	Yes! Yes!
Okoli,[2] tell me, tell me!	Yes! Yes!
Tell me, tell me!	Yes! Yes!

The main soloist poses the riddles:

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1. For detailed analysis of the poem, as well as the full vernacular version of it, vide section 7, p. 185.

2. Names of other persons in the audience may be mentioned here.

Main Soloist	Chorus
O, tell me the name of your father,	Yes! Yes!
Tell me, tell me;	" "
Tell me the name of your mother,	" "
Tell me, tell me;	" "
Tell me the name of your sister,	" "
Tell me, tell me;	" "
Tell me the name of your husband,	" "
Tell me, tell me;	" "
Tell me the name of your friend,	" "
Tell me, tell me;	" "
Tell me the name of your sister	" "
Tell me, tell me.	" "

Okoli then accepts the challenge, and by answering the questions becomes the subordinate soloist:

Sub. soloist	Chorus
Am I to tell you?	Yes! Yes!
Am I to tell you?	" "
"He who brings out the yams we cook with a basket",[1] is it not my father?	" "
"She who covers the cooking pot with a basket", is she not my mother?	" "
"Stone chakodo"[2] - the name my mother gave me is it not nice of her?	" "
"A tall straight tree at Nkwọ (market square) is it not my husband?	" "
"The eagle that perches on an iroko tree who is being beaten by the sun", is it not my friend?	" "
"Coiled beans" - the name my mother gave me is it not nice of her?	" "

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1. Evidence that he is a successful farmer.

2. Precious stone or "Pearl".

Sub. soloist	Chorus
"Eater of meat, eater of fish" - the name my father gave me, is it not nice of him?	Yes! Yes!

The chorus and the main soloist keep silent while the subordinate-soloist bursts into chains of riddles; all coached in esoteric words:

Sub. soloist:

If soil puts on feathers of eagle,
it is called "mushroom";
If gourd develop on the chest,
it is called "breast";
If bone is exposed,
it is called "tooth";
If soil develops ibi,[1]
it is called "ant-hill".

The chorus enters with the refrain as the subordinate soloist concludes with these ululating phrases:

Sub. soloist	Chorus
Oh, my mother!	Yes! Yes!
My mother, my mother!	" "

The main soloist takes over and rounds off the song:

My child, well done!	Yes! Yes!
My child, well done!	" "

6. The Function of the Song

The appearance or non-appearance of songs in Igbo folk-tales, as well as the internal structural position

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1. Ibi - hydrocele.

of songs in Akụkọ na Ifo (Prose stories interspersed with songs), is one of the criteria for categorizing folktales generally, hence the emergence of the three distinct types of Ifo: Akụkọ Ifo (Ifo stories), Akụkọ na Ifo, and Ifo, per se (Songs which tell their own stories without any prose settings).[1] First, we shall, by examining the corpus of Akụkọ na Ifo used in this study, suggest the dramatic roles of songs in folktale, and determine at what points in the narrative songs are introduced by the singer. Next, the fact that some parts of Akụkọ na Ifo are sung while some are narrated, and the fact that Ifo, per se, is mainly 'narrative in song', immediately suggests that there may be certain kinds of narrative whose actualisation are more appropriately and effectively realised in song than in ordinary narrative. We shall investigate this by examining 53 songs which tell their own stories without any prose settings,[2] and relating our findings to the songs of Akụkọ na Ifo.

In general these songs provide a formalized means for audience participation. They add "a musical aspect - an extra dimension of both enjoyment and skill", which not only prevents the stories from being "a bare framework of words",[3] but also prevents the children for whom the Ifo is primarily intended, from sleeping. Furthermore,

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1. Vide Figure 2, supra, p.156.
2. Vide Appendix E, p. 684.
3. Finnegan, 1970, p. 386.

psychologically, a sung word seems to have more attraction and appeal than a spoken word. Waesberghe testified: "... a sung note attracts attention more readily than what is spoken; psychologically it is a more special sort of utterance and hence it attracts greater attention than the spoken words."[1] Because the story and songs are enjoyable, the educational and moral messages of Ifo flow into the minds of the children effortlessly. In most cases, the element of humour predominates in such songs thereby helping them to serve as comic relief by easing the dramatic tension generated by complications in the plot. The song Ụzụntị, Ụzụntị! (Eziagụ A78) envigorates the somewhat lifeless and undramatic story of the Tortoise and the Yam beetle.[2] "Mbe m na-akpụ afọ" (Eziagụ A30) is another instance which reinforces this function of song as comic relief.[3]

Furthermore, these functions appear to agree with Finnegan's statement that the songs, particularly in the case where the same song is repeated at different points in the story, provide "a kind of signature tune with slight variations on the words to fit the development of the plot. The structure of the story is thus marked by the recurrence of the song in each new episode."[4] Two examples will be briefly discussed to illustrate this point.[5]

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1. Waesberghe, 1955, p. 19.
2. Vide Appendix A, song 6.
3. Vide Appendix A, song 19.
4. Finnegan, op.cit., p. 245.
5. Other songs that serve this role are Eziagụ A80, A84, and D34.

In Eziagụ C4O, a woman bought ụdara fruits and ate them all with her children without giving any to an orphan who lived with her. The orphan picked up one of the ụdara seeds which the woman threw away and planted it, singing:

Ụdara ya fubhe	Nda
Fubhe, fubhe, fubhe	"
Fuoronụ nwa ogbii nne	"
Fuoronụ nwa ogbii nna	"
Nwunye nna ya	"
Zụta ụdara n'ahịa	"
Rachawọ nwa enwe nne	"
Rachawọ nwa enwe nna	"
Elu ụwa bụ ọrịrị	"
Onye nọchaa, ọ nabha.	"

My ụdara germinate!
Germinate, germinate, germinate!
Germinate for the motherless child!
Germinate for the fatherless child!
My father's wife
Bought ụdara from the market,
Ate it without giving to a motherless child,
Ate it without giving to a fatherless child;
The world is like a playground
When one is tired, one goes home.

Subsequent stages in which the ụdara grows, bears fruits, and the fruits ripen and drop for the orphan to pick up, are announced in the same song, but the first line or lines of each stanza is varied to fit the development of the plot:

Verse 2:	Ụdara ya tobhe	My ụdara grow,
	Tobhe, tobhe, tobhe	Grow, grow, grow!

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1. Ụdara is the most important and popular wild fruit in Igbo society. The seeds are used in making bead rattles which dancers wear on their ankles.

Verse 3: Ụdara ya mịa My ụdara bear fruits. And when the mother climbs the ụdara tree to pluck the fruits, the child sees her and sings the same song now asking the ụdara to grow into the sky "Ụdara ya tobha". Finally, when the woman has learnt from experience that "It is bad to maltreat an orphan", and assured the child of kinder treatment, the same song is repeated with the new line: "Ụdara ya sụbha" ("My ụdara grow shorter!").

Similarly, in the Ifo "Onyike Uturuba" (Eziagụ A76), a wrestling champion among the animals went about challenging any other animal it came across to a wrestling bout:

Olee anụ bị nọọnwa?
Mbeleeje, mbeleeje ọma-o, mbeleeje!
Olee anụ bi nọọnwa?
Mbeleeje, mbeleeje ọma-o, mbeleeje!
Nchioke bi nọọnwa
Mbleleeje, mbeleeje ọma-o, mbeleeje!
Nchioke gụ biko chichiri ghụ fụta mgba n'obodo unu
Mbeleeje, mbeleeje ọma-o, mbeleeje!
Ọ bụdụ onye la-akpọnụ ya?
Mbeleeje, mbeleeje ọma-o, mbeleeje!
Hụ bụ ya "Onyike Uturuba na-etiwa ụgbọ"
anụ nwudere ibe ya, tọkọrọ ikpo;
Mbeleeje, mbeleeje ọma-o, mbeleeje!

"Which animal lives here?
Which animal lives here?"
"Nchioke lives here."
"Nchioke, please chichiri[1] come and wrestle in your village square!"

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1. A play on the word Nchi (Cutting Grass, Thryonyms swinderianus).

"Who is calling me?"
"It is me. Onyike Uturuba-who-breaks-boats,
Whichever one throws the other,
let him strip the vanquished of all his ikpo."[1]

On any occasion on which Onyike Uturuba challenged any other animal, they sang the same song, but altered the name of his opponent. Thus when he challenged Bushbuck (Mgbada), the first four lines of the second verse alter to:

"Which animal lives here?
Which animal lives here?"
"Bushbuck lives here."
"Bushbuck, please gbụgbara[2] come and wrestle
in your village square!"

The number of stanzas to be sung depends on the number of animals the singer introduces.

Some songs, especially those with a high narrative content, contribute significantly to the advancement of the plot. Eziagụ A10a-c, and Eziagụ C41a-b, are two typical examples.

There are songs which serve as dramatic 'flash-backs' by reminding the listener of what has happened in the story; others may suggest what will occur. "Kpoo! kpoo! kpoo!" (Eziagụ A23) combines both these functions. Tortoise gave Dung beetle a fierce blow during a quarrel that occurred while they were having a meal. Dung beetle pretended to be dead, and Tortoise, afraid of the law, ran away and hid in a bush. Dung beetle, determined to harrass

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1. Ikpo: a kind of clapperless iron bell attached by hunters to their dogs; here comparable to 'medals'.

2. Gbụgbara is a play on words derived from Mgbada.

Tortoise, took an exe and a basket into the bush where Tortoise was hiding, and started to chop wood. Tortoise, who impersonated Duker (Mmoroke), inquired who was chopping the wood. Dung beetle, also unwilling to reveal his identity, impersonated Antelope and told Tortoise the disturbing news from home and the peoples' reactions:

Kpoo! kpoo! kpoo![1]
Kpoo! kpoo! kpoo!
"Which animal is chopping the wood?"
"Antelope is chopping."
"Antelope, how is your home?"
"Which animal asks?"
"Bushbuck asks."
"All is not well at home."
"Oh! What is the news?"
"It is said that Tortoise killed Dung beetle in the food pot."
"Alas! What are the people saying?"
"Anybody who sees Tortoise should arrest him,
For the killer must accompany the killed."[2]

Songs in Akụkọ na Ifo may mark the climax or other high points in the story. Three boys from a polygamous family went hunting.[3] Two, whose mothers were the favourites of their father, were well equipped with guns, spears, and bows and arrows; but the third boy, whose mother was hated, went with his mother's Mkpịshị ite ("Skewer"). He was the only one to come home with a kill - Ịgọlọ, a large bird. Overwhelmed with joy at his good

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1. Kpoo! an onomatopoeic word describing the sound of the chopping of wood.

2. I.e. the killer must likewise be killed.

3. Eziagụ B16.

fortune, he burst into a song of jubilation: "Nne egbu m Ịgọlọ" ("Mother, I have killed Ịgọlọ").

Conversely, some songs may indicate depths of fear and defeat. An excellent example is Eziagụ A34. Ana, the Earth Goddess, challenged the seniority and power of Igwe, the Sky God. To demonstrate his power, the latter refused to bring rain. Consequently, streams and rivers dried up, trees and all living beings, including man, died in large numbers; and the land became unproductive. Humiliated, Ana surrendered and in song the relevant part of which is quoted, she sends delegates to Igwe, pleading for mercy:

> ... This is a message from the Earth Goddess, ...
> She gave seven yams, ... a cook, ...
> She gave kola nut, ... one stick of chalk, ...
> She genuflected eight times, ...
> Pleading that you change your mind and allow
> rain to fall ...
> You are her senior and the first among the
> Gods, ...
> You are the first born, she accords you that
> honour, ...
> Trees have dried up; men have all died, ...
> Rivers are dried up; streams are dried up, ...
> Change your mind very soon and end the
> drought, ...[1]

This victory earned the Sky God the praise name "Igwe ka ala" ("Sky God who is superior to the Earth Goddess").

There are some songs which serve as magical formulae. These songs precede or accompany the performance

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1. For the complete story, vide Appendix A, song 3.

of prodigious feats. Two illustrations will suffice. In Eziagụ A2a, a girl married a man who eventually turned out to be a spirit. She did not realise this until she arrived in the land of the spirits where a dead relative saw her and advised her to escape the same night. She had to do so when the husband was fast asleep - a state betrayed by the characteristic snoring rhythm: "Kpụrụrụ hwụchịị". She was also taught a magical formula in song form which alone could open the big trunk of the silk cotton tree, the gate through which spirits move in and out of the underworld. As soon as the girl came to the tree, she began to sing:

Akpụ ya gbaghere, tụchie!
Gbaghere, tụchie!
Akpụ ya gbaghere, tụchie!
Gbaghere, tụchie!

My silk cotton tree open, and close!
Open, and close!
My silk cotton tree open, and close!
Open, and close!

The second example is equally brief. A woman went to the market and her jealous co-wife killed her daughter and scattered her dismembered body in the compound. A mysterious bird revealed the tragedy to the woman in the market (Eziagụ B13a). The woman consulted a diviner who gave her a charm with which to touch each of the parts of the body of the child, after which she had to sing the Ifo Eziagụ B13b - an incantation which would mould the pieces of the child's body together again and restore her to life.

Associated with songs of magical formulae are mysterious songs sung by birds, as in Eziagụ B13b, B1, and A13), as well as by spirits, as in Eziagụ A42a-e. Also in Eziagụ B30, the spirit of a dead child scolds the parents for refusing to comply with the diviner's instructions to sacrifice a fowl to a certain god, thus causing her death. Eziagụ A4 is a song sung by a malignant spirit called "Ahwọ na-achụ onwe ya" ("Year that performs its end-of-year rituals by itself") as he roams erratically about the land, and it may act as a warning to people to keep clear of him, as the text strongly suggests:

Kpọghọghọghọ Tụse
Kpọghọghọghọ "
Nwoke la-ọrụ ji "
Nwaanyị la-ọrụ ede "
Ahwọ la-achụ onwe ya "
Kpọghọghọghọ![1]
Kpọghọghọghọ!
Men in yam-planting work,
Women in cocoyam-planting work,
"The year that performs its end-of-year rituals by itself" (is going about his business).

Related to this question of the function of songs in Akụkọ na Ifo is the question of why a raconteur introduces songs at the special points where they occur in cante fable. Besides their structural functions, songs play important psychological roles by enhancing the dramatic

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1. The singer suggested that it was the sound made by the spirit. No definite meaning could be assigned to it.

effects of Ifo. Hence most of the songs appear at climactic points in the story, especially where there are crises in the plot. Furthermore, a study of 228 Ifo of the Akụkọ na Ifo type used in this thesis shows that, in the majority of the cases, songs are sung by characters under either physical or mental duress, and in each case the song heightens the emotional intensity of the narrative - a dramatic dimension which ordinary speech cannot create as effectively. Five examples of this use of song follow.

A certain woman caught one of the birds which frequently menaced her akịdị[1] plantation and threatened to kill it. In Eziagụ A43 the bird pleaded for mercy:

"Nwaanyị ị jata egbu ya Mgba ngịgererenge
Gbubuge ya "
Ị ja-ahanụ ya "
Hafụnụ ya "
Ya hụ medụrụ gụnụ?" "
"Ị tachara ahụ ya." "
"Ị kwara ahụ ghụ ahụ, ya tabekwe ya "
Kịtị tanwa." "
"Ị tachara nọọ." "
"Nwaanyị, ị ja-egbunu ya "
Gbubuge ya, "
Nwaanyị ị ja-ahanụ ya, "
Hafụnụ ya." "

"Woman, if you want to kill me,
Kill me!
If you are going to let me go,
Please let me go!
What is my offence?"

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1. Akịdị: a type of bean loved by birds in general.

"You ate up all my beans."
"As for your beans, I have never eaten them
except today."
"You have been eating them."
"Woman, if you are going to kill me,
Kill me!
If you are going to let me go,
Please, let me go!"

In the second example, a pregnant woman who went into the bush in search of wild fruits and vegetables during a famine, stumbled across a heap of boa-constrictor's eggs and removed some. The snake returned, discovered the theft, and mourned the loss in the song Eziagụ A7a.

A recalcitrant and talkative housewife was beaten up byher quick-tempered and cruel husband, she expressed her grief in the song "Nja ka nja madụ" (Eziagụ B15). Similarly, in "Iyi Agba-Ọrọ" (Eziagụ B11), a woman displays her anxiety for the life of her child who is being tormented to death by Iyi Agba-Ọrọ (A jụjụ-charm) because he picked ańara vegetables from the garden of his mother's co-wife. Finally, in Eziagụ A13, a girl who was being pursued by spirits made a passionate appeal to Kite to carry her off.[1]

Finally, it is believed that the degree to which song is used structurally and dramatically in folktale performances can be applied as a criterion for discriminating between the three main types of Ifo.[2] A logical

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1. Appendix A, song 18.

2. Vide Figure 2, supra, p. 156.

result of this premise is that certain narratives are more appropriately realised in song than in ordinary narration. From the examination of the songs in this corpus, it would appear that those portions of Akụkọ na Ifo which are sung are the most important parts of the story, and by being sung this importance is underlined. Song adds an extra dimension to narration, and introduces variety in the mode of communication. Also, like the chorus in Greek drama, songs are used to make general observations on the world, its people and their ideas. This is well illustrated in Eziagụ A10a-c.[1] The narrative content of songs which tell their own stories without prose settings is very high and very dramatic; the language is also highly poetic and full of imagistic properties;[2] all these qualities make the realisation of Ifo, per se, more effective in song than in narration.

7. The Refrain

The refrain is generally the chorus part of an Ifo in which the audience participates. It may be a single word, such as "Laalaashila" (Eziagụ A55); or two or more words such as "Aja mbele" (Eziagụ D22), "Unere unere ọma" (Eziagụ C12), or "Titinjam ụrọbụrụ ụrọbụrụ, titinjam" (Eziagụ D31). It may be made up of a nonsense word or words, such as "Sịlịwa" (Ezaigụ C24); or of a

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1. Appendix A, song 22.

2. Vide the section on "Textual components", infra, p. 202.

meaningful group of words, such as "Ajụjụ ajụkwanà m" ("Let no one ask me for information", Eziagụ D38), "Iwe dị ya n'obi" ("I am full of wrath", Eziagụ D35), "Kpọbha ndị ọma" ("Call the beautiful ones", Eziagụ A24), or "Nwa miri na-eru warara" ("A stream that flows gently", Eziagụ D32). In whatever form it appears, the word (or words) of the refrain serves one of the following functions:

(a) As an "evocative and demonstrative phrase which functions as line-fillers having linguistic form but very little content".[1] "Kan kan kan koro" (Eziagụ C5) is such an example;

(b) As nonsense syllables to complete the rhythm, rhyme, and tune. This is particularly the case where the refrain is a phrase derived from the solo part, as for example in "Kpa mbele mbele, kpa mbele mbele" (Eziagụ A34);

(c) The words may serve an onomatopoeic function, suggesting or describing a particular sound, as in "Anatara kporogidi kporokporo anatara" (Eziagụ A23), which describes the sound of the pieces of wood that fell off while the Dung Beetle was chopping; or "Hịọrọ-hịọrọ"[2] (Eziagụ A2d-f), a nasalized sound in imitation of the voice of a noseless spirit. The words may paint a picture that reflects either a mood, as in "Ndo ndo rima, ndorima" (Eziagụ A11); a tempo, as in "Shara" (Eziagụ A15) which

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1. Harris and Raamouch, 1971, p. 59.

2. The first and third syllables of this refrain are pronounced with accompanying nasalization.

suggests rapid motion; or they may suggest action or actions inherent in the story, as in "Gbaghere tụchie" (Eziagụ A2) which suggests the 'to and fro' motion of opening and closing a door.[1]

8. The Subject Matter of Ifo

The subject matter of Ifo used in this study are many and varied. Using human characters, albeit with fictitious names, some Ifo portray everyday life in the village ranging from occupational activities such as farming and hunting, to recreational events like wrestling and music making. Two typical village scenes are described in "Ha jere gabha" (Eziagụ A16), and "Agbọ ngerede ngede" (Eziagụ A1). In the former, the killing of a big animal by a brave lad, an achievement greatly cherished in traditional society, sets the whole community into festivity in which singing and dancing, drumming and other instrumental music, including the noble Ikoro dance music, and the firing of guns feature. In the latter song, the very important and old custom of carrying the corpse of an Ada which, as was discussed earlier,[2] was in the past a great community affair, is recaptured.

The delineation of human qualities are the subject matter of some Ifo. It may be a virtue such as courage,

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1. Vide Eziagụ A23, A32, A64 and A65c.

2. Supra, p. 45.

as in the Ifo quoted above, or a negative quality such as jealousy or intrigue which is portrayed in "Qmaṛingwọ ka mma" (Eziagụ A53). Rivalry among co-wives in a polygamous family, together with its attendant evils, is yet another theme as in Eziagụ B13. Human stereotypes, more especially those that represent anti-social tendencies, are satirised as in "Gbata m, gbata m" (Eziagụ A15), where 'sadism' personified in "Ololoolo" is attacked.

Some Ifo contain episodes in which animals not only speak, behave, reason, and share human emotions, but also sometimes assume human status and interact with human beings. In Eziagụ A23, Tortoise is involved in a case of inadvertent murder: he killed Dung Beetle during a scuffle that arose at a dinner party, and realising that the inevitable penalty for murder was death, he absconded but was declared a wanted person.

But in Eziagụ A33, animals and human beings interact to mutual advantage. Nwaanara, a beautiful girl, rejected many suitors prominent among them being Hawk, Kite, and Eagle, and married Vulture, a bird whose way of life is revolting. She thus blundered because of her fastidiousness in choosing a mate. This is a typical Ifo with a moralizing text. Similar to Ifo with moralizing contents are those with explanatory themes. Eziagụ A34, is a classic example. It explains how the Sky God acquired the praise name "Igwe ka ala" ("The Sky God which is mightier than Ala"). Ala, the Mother Goddess Earth, challenged the seniority and therefore the authority of Igwe, the Sky God; the triumph of Igwe over Ala in

the struggle that followed, earned the former the above praise name.

The Ifo: "Kpọbha ndị ọma" (Eziagụ A24), furnishes us with a case where even vegetables and plants intrude in human affairs. Pepper (in other similar tales, it may be Gourd, or Pumpkin) agrees to become the child of a barren woman, but the child reverts to its original form when the secret of its origin is divulged.

Another theme that is found is that in which human beings mingle with spirits, intermarry with them, and exchange friendly visits with them. This is exemplified in the Eziagụ A2 and A80. In Eziagụ A11, a spirit disguised in human form became a medicine man and cured Nwaobiozubha's parents of blindness and lameness, and in the price haggling that followed, he insisted and eventually succeeded in taking Nwaobiozubha to the spirit world. A similar change of form for sinister purposes is embodied in the plot of Eziagụ A2.

An additional range of themes are exhibited in the 53 songs which tell their own stories without any prose settings. Out of these 53 songs, 35 contain ordinary stories. Typical of this group are Eziagụ A1, A12, A16, A19, D23 and D39. Some of them are moralizing tales, such as Eziagụ A33, which points out the disadvantage of a girl being too choosy about a suitor.

The thematic burden of 10 other songs is satirical. The target of Eziagụ A31 is farmers who are failures because of their laziness and procrastination, while Eziagụ A60, A68, A70, A72, B25, C30, D36 and D46, to mention just a

few, contain various forms of 'curses' and 'abuses' directed towards potential enemies. Eziagụ A70 serves as a useful example of the nature of this group of songs:

Onye nwa nne ye
Une nnereke
Onye nwa nne ye
Une nnereke
Ahụonye, nwa nne ye
Une nnereke
Onye na-ero ghụ iro
Rojisiri aka,
Rojisiri ọkpa,
Dara mbịa n'ihu,
Dara mbịa n'azụ,
O sere ite bhụ ite
O shii agba n'ọkụ,
Ọ kaa, o kworo eze,
Kaa, ndo!
Une nnereke.

Who is my brother?[1]
Who is my brother?
Ahụonye,[2] my brother:
"He who envies you,
Envy crush his hands,
Envy crush his feet,
Disappointments meet him as he moves forwards,
Disappointments meet him as he moves backwards,
If he takes a nice cooking pot
Let him cook agba (instead of ọkpa),[3]
And when it is cooked, let him lose all his teeth.
Please! Please!"[4]

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1. Nwanne in Igbo means either 'brother' or 'sister', in particular, but in general refers to anybody who has a blood relationship with oneself. It has been translated above in a masculine sense, but could equally well be understood as feminine; and the same applies to the envious enemies referred to in line 4.
2. Any other name may be substituted for Ahụonye.
3. Agba: a type of cover crop; ọkpa: a type of bean.
4. Kaa, ndo: is an appeal to the gods to hear the incantation

Other songs wish more dire misfortune on the enemy, as for instance in Eziagụ D36:

... Okoli nwa nne:
"Onye na-ero ghụ iro,
Onye nwa nwụkwa,
Onye nwa hwukwe ..."

Okoli my brother:
"Whoever is jealous of you,
Let them die,
Let them get lost ..."

Eziagụ A58, A59, A71a-b, C29 and D38, represent a group of songs that are complete without the use of prose and that are called "Ajụjụ" ('Questions' or 'Riddles'). These songs test one's knowledge and ability to use esoteric and archaic language in describing either plants or human beings. Two typical examples repay detailed study because of their formal structure, and the fact that, asfar as is known, no discussion of 'Riddle' or 'Questions' as integral features of folktale song has been made in folklore literature generally, and Igbo folktale in particular.

Eziagụ A58 contains a riddle which tests the knowledge and use of esoteric terms in describing yams - the most important and highly valued Igbo cash crop and staple food. It is divided into five main sections which develop the drama of 'question and answer', and accentuate the raconteur-audience division of the song:

a. The raconteur announces the theme of the test: "Kọọ aha ji" ("Say the names of yam"), and by phrasing his command generally, rather than to an individual, keeps the mind of each member of the audience alert.

The resulting suspense is relieved when one member is named, thus leaving the others free to sing the refrain without inhibiting restraints;

b. The person named makes several unsuccessful attempts, but eventually gets the answers right;

c. The questioner acknowledges that the answers are correct;

d. The questioner praises the contestant, calling him or her one "born of real farmers";

e. Overwhelmed with joy, this person bursts into "Ugori" (Ululation) as a sign of triumph and achievement.

Onye onye kọọ ji	Mgbamịrịkọtọ mgba mgba!
Onye onye kọọ ji	"
"X" kọọ ji	"
"Nne ji?"	"
Nwa m kọọ ji na ọ bụrọ ji.	"
"O, ji abịa?"	"
Mgba mgba, kọọ ji na ọ bụrọ ji.	"
"Egbele Ugo?"	"
O, nwa m kọbha ji na ọ bụrọ ya.	"
"O, ji oku?"	"
Nwa m kọbha ji na ọ bụrọ ji.	"
"O, ji aga?"	"
Nwa m kọbha ji na ọ bụrọ ji.	"
"'Eji ikwe e ji nrịa'"	"
Ghụrụ ahu 'Ji oku, ji mmee',	"
'O ruru akpụ, e rughu nne'."	"
A, ịhịa, nwa mụ!	"
O, nwa m n ị kọta ji	"
Nwa nne ghụ nwere ji,	"
Nwa nna ghụ nwere ji.	"

A, ogogoighiyo! Mgbamiṛikọtọ mgba mgba!
Ogogoighiyo, goighiyo! "
Uko ego, ụyọrọ ego! "

Who, who will gues the names of yam?
Who will guess the names of yam?
"X", guess the names of yam.

"Nne ji?"
My child, another guess; that's no yam.
"Well, Abị yam?"
Rubbish![1] another guess; that's no yam.
"Egbele ugo?"
A pity, my child! Make another guess for you are wrong.
"Well, Oku yam?"
My child, a further guess for that's no yam.
"Eji ikwe e ji nri",
Or "Ji oku, ji mmee",
"O ruru akpụ, e rughu nne."

Yes! Well done, my child!
Yes! Your guess is correct!

The child whose mother has plenty of yams!
The child whose father has plenty of yams!

A, ogogoighiyo!
Ogogoighiyo, ogoighiyo!
Scarcity of money, plenty of money!

Eziagụ A59 is a riddle which tests the knowledge, and use of, esoteric phrases in describing human beings, and in this case the names of one's parents, husband, friend,

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1. Mgba mgba is a nonsense phrase used to make up the rhythm.

sister. Like its counterpart, Eziagụ A58, it falls into seven sections:

a. The introduction - a sort of "everybody get ready" affair, followed by the name of a particular person in the audience;

b. The posing of riddles;

c. Acceptance of the challenge by the person mentioned;

d. Answers given in the required archaic phraseology;

e. An elaboration of further riddles, with their answers by the contestant as a mark of proficiency in the use of esoteric language;

f. Ugori (Ululation) uttered by the contestant as a sign of achievement;

g. Praise and acknowledgement from the questioner.

Onye onye, gwa m, gwa m.	Ịhịị ịhịị
Gwa m, gwa m	"
Onye onye gwa m, gwa m!	"
Okoli gwa m, gwa m!	"
Gwa m, gwa m!	"
O, gwa m aha nna ghụ	"
Gwa m, gwa m	"
Gwa m aha nne ghụ	"
Gwa m, gwa m	"
Gwa m aha di ghụ	"
Gwa m, gwa m	"
Gwa m aha enyi ghụ	"
Gwa m, gwa m	"
Gwa m aha nwa nne ghụ	"
Gwa m, gwa m.	"
Ị shị m gwa ghụ?	"
Ị shị m gwa ghụ?	"

'Oji abọ atụ ashị anyị na-eri',
ọ bụdụ nna m Ịhịị ihịị
'Oji abọ ekwuchi ite anyị na-eri',
ọ bụdụ nne m "
'Nkume chakodo' nne gụrụ m,
ọ kwadụ nwa nne m "
'Osisi toro ehwuru dụ na Nkwọ',
ọ bụdụ di m "
'Ugo bere n'ọjị anwụ na-ama',
ọ bụdụ enyi m "
'Akịdị nkụrụnkụ' nne gụrụ m,
nne m ọ gụka "
'Ori anụ, ori azụ,' nna gụrụ m,
nna m ọ gụka "

Ala turu ugo, ọ bụrụ ero,
Mbubo dụ n'obu, ọ bụrụ ara,
Ọkpụkpụ fụta ihe, ọ bụrụ eze,
Ala daa ibi, ọ bụrụ mkpu.

O nneele! "
O nneele, nneele "

Nwa m, ị kọọ! "
Nwa m, ị kọọ![1] "

Of the remaining three songs, Eziagụ B15 is a lament by a talkative woman who has been beaten by her quick-tempered and callous husband; Eziagụ A15 is an Ifo prelude (Ikụ ana Ifo[2]); and Eziagụ A26 is called Kpụkpụrụ ike ("Strong knot", i.e. an elaborately interlaced esoteric and archaic linguistic expression), so called because

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1. For the English translation, vide supra, p. 193.

2. Vide Appendix A, song 1.

besides riddles and tongue-twisting expressions, it contains metaphoric comments and embedded imagery whose meanings the raconteur herself confessed were not even known by her mother from whom she learnt it - all these are uttered in various vocal modes which range from declaimed speech to song.

In conclusion, no matter what the theme, Ifo in general reflect different facets of Igbo traditional culture. Through the media of miscellaneous groups of dramatic personnae comprising human beings, animals, spirits, and even plants and vegetables, human activities are explored and dramatized to different degrees. The story and the song, as well as the unfolding of the plot, are all highly entertaining. Through the moralizing and explanatory tales which embody the mores of the society, the children are educated socially. The performance of Ifo provides a forum which brings both children and adults together in music-making; and it offers the children a wholesome medium for musical as well as linguistic training. Ifo is a mirror of the mind and thought of the people, a reflection of the tensions and conflicts within the society and therefore, to a large extent, the index of the society.

9. Dramatis Personnae

Human beings, animals, plants and spirits interact in different combinations in the plots of Ifo.[1] These characters derives their names from various sources. A

1. Infra, p. 499.

few examples from the numerous cases found in this corpus will be cited. Names of human beings may be real, for instance, 'Nwoye' (the name for a male child born on Orie market day; Eziagụ B19), and Eke nwa Dim (Eke - a male child born on Eke market day and the son of Dim; Eziagụ B8). Other proper names are Agbo, the short form of Agbọ mma ("a beautiful gourd"; Eziagụ A1), Ụbajekwe (Eziagụ B29), and Onwuha nwa Onyekwere (Ọnwụha the son of Onyekwere; Eziagụ A69).

People may be called by their praise names. In Eziagụ A62, the king's wives are given names which reflect the degree of favouritism each enjoys from her husband, and they range from "Ori ehi"("The eater of beef"), the most loved, to "Ori azụ" ("The eater of fish"), the least loved. "Nwa enyo mma" ("The beautiful mirror"), in the Ifo Eziagụ A44, is so called because of her beauty and smoothness of body. In the Ifo Eziagụ A11, the beautiful and gallant Nwaobiaozubha ("She, who when she comes, causes uproar"), is variously called "Oke nkụta ugo" ("The hound, the eagle ...", epithets which describe the assiduity and swiftness with which she applies herself to almost all she does, especially in things like village contests), and "Mbụba ala amara ọkwa" ("The bull of whose arrival one is warned", i.e. like the bull, Nwaọbịaọzụbha is a heroine of whose arrival in any village contest one is warned).

"Nwa ịkọmkpukpu" ("Mister Hunchback"; Eziagụ A25) typifies the use of nicknames in these folktales.

Animals, like humans, are also called their real names: Mgbada (Bushbuck), Ele (Antelope), and of course, Mbe (Tortoise, the trickster in Igbo folktale, as in Eziagụ A23); birds such as Egbe (Kite), Ugo (Eagle), Nkwọ (Hawk) and Udele (Vulture) are mentioned in the Ifo, Eziagụ A33. Nchi (Cutting Grass) is also very often mentioned and is regarded as an 'early riser', while Icheoku (Parrot) typifies 'talkativeness'. Sometimes, animals are referred to by their nicknames. "Uzunti" ("Buzzing of the ear-drum"; Eziagụ A78), and "Onyike Uturubo" ("Baboon, the celebrated wrestler"; Eziagụ A76). In Ifo Eziagụ B22, Ele (Antelope) is called "Omere ọkwụrụ nwaanyị" ("He who menaces the okro plantation of women"), because okro is its favourite vegetable; Atụ (Bush cow) is known as "Oji mpu akwa aja" ("He who pushes down a wall or any obstacle with his horns"), because of its method of charging its foes; while Enyi (Elephant), because of its size is termed "Ọdabiri miri uhie" ("He, who when it falls into a stream, prevents it from flowing").

Plants are generally called by their names, but the Ifo Eziagụ A24 and A58 provide us with notable exceptions where vegetables and plants are called various other names. In the former, a relevant part of which is quoted below, a mysterious pepper turned into a beautiful girl and was adopted by a certain couple. She promised to stay with her adopted parents under one condition: that nobody

should reveal her original identity. She was loved and was called by different pet names:

> ... Nne ya la-akpọ ya "Ọmụ na-eto orogo",
> Nna ya la-akpọ ya "Mpu la-aṅụ mmịị",
> Di ya la-akpọ ya "Ajị gbara n'obi ya",
> Enyi ya la-akpọ ya "Ọnwa la-eti nga ya",
> Nwa ohu la-akpọ ya "Ịgba e ji eshi ite" ...
>
> ... Mother call me "The young palm frond that grows erect";
> Father calls me "Mpu[1] that drinks wine";
> My husband calls me "Hairs that grow on his chest";
> My friend calls me "The moon that shines in his compound";
> (But) the slave calls me "Pepper that is used in cooking food" ...

In the latter Ifo, Eziagụ A58, yam is called by many special stereotyped archaic names.[2] Also in Eziagụ A15, inanimate objects such as nkume (stone) and azịza (broom) are described in esoteric terms as "Nwata tiri akị" ("The child that cracks palm nuts") and "Nwata zaka obodo" ("The child that sweeps clean the village square") respectively.

Spirits are generally called Ndị mmụọ, but because most of the time they are portrayed as misformed or deformed, some are described as Ndị mmụọ isi naabọ / atọ / anọ ("Two-headed, three-headed, or four-headed spirits"). It is customary to think of them as having either one leg,

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1. Mpu is a wine cup made either from the horn of an animal such as a cow, a buck, or a deer, or else from a gourd.

2. For detailed discussion on this refer to the section on Ifo of the "Ajụjụ" type, supra, p. 191.

eye, ear, and so on, instead of the normal pairs which human beings have. In such cases they are described as "Ndị mmụọ mpekele ọkpa, mpekele aka, mpekele ntị", and so on. The main purpose in each case is to make them sound and appear abnormal in order to evoke their ominous nature. However, cases of application of praise names may be cited, especially in connection with gods such as Igwe ka ala ("The Sky God who is greater than the Earth Goddess") as in the Ifo, Eziagụ A34; "Ahwọ na-achụ onwe ya" ("The year which performs its end of year ritual by itself"), a malignant spirit which roams about looking for victims (Eziagụ A4). Similarly, some notorious water spirits have praise names, for instance, Udengụma and Udegwururu.[1]

10. The Ending

The style of ending Ifo generally depends on the type of the tale. Akụkọ Ifo ("Ifo stories"), and Akụkọ na Ifo ("Stories and song") are invariably either moarlizing or explanatory tales; therefore, they often end by having these morals or explanations expressed. Hence a moral tale ends thus: "That is why a girl should not be fastidious in choosing a suitor"; or "That is why covetousness, or stealing, or disobedience, is bad"; or "That is why civility, or honesty, or industry, is a virtue"; or "That is why mimicking a deformed person is a dangerous habit". Sometimes the moral is given without any

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1. Supra, p. 28.

introductory formula: "Treachery brings disaster"; "Gluttony is bad"; and so on.

If it is an aetiological or explanatory tale, sometimes called "a why-tale", the formula is given thus: "From that time hence, enmity exists between the rats and the cats"; or: "That is why bats fly at night"; or "That is why hawks hover around burning bush"; and so on.

Ifo, per se, end with the soloist joining the chorus in the last refrain, and its morals are generally implied.

The audience on the other hand, through sighs of relief and admiration, soft greetings such as "Nnọọ!" ("Welcome"), commendatory remarks such as "Ọọ ya!" ("That's it!"), or "I foo!" ("That's good singing!"), and through laughter demonstrate their spontaneous evaluation of the narrator's performance.

CHAPTER FIVE

TEXTUAL COMPONENTS

All the songs used in this study are poems in the sense that they are not only the product of "the art which uses both speech and songs to reveal the realities that the senses record, the feelings salute, the mind perceives, and shaping imagination orders",[1] but also (and more importantly) they are in varying degrees embodiments of lofty and imaginative ideas and thoughts expressed in a variety of verse forms. This definition also covers such Ifo songs as Eziagụ A26 and A54, which use vocal modes that range from declaimed speech to song.[2]

In Ifo songs, both the poetry and its melodic setting fit each other in three fundamental ways: structure, rhythm, and pitch. Of these three elements, structure and rhythm are to some extend dependent on each other, while rhythm in turn continues with pitch to achieve a text-tune fusion. In spite of this peculiar affinity between language and tune in Igbo poetry, it should be noted that melody has its own "syntactical" logic while at the same time accommodating speech contours so that words do not become meaningless either musically or linguistically. In Chapter Six we shall examine the structure

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1. Deutsch, 1965, p. 111.

2. Vide the section: "Manner of singing", infra, p. 249.

of melody *per se* but in this chapter we anticipate the study of melody by briefly reviewing the melodic setting of the texts in terms of their textual structure and linguistic forms.

It should be noted that in *Egwu ọgụgụ* ("Ordinary singing") the singer can and does conceptualise music and poetry as two separable elements, hence when the occasion arises the singer is able to fit new words to an existing tune, or to compose new tunes to old texts. But the *Ifo* genre is special in that it is apparently the only traditional genre in which conventions and the communal ethos forbid any fundamental reshaping, either by composing new texts to tunes, or by fitting new tunes to old texts. This is a very important distinction and it is on this basis that the singers assert that *Ifo* is not *Egwu*. Hence the music and the poetic texts are irrevocably fused, both in concept and in performance, by the depth of the tradition. Variations of individual *Ifo* undoubtedly exist; in one area, the singer may sometimes substitute say, the Tortoise for the Hare, while another community may prefer to use 'yam' instead of 'cocoyam'. Nevertheless, the Igbo in general recognise the general outline and the theme of a particular *Ifo* and accept it simply as a legitimate variation and as part of the *bona fide Ifo* corpus. Therefore, the separation of musical from textual material in this and subsequent contexts is an artificial dichotomy necessary for analytical purposes, and the term 'text' will be used to refer to all the linguistic aspects of the song,

and the term 'music' to rhythm and pitch sequences, or melodic contours.

1. Stylistic Features

It is first necessary to determine briefly the scope of the word 'style' as it is understood by the traditional Igbo singer and as it is similarly applied to a large extent, in this study.

The word 'style' is an elastic concept in Igbo musical practice and there is no single term to express it. It is best expressed by a phrase such as: Etu e si eme ihe ("Style or manner of doing something"). 'Manner' in this phrase connotes 'style', 'technique', or 'art', while the 'something' done may be interpreted as ịgụ Egwu ("The singing of Egwu"). Thus the phrase may be further extended to, say: Etu e si agụ egwu Ojoojo ("The singing style or manner of rendition of Ojoojo songs"). The 'something' done may also be Ịkụ or Iti Egwu ("Playing instruments"), hence style will be referred to in particular as etu e si akụ or eti Egwu ("The manner or style of playing instruments", whether solo or in an ensemble). Thus 'style', for instance, involves not only the order in which instrumentalists such as drummers may arrange their drums, but also the way they sit or stand while performing, the way the drum sticks are held and the drums struck, the entry behaviour of each drummer, and the means by which the drummers achieve unanimity in performance. It also involves the body movement and facial

expression of the instrumentalists, and the manner of beginning and the method of ending each variation, or the method of changing from one variation to another. Similar distinctions relating to style are made for other types of singing, instrumental performance, and dancing.

In considering textual components, the main stylistic features include not only the manner in which an Ifo session is organised and performed,[1] but also the way in which the Igbo language and its expressions, in conjunction with other rhetoric devices, are employed. These features also include the type of vocal modes used, and how they are translated into actual song by means of a singing style.

One final point about style in general must be noted. Traditional musical practices in Nigeria today are culturally based. Thus one finds Igbo, Hausa, Yoruba, Efik and Ijo musics, to mention only a few examples, and each music has its own broad and distinctive style. This aesthetic and artistic diversity repudiates any suggestion of the existence of a single Nigerian style. In addition, within each of these culturally based broad stylistic areas, there is no true communal style as such; what exists is a cultural norm of which individuals are merely distinguishable representative strands.

2. The Ifo Performer

Ifo is an expressive art, and although anyone is

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1. This has been treated in greater detail in Chapter Four.

potentially able to perform Ifo, there are those whose expertise as performers is unquestionably acclaimed by their community as superlative. At Eziagụ town, for example, my informants were unanimous in asserting that Madam Akụezue Onyeje is unrivalled in Ịgụ Egwu ("Singing of Egwu") as well as in Ifo Ifo ("Telling and singing Ifo"). "Her mother was a reputed egwu singer, and Akụezue started singing from childhood", they stressed. Probably sensing that the writer was a bit sceptical about their testimony, one of them further elaborated: "M chọọ abọ Ifo, Akụezue ja-enyecha m ya" ("If I want a basketful of Ifo, Akụezue can give it to me", i.e. a hyperbolic expression which simply means that Akụezue commands a vast repertoire of Ifo[1]). She went further to qualify Akụezue's grade of Ifo as "Ifo nwere mkpụrụ" ("Ifo which has seed", i.e. substance, in contradistinction with "Ifo umụazhị" - "children's performance", which according to my informant, is very sketchy, drab and undramatic). "Ọnu ya bịa na-atọnụ" ("Her voice is so sweet", i.e. she has a beautiful singing voice), another interjected. "Ọ makwu akọ akụkọ" ("She is a good story teller, also") they all affirmed. The most humorous among my informants expressed it more picturesquely: "Ọ na-akọ akụkọ, ị jahụ atụpịa ọkọ" ("If she is telling a story, you will not scratch yourself"). From these statements, it will be seen that most Ifo specialists have been involved

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1. Apart from singing the whole of the Ifo Eziagụ A group, Akụezue knows all the other songs collected from Eziagụ, as well as many of those from other areas.

in Ịgụ Egwu ("Singing Egwu") for a considerable time; and from the evidence collected, most of them are women and learnt their verbal art from their mothers or elder sisters. The fact that girls are more closely attached to their mothers than boys may be one of the reasons for the predominance of women in this aspect of musical practice. From this exposition it will also be valid to hypothesize that Eziagụ people in particular, and the Igbo in general regard the command of a large repertoire, the possession of a 'good or beautiful voice', and the mastery of the art of telling and singing Ifo with vividness and drama, as characteristics of a good Ifo performer.

3. Language

With the exception of the Ifo Prelude: Gbata m, gbata m (Eziagụ A15), Aṅara opokoopo (Eziagụ A3), Kpụkpụrụ ike (Eziagụ A26), and Ifo of the 'Riddle or Question' types (Eziagụ A58 and A59) - in all of which the use of esoteric and archaic language is an essential characteristic, the language of Ifo in this corpus, and more likely than not in Ifo generally, is a formalized version of Igbo everyday speech. Reasons for this are not difficult to find. Ifo, we have pointed out, is primarily for children whose stock of words and ability to manipulate Igbo idomatic and figurative expressions are limited; and it reaches its audience in a performance which is addressed to the ear and ~~nto~~ to the eyes. Because of the transitory and ephemeral

nature of an Ifo performance, and also because the subject matter usually centres around ideas, incidents, drama, and feelings of Igbo traditional life, the comprehension and appreciation of the import of Ifo is best promoted through the medium of simple and straightforward language. Although sometimes poetic constraints and a sense of decorum necessitate some modifications and occasional deviations from everyday speech, limited poetic freedom, the use of different rhetoric styles and imagery, and songs, help to sustain the interest of the audience while giving the scenes meaningful settings and adding a vivid sense of reality to the story.

3.1 Prefixes and suffixes

Prefixes and suffixes are used in special ways in Ifo. Thus nwa is a favourite prefix to the names of animals in Ifo. In ordinary speech, nwa is used as a noun meaning 'child (of someone)', 'young (of an animal)'; but in Ifo, nwa when prefixed to the name of an animal means 'poor'. Hence in Verse 5 of Eziagụ A55, we have the following:

Nwa Mbeoke mee aka n'enu, aka eruhu ye;
Nwa Mbeoke mee ọkpa n'enu, ọkpa eruhu ye;
Nwa Mbeoke mee aka n'akpa, mere ọfọ ya:

Poor Tortoise stretched up its hands, but its hands did not reach there;
Poor Tortoise stretched up its legs, but its legs did not reach there;
Poor Tortoise put its hand in the bag and brought out the ọfọ:

Similarly, the word okè (which as an independent word means "boundary") is frequently suffixed to names of animals. Hence nchi leads to nchioke (the Cutting grass), mgbada leads to mgbadaoke (the bushbuck), mvụrụ leads to mvụrụoke (the crown-duiker), ele leads to eleoke (the antelope), and mbe leads to mbeoke (the tortoise). These forms all occur in Eziagụ A55. Unlike the verbal suffixes described by Green and Igwe, which "are lexical, not grammatical, elements. That is to say that they modify the meaning of the word they follow but do not change its grammatical form",[1] in Ifo '-oke' is a suffix without either grammatical or lexical function, which is employed only for euphony and to complete the rhythm of the melody.

3.2. 'Meaningless' words and syllables

To the Igbo, a "wong without words" is inconceivable, and an Igbo would be surprised, if not shocked, to learn that "many Indian songs have no words", as Frances Densmore revealed;[2] or worse still, that the North American Indians have quantities of songs with texts composed entirely of meaningless syllables, as Nettl submitted.[3] But this does not imply that Igbo songs preclude the use of so-called meaningless words and syllables, and as can be

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1. Igwe and Green, 1964, p. 21.
2. Densmore, 1943, p. 160.
3. Nettl, 1972, p. 22.

seen from the texts of Ifo used in this study, meaningless words and syllables feature in songs but only as incidental elements in song texts.

Some of them correspond to the joyous "tra-la-la" of English folk songs, or the "fa-la-la" of the madrigal. Laalaashịla (Eziagụ A55), and Hị ịị hị ịghị (Eziagụ A12) are just two out of many examples in which this occurs. Others might be remains of obsolete words, or words corrupted during the process of oral transmission. Loss of memory, or indifference on the part of the learner(s) to a thorough mastery of the words, could account for this. While studying Venda children's songs, Blacking observed that "Children, in particular, learn songs without troubling about their meaning, so that they may well sing what they think they heard, and thus reproduce an 'incorrect' version of the text, which they will later hand on to others."[1] Since the Ifo singers of today were at one time children, and children behave almost alike irrespective of cultural differences, it can be inferred that those children who sang the earliest versions of Igbo songs were susceptible to the same propensity exhibited by Venda children.

One example from personal experience tends to confirm this observation. In the kindergarten school, we were taught a 'round' titled "Oh, read and do".[2] Probably

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1. Blacking, 1967, p. 156.

2. Appendix B, song 18.

because our singing teacher did not emphasise, or exaggerate, the 'ds' of the words 'read' and 'and' while teaching us this song by rote, or because we were carried away by the lilting and rocking rhythm of the song, we cared less about the meaning of the words and consequently ended up by singing the 'incorrect' and therefore meaningless words "Oh, rea an du".

Generally, most of these so-called 'meaningless' words and syllables appear at the end of phrases as refrains for the chorus where they principally serve to fill the rhythm of the melody.[1] They also feature internally in the body of the text where they serve as a means of extending the length of verbal units of songs in order to achieve symmetry and balance, as is the case in Eziagụ A34 where kpambele is borrowed from the refrain, but where it occurs in the solo phrase is meaningless.

These groups of words are easily adaptable in realising dramatic effects and other musical climaxes because, being meaningless, they are incapable of suffering any semantic distortion no matter how they are intoned by the singer.

Related to this category of syllables are 'intrusive' vowels and nasalized consonants which are semantically empty but melodically and rhythmically functional. Examples abound in the Ifo songs but two will suffice to drive home

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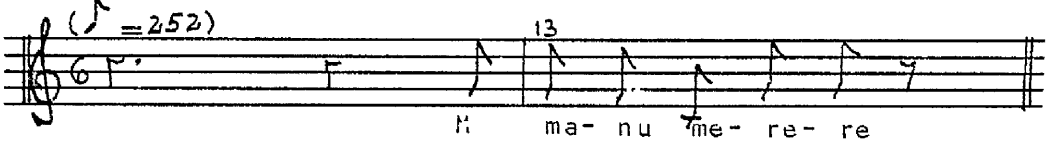
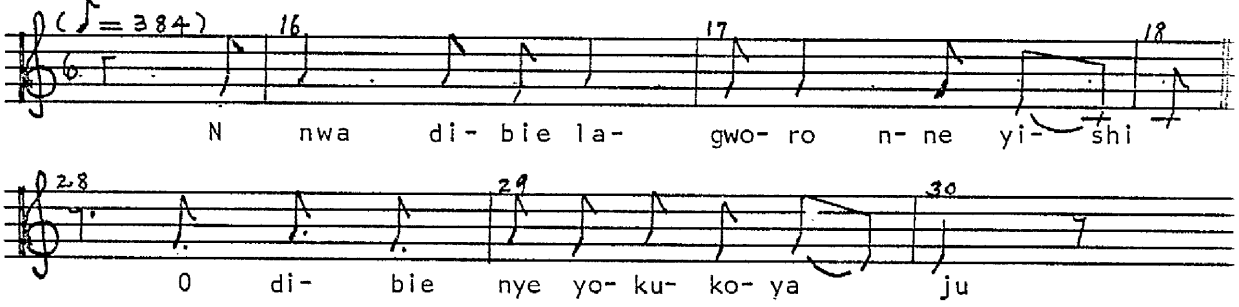
1. Vide "Refrain", supra, p. 185.

the point. The word for 'oil' in Igbo can be pronounced as either manụ or mmanụ, i.e. with or without an initial syllabic nasal. In Eziagụ A78 bar 13, the longer form is used to make up the tone and rhythm of the melody (see Example 1 below). Similarly, in Eziagụ A11 bar 15, the phrase nwa dibie (medicine man) is sung with an initial syllabic nasal. In this case, while the pronunciation nnwa may be a possible one,[1] the shorter form is certainly more used. In bar 28 of the song, the intrusive vowel 'O' which precedes the dibie (medicine man), makes up the rhythm and melody of the song but could not occur in ordinary speech (see Example 2).

Eziagu A78 bars 12-13



Eziagu A11



4. Poetic Devices

4.1 Repetition

One of the commonest poetic devices found in this

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1. It is recorded in Williamson, Igbo-English Dictionary, Benin City, 1972, s.v. nnwa.

corpus is repetition. A state of urgency may be depicted by the repetition of words. In the opening part of Eziagụ A2, the repetition of "Nne ya, nne ya tụghe, ndorilọma!" ("My mother, my mother, open the door, please!") three times suggests that Onumara's life is in great danger.

The repetition of words or phrases may suggest an intensity of desire, or the time-span of an action, or both. In Eziagụ A23, the intensity of Nwa Anụnụ's thirst for water as well as the duration of time it took him to satiate it are all well conveyed in the passage:

> ... Nye Nwa Anụnụ miri,
> Anụnụ nara.
> Nụọ, nụọ nụọ nụọ,
> Nụọ nụọ nụọ nụọ,
> Suo mpi kororo! ...
>
> ... Gave Nwa Anụnụ water,
> Anụnụ accepted it.
> Drank drank drank drank,
> Drank drank drank drank,
> Beat the cup (on the ground) kororo...[1]

Similarly, in Eziagụ A1, the long and tedious journey from Agbọ's town to Oru, her husband's town, and back, which Agbọ's relations made in order to convey her corpse home is repeatedly expressed in the following phrases:

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1. Kororo is an ideophone describing the sound of an empty mpi (wine-cup made out of the horn of an animal) when beating on the ground - a characteristic behaviour of gluttons in a drinking party. It is a rude way of saying, "I have finished my drink, and I want some more".

... Ha hụ gaba, ha hụ gaba,
Ha hụ gaba, ha hu gaba ...

... We journeyed, we journeyed,
We journeyed, we journeyed ...

and again

... Ha hụ jebe, ha hụ jebe,
Ha hụ jebe, ha hụ rue ...

... We were going, we were going,
We continued going, we eventually arrived ...

Words or phrases may be repeated to show recurrent action, or for emphasis, or to show excitement and indignation. In Eziagụ A16, the repeated action of Ịtụ ọna (The performance of a special dance steps with characteristic body movements[1]) by the mother of a gallant son who killed a mysterious creature called Anya is manifested in the words "Ujeri! ujeri! ujeri! ujeri!"; the successive booming of gun shots by "Dụm, dụm, dụm, dụm!"; the blasts of rhythmic flute phrases by the brother by "Hwụtọrị, hwụtọrị, hwụtọrị, hwụtọrị!"; and "Idighiri dighiridi" is used to represent the rapid reiteration of the son's praise name in slit-drum phrases.

Nwaanara's repeated furious and agitated refusal of Hawk, Kite, and Eagle as suitors is portrayed in the recurrent phrases, in Eziagụ A33:

Ọdụhụ, ọdụhụ!	No, no!
Ọdụhụ, ajụ ya!	No, I refuse!

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1. Vide Igba Egwu: "The concept of music", No. 2, supra, p. 61.

Conversely, the excitement and joy of being blessed eventually with a suitable suitor in the person of Vulture is underscored as follows:

Ịhịa, ịhịa!	That's right, that's right!
Ịhịa, ekwe ya!	That's right, I agree!

The happiness even overflows into the adoration felt for Vulture, and this is expressed in repeated piles of imagistic blocks:

Oke Udele nwoke ya!
Nwoke akpa mgbọ la-ekwe!
Nwoke ube onu la-ekwe!
Mbụ ọ zịị, ọ magwọrịa!

Great Vulture my man!
A man whom a bag of bullets suits (i.e. soldier-like in build)!
A man whom a long neck suits!
Whom, if he strides, the whole body shakes!

Repetition may be conveniently applied as a means of development of the plot of the story. In the Ifo Eziagụ Al, six lines are identically repeated at nine various points in the story thus:

... Ha hụ kụtu ogene Oru ha,
Kụtụ ogene Igbo ha,
Kpọbha Nwankwọ Orube,
"Aka di ike na-eke mkpa!"
"Idoro ukwu na-evu aja!"
"Idoro ukwu na-evu orima!" ...

... They sounded their Oru-made clapperless iron bell!
Sounded their Igbo-made clapperless iron bell!
Called upon Nwankwọ Orube -
"Strong hand that chains strong men!"
"Great flood that exhumes and carries off charms!"
"Great flood that causes giddiness!"

Rhythmic repetitions abound, but since this is a musical rather than a poetic device, it will be treated in the next chapter.

Eziagu C13, popularly known as "Nwaakalụkpọrọ" ("Nwaakadụkpọrọ, Nwaakatịnkpọrọ" being dialectal variations), is the only song in this collection in which humans, spirits, animals and plants (a cross-section of the universe) are involved. It is a typical cumulative song, i.e. a song "in which the verses increase in length, in arithmetical progression, each verse consisting of a repetition of the previous one, with the addition of one or more lines".[1] It displays a classic example of incremental repetition. Here "Nwaakalụkpọrọ" a legendary errand boy, died on his way to fetch fire for his mistress. The fruit of the ụkwa (the African bread fruit; Moraceae) fell on him. Nemesis then goes into action: Obi (A big wooden spear-like object) stabbed Ụkwa; Termite ate Obi; Fowl ate Termite; Kite carried away Fowl; Gun shot Kite; Blacksmith broke Gun; Death killed Blacksmith; and God (Chukwu) stopped Death. The first two stanzas of the eight-stanza song will be enough to show this poetic feature:[2]

Gịnị ja-emere m Ụkwa nụnwa-o?
Gịnị ja-emere m Ụkwa nụnwa-o?
Ụkwa mere gịnị?
Ụkwa dagburu Nwaakalụkpọrọ
Ka ọ gara ngụtara m ọkụ.

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1. Sharp, 1907, pp. 99-100.

2. Appendix A, song 20.

Gịnị ja-emere n Obi nụnwa-o?
Gịnị ja-emere m Obi nụnwa-o?
Obi mere gịnị?
Obi mawara Ụkwa,
Ụkwa mere gịnị?
Ụkwa dagburu Nwaakalụkpọrọ
Ka ọ gara ngụtara m ọkụ.

Who will punish Breadfruit for me?
Who will punish Breadfruit for me?
What is Breadfruit's offence?
Breadfruit fell on and killed Nwaakalụkpọrọ,
While he was on his way to fetch me fire.

Who will punish Obi for me?
Who will punish Obi for me?
What is Obi's offence?
Obi stabbed Breadfruit and broke him up;
What is Breadfruit's offence?
Breadfruit fell on and killed Nwaakalụkpọrọ
While he was on his way to fetch me fire.

One final example of the various kinds of repetition recognised in this corpus is anaphoric repetition - the repetition of the opening word or words of a phrase at the beginning of the next phrase for purposes of rhyme and emphasis. The first portion of Eziagụ Al, the carrying of the corpse of an Ada,[1] part of which is quoted hereunder, is full of this element.

Agbọ aja-anụ ghụ ka one?
Agbọ aja-anụ ghụ ka one?
Agbọ aja-anụ ghụ n'Isu?
Agbọ jụ, Agbọ jụ;
Agbọ shị ya anọhụ ja-'esu' ...

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1. Supra, p. 45.

Agbọ in which town will you like to be married?
Agbọ in which town will you like to be married?
Agbọ will you like to be married at Isu?
Agbọ refused, Agbo refused;
Agbọ said she cannot fancy herself 'Isu-ing'.[1]

Eziagụ A59, which has been previously quoted and discussed, also repays study because of the elaborate use of anaphoric repetitions.

b. Parallelism

Akin to repetition and often accompanying it with slight variations is another poetic contrivance of parallelism which E.L. Walton and T.T. Waterman defined as "a correspondence of terms in one line to those of another in respect of meaning not in respect of number of syllables ... based upon a universal biological principle, repetition with variation."[2] While Eziagụ C13 furnishes us with an example of incremental repetition, another version of it in Eziagụ A63[3] reveals "a chain parallelism" which according to Walton and Waterman is "made up of a succession of clauses so linked that the goal of one clause becomes the starting point of the next."[4]

Eziagụ A15, the Prelude to Ifo performance, contains parallelism which expresses contrasting ideas.

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1. Pun on the name Isu.
2. Walton and Waterman, 1925, pp. 37-38.
3. Appendix A, song 21.
4. Walton and Waterman, op.cit., p. 38.

Walton and Waterman call it "antithetical parallelism: in which the second line is an antithesis of the first". For example:

Egbe nnaa,	The kite-one,
Ugo nnaa,	The Hawk-one,
Naa dụghụdụ;	One is sluggish;
Naa yaghaya.	The other is lively.

"Dụghụdụ" is an ideophone conveying an idea of 'heavy, ponderous and sluggish movement', in this case that of the kite in contrast to yaghaya, its antithesis, which portrays the swiftness of the eagle. Similarly, in the same song the following occurs:

E ghubhe eghubhe,	When cooked,
Adụ eghehụ;	Adụ[1] is never done;
A hụbha ahụbha,	When roasted,
Adụ eghehụ.	Adụ is never done.

Contrasting ideas are also highlighted by the use of parallelism. Thus in Eziagụ A61, Onara's mother emphatically states that no animal, whether rich or poor, will marry her daughter Onara except for Nze, because of his generosity to her when she was pregnant:

Nze, i jide akụ,
Nze ja-anụ Ọnara;
Nze, i jighi akụ,
Nze ja-anụ Ọnara.

Nze, whether you are rich,
Nze, you will marry Ọnara;
Nze, whether you are poor,
Nze, you will marry Ọnara.

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1. Dioscorea bulbifera.

Further examples of antithetical parallelism are scattered throughout the corpus, as in the middle section of Eziagụ A60, and the last part of Eziagụ A70:

... Enu eru aka, Not reaching the top,
Ala eru aka. Nor the ground.

Finally in Eziagụ A27, Tortoise is teased and taunted as follows:

Mbe dara ibi n'ihu,
Mbe dara ibi n'azụ.

Tortoise, has hydrocele in front,
Tortoise has hydrocele at the back.

Repetitive parallelism, in which the second line repeats the first in a slightly altered form, is also found in the Ifo Eziagụ A34. Acknowledging the Sky God's suzerainty, the Earth Goddess declares:

Ma gụhụ tọrọ ya, gụhụ ghụ ọkpara, ...
Ma gụhụ ghụ ọkpara, ma gụhụ jidobhe

You are her senior, you are the first born, ...
You are the first born, the honour is yours.

and again:

Oshimiri atachaa, Rivers are dried up,
Ma ngene atachaa ... Streams are dried up ...

and yet still further:

Ọgụ a naasa e jiri ni ha, ...
Ojiji-ojiji ma ọrụrọ-ọrụrọ,
Mgbaji-mgbaji ma omimi-omimi ...

Those seven hoes used in digging the grave,
Some were broken, some were bent,
Some were snapped, some were dented ...

In Eziagụ A27, Tortoise is further taunted and jeered:

Mbe la-eberije Tortoise, you are foolish!
Mbe la-ebubeje. Tortoise, you are stupid!

"Eberije", an image of 'a small crawling stupid-looking creature', and "ebubeje" 'fooling around', are two synonymous words juxtaposed to achieve parallelism of thought through the re-statement of almost identical ideas.

5. Figures of Speech

a. Personification

The most easily recognised figure of speech that runs through more than half of the Ifo corpus is personification,[1] through the ascription of human qualities, thoughts, and emotions to animals, spirits, plants and other inanimate objects. Thus in Eziagụ C10, a boy addresses his trap as if it were a living being and a playmate:

M buru ọnya m dụdụdụdụ
M buru ọnya m dụdụdụdụ
Ọnya m ja-ama, magbute oke nchi.
M shịnụ ọnya m, "Rapụ, rapụ!
"Rapụ, rapụ!" Ọ burọ nke m chọrọ."

M buru ọnya m dụdụdụdụ
M buru ọnya m dụdụdụdụ
Ọnya m ja-ama, magbute ịkpọ nri.
Ọnya m ja-ama, magbute ịkpọ ofe.
M shịnụ ọnya m, "Jido, jido!
"Jido, jido! Ọ nke m chọrọ."

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1. Out of 281 songs, 112 involve humans only, while 169 involve other characters. Vide Appendix E.

I carried my trap dụdụdụdụ.[1]
I carried my trap dụdụdụdụ.
When my trap made a catch, it was a male cutting grass;
I told my trap, "Leave it, leave it!
"Leave it, leave it! I don't want that."

I carried my trap dụdụdụdụ.
I carried my trap dụdụdụdụ.
When my trap made a catch, it was a wooden bowl of foofoo.
When my trap made a catch, it was a pot of soup.
I told my trap, "Hold it, hold it!
"Hold it, hold it! That's what I want."

In Eziagụ A63, animals such as Rat, Goat, Fowl, and Kite, and inanimate objects such as Fire, Gun, and Hut are juxtaposed with the Blacksmith and even Death, and all are characterised as potentially boastful and arrogant.[2]

b. Onomatopoeia

Onomatopoeia is another very common poetic tool employed in Ifo to enhance the narration. Instances will be given from the corpus of Ifo already quoted and discussed in the Appendix. Through the use of ideophones, "the listener sees, hears, or feels what is being described whether it is sound, sensation, emotion, colour, texture, movement, state, quality, or anything else that is described.

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1. Dụdụdụdụ is onomatopoeic and describes the staggering movement of one carrying a heavy object.

2. Appendix A, song 21.

And if it cannot be described there will be an ideophone to describe its state of indescribability."[1]

"Ịkwụkwarị, ịkwụkwarị" describes the romantic laughter uttered by Nwaanara and Vulture as they stroll down the play ground in Vulture's town (Eziagụ A33). Nwa Anụnụ, the small bird, after drinking water from the cup made out of bullock's horn, beats it on the ground 'kororo' (Eziagụ D23). "Kpoo, kpoo, kpoo!" represents the sound of the chopping of wood, while "kporogidi kporokporo" describes the sound of the pieces of wood that fall off as Dung Beetle chops (Eziagụ A23). In Eziagụ A54, a young lad went to a Tooth-filer who filed his upper teeth 'kọmkọm', and filed his lower teeth 'kọmkọm'.

Onomatopoeic words describing colour and quality are encountered in Eziagụ A78 where Tortoise describes the quality and palatability of the food which Yam Beetle has prepared for his brother-in-law thus:

Nhe o jiri ga,	And what he went with,
Nnu, ụtọ;	Salt, so flavoursome;
Mmanụ, merere;	Palm oil, merere;[2]
Ogiri, ụpọ.	Spices, so ụpọ.[3]

In Eziagụ A27, 'periperi', an adverbial phrase of motion is compounded from 'peri' (dervied from iperi, 'to slice to pieces'), to describe the fluttering motion

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1. Noss, 1977, p. 139.

2. Merere - a shimmering effect.

3. Ụpọ - just in the right quantity.

made by a light piece of cloth or any other similar material when excited by the wind. In the same song, "mberi" and "mbube", two synonymous words, are used to portray 'foolishness' and 'stupidity'.

Different types of body movement are suggested by various ideophones. "Dụdụdụdụ" (Eziagụ C10) describes the short, quick, but staggering steps of a person carrying a heavy object. Eziagụ A55 has a concentration of words which express movements made by various animals in their attempt to jump over an obstacle:

> Ole anụ bịa wụrụ ogwe?
> Nchioke bịa wụrụ ogwe
> Nchioke echite-echite, chinge,
> O nhenụ nchirigidi, ya chihe ya,
> O nhenụ ya chiri kanụ, onye ekwune okwu
> Onye eghene ọnụ.
>
> Which animal will come and jump over the obstacle?
> Cutting Grass come and jump over the obstacle.
> Cutting Grass waddled along and waddled over!
> What! Nchirigidi! It has waddled over!
> Oh, let no one say anything about how it waddled,
> Let no one utter a word.[1]

Here "echite-echite, chinge" ("waddled along and waddled over") are derived from the noun Nchioke (Cutting Grass) which describe the waddling movement made by the fat Nchioke, while at the same time they convey a lilting rhythmic and acoustic effect. "Nchirigidi" describes the sound made by Nchioke as he jumps over the obstacle and

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1. Appendix A song 9.

lands on the other side. Similarly, in Eziagụ A33, Nwaanara caricatures the clumsy gaits of Egbe (Kite), Ugo (Eagle) and Nkwọ (Hawk) with verbal phrases derived from their names in the forms: "gbeghere egbeghe", "goghoro-egogho" and "kwọghọrọ-akwọghọ" respectively.

"Ijom ijoroko ijom", the refrain of the Ifo Eziagụ A32, is an adverbial phrase meaning literally, "staggering or jumping about hither and thither". In this phrase "ijom" is the main adverb, and "ijoroko ijom" is an intensified form ehancing both the euphony and the poetic metre. It is an ideophone which portrays the different ways in which the orphan was tossed about: by the foster parents; by the entire family; and finally by the flood as it swept her along winding paths and gullies.

c. Alliteration

Another prominent figure of speech in the Ifo corpus is alliteration. In Eziagụ A61, when Nchi (Cutting Grass) proposed to Onara, Onara's mother refused to accept Nchi as a brother-in-law because Nchi refused to give her an egu ububo (a caterpillar) during the famine when she was expecting Onara:

O chichiri nabha
Ọ bụhụ ghụ ja-anụ ...
Nzeoke ja-anụ ...
Ị wọrọ ya ị wọ ịwọrọ,
Ị wọrọ ya egu ububo
Waddle off!
It's not you that will marry (my daughter) ...

It's Nzeoke[1] that will marry (her) ...
"You refused to give me what you refused to
give me;
You refused to give me egu-ubobo ..."

The last section of Eziagụ A38 supplies another good example of alliteration:

Ị chụ ya mgbada mgbada,
Ọ gbabha mgbada mgbada;
Ị chụ ya owere owere,
Ọ gbaba owere owere.

Mgbada (Bushbuck) is challenging Leopard:

If you pursue me mgbada mgbada,
I will run mgbada mgbada;
If you pursue me owere owere
I'll run owere owere.[2]

Tongue twisters, or 'tongue tanglers' ('tongue trippers' as Charles Potter suggests[3]), occur in most songs especially those of the "Ajụjụ" ("Riddle/Question") type. They are poetically achieved through the interlacing of alliterative words. In the satirical song Eziagụ D36, Okoli's potential enemy is wished not only "loss by misadventure" and "Death", but also utter confusion and frustration in his life's endeavours. This is expressed in the alliterative phrases coined from the interchange of the positions of two words (and also of their tones) 'ụgwa' (mixing up, entangle) and 'anụnụ' (a small bird):

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1. Nzeoke is a kind of animal.

2. Mgbada mgbada literally means 'in the manner of a bushbuck', but there is also a pun on the meaning 'running downhill'. Owere owere suggests 'by short cuts'.

3. Potter, 1949-50, pp. 1117-19.

"... Ya na ụgwa anụnụ gwara anụnụ
Ya na anụnụ gwara ụgwa
Ya na ụgwa anụnụ gwara anụnụ ..."[1]

"... He (Okoli's potential enemy) and anụnụ entangle themselves, entangle anụnụ
He and anụnụ entangle themselves
He and anụnụ entangle themselves, entangle anụnụ ..."

Tongue twisting passages are also introduced into Ifo for fun and amusement and the singer, in singing them, demonstrates her proficiency in rapid enunciation. "They are used for teaching elocution and for the dramatization and enhancement of verbal skill."[2]

Two short examples of such alliterative passages will serve our purpose. In Eziagụ B13b we have the following:

"Ọkpu na-akpụ nwa,	"The moulder of baby,
Kpụ nwa, kpụ nwa,	Mould a baby, mould a baby,
Kpụ nwa!"	Mould a baby!"

And finally the middle section of Eziagụ A59, discussed in the appendix, is another classic example.

d. Simile

Instances of the use of simile abound in this corpus, (e.g. Eziagụ A68, A74, B25, D36, to mention but a few), but one very typical example will suffice. In

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1. For a more extended example of the use of tongue twister vide Eziagụ A60.

2. Ogundipe, 1973, p. 219.

Eziagụ A60, one of the satirical songs, Ọgọ's potential enemy is wished all sorts of misfortunes the climax of which is that he or she would become a person of no consequence, as disillusioned, frustrated and miserable as possible. This is conveyed by liking Ọgọ's enemy to parasitic plants such as akọrọ (a plant of the ivy family) and ovu-egbe (another parasite whose favourite host is the palm tree) which are usually suspended on the stems of their hosts.

Onye na-ero ghụ iro,
Ọ ghụrụ akọrọ
Ya kwụọ ụkwụ n'elu, eru nne n'ala;
Ọ ghụrụ ovu-egbe, ọ ma nkwu n'ogwurugwu.
Enu eru aka, ala eru aka.

He/she who envy you,
Let him/her be like akọrọ
Having thick foliage but no tuber;
Let him/her be like ovu-egbe perching on
the stem of palm tree,
Not reaching the top, nor the ground
(i.e. suspended).

e. Euphemisms

Expressing something considered unpleasant in a less obvious terms is considered a form of politeness. Three isolated instances where this is observed can be cited in this corpus. In Eziagụ B28, 'pubic hair' is called "Eyegheeye", an ideophone which describes the entanglement of thread-like material with a spongy texture. In Eziagụ A25, the term "mbidimbi" is substituted for 'amụ'

- penis. Finally, in Eziagụ B8, one of the chief's wives was accused of being a man. This in effect implies that the chief himself is a homosexual. To exculpate himself of this charge, he arranged that all his wives should appear naked before his people. The chorus part expresses this shameful exercise euphemistically:

I nwere di,
I nwehu di,
Njagana hunhu!

Whether you have a husband,
or not,
Njagana hunhu (i.e. show your nakedness).

And in the concluding part of the story, the word 'aja' is substituted for 'ọtụ' (vagina).

6. Musical Symbolism

It has already been indicated that musical symbolism, i.e. the musical representation of extra-musical phenomena, is a recognised feature of Igbo traditional musical style.[1] It is a prominent in night masquerade music (Egwu mmanwụ abani), and it is also found in some of the Ifo songs.

In night masquerade music, the instrument used in creating this aura is called ọbara (the bull-roarer) - a humble but very highly ritualised instrument which must never be employed outside the context of a mmanwụ abani

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1. Supra, p. 67.

(night masquerade) performance. The punishment for such a default is very severe. In night masquerade performances there is a conscious attempt at producing a high degree of realism, and successfully manipulated, the sound of the bull-roarer when heard in the dead of night conjures an ominous atmosphere, besides producing sounds which are similar to the roaring of a leopard; hence the 'sound' is called Agụ-mmanwụ ("Leopard masquerade"). In fact, traditionally, to the uninitiated the sound is 'real': it is the voice of Agụ mmanwụ, a powerful night masquerade who in alliance with another comrade masquerade called Ome n'ikoro ("He who acts with youthful vigour", i.e. he who symbolises the exuberance of youth), acts as a forerunner of night masquerades.

In Ifo songs, musical symbolism occurs as a musical imitation of animal cries. In Eziagụ C4, a boy laments that he has inadvertently killed Chukwu's goat which ate the yam that his (the boy's) parents gave him:

Chukwu, Chukwu[1]
Chukwu, Chukwu
My mother gave me yam,
Chukwu's goat[2] ate it;
My father gave me yam,
Chukwu's goat ate it.
Just one palm nut which I threw at Chukwu's goat,
Kpaa![3] Chukwu's goat cried, and died.

Again in Eziagụ A44, a beautiful girl called Nwaenyonma ("Beautiful mirror") despairs because her parents are late in coming to rescue her from a pit into which she has accidentally fallen. But before the arrival of her parents, only two animals took pity on her: a baboon heard Nwaenyonma's cry and groaned "Mmem mmem!"; a cock also reacted by crowing "kọm kọm!". While in Eziagụ A12 the singer imitates the sounds of the flute melody played by the shrew:

> As I was roaming in the surrounding bush ...
> I met the shrew.
> "Shrew, why do you behave like one who has
> blown the horn?"
> It (the shrew) replied:
> "He who has blown the flute has equally blown
> the horn."
> Please, entertain me with your flute.
> It (the shrew) blew: "Ịtịtị hwụrịhwụ ịtịtị
> hwọrọrọ!"
> It blew again: "Ịtịtị hwụrịhwụ ịtịtị nwịtị nhwọrọ."

As can be seen from the musical illustration (Example 1 below), musical representation forms an integral part of the musical structure of the song both in rhythm and melody.

CHAPTER SIX

THE SONG TEXTS AND THEIR PERFORMANCE

It has been demonstrated that Ifo, sui generis, falls within the spectrum of Egwu a na-agụ sọ ọgụgụ ("Music that is sung", i.e. unaccompanied songs).[1] Its characteristics in terms of subject-matter, organisation, place, time and manner of performance have also been discussed.[2] The textual components as well as the literary style that makes Ifo performance an entertaining verbal art have been treated.[3] All these features emphasise the homogeneity of the Ifo corpus, and to the informants who had no formal musical training, but who are nonetheless accredited carriers of Igbo traditional culture in their community, these features are in essence the raison d'etre of Ifo style. Although to the informants, Ifo melody per se is an inconceivable abstraction, from the musicological point of view any account of stylistic elements of Ifo songs that neglects the musical dimension is incomplete. In this chapter, therefore salient stylistic components will be spotlighted and discussed, including music-text relationships, vocal modes, and singing styles.

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1. Vide Chapter Three.
2. Vide Chapter Four.
3. Vide Chapter Five.

1. Music and Text

Before proceeding to an examination of the musical setting of the Ifo texts, it must be re-emphasised that this is primarily a musical study. It is thus primarily concerned with the musical structure and the musical 'syntax' of Ifo songs, and only secondarily concerned with the way in which musical structure, and 'syntax' in particular, accommodate certain textual features.

The Grove Dictionary's definition of a song as "a short metrical composition, whose meaning is conveyed by the combined force of words and melody"[1] emphasises the dual aspects of the song as both poetry and music. This inevitably raises the question of the relationship between 'text' and 'tune'. A possible approach would seem to be in attempting to answer these three pertinent questions: "To what extent does the tonal contour of the text coincide with the melodic contour of the songs?"; "How far does the music accommodate the text?"; "Is a tune capable of evolving independently of words?"

The author agrees with Merriam that: "language behaviour in song is a special kind of verbalization which sometimes requires special knowledge of the language in which it is couched".[2] A few introductory remarks about

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1. Grove, 1883, p.584.
2. Merriam, 1964, p.188.

the Igbo language are therefore necessary for a proper appreciation of any text-tune interaction in the songs.

1.1. Word setting

From the predominantly syllabic[1] underlay of words in these songs it is valid to postulate that in general Igbo song, in keeping with the language, favours a 'one-syllable-per-musical note' arrangement irrespective of variations in pitch and note repetitions. Occasionally some syllables may be contracted to fit musical notes. Melismas are also a common feature, and invariably they are used in nonsense words and syllables, intrusive vowels and nasalized consonants. All of these are used to complete the rhythm and melody of songs since they lend themselves more easily to melismatic treatment for dramatic purposes, or for other musical effects, because they have no virtual meaning and, therefore, can be stretched infinitely according to the whims of the singer.

1.2. Tone

Igbo is a tone language in which tones are used to distinguish meanings and express grammatical relationships. It has well defined syllabic structures,[2] and almost every word and syllable has its own inherent or

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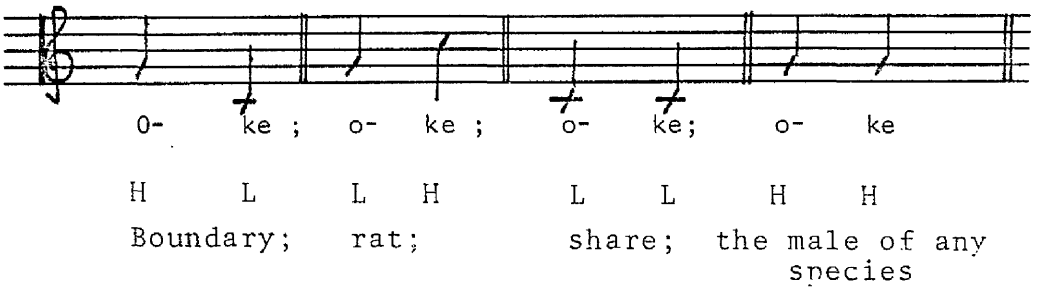
1. 'Syllable' is here understood in the phonological rather than the grammatical sense. Vide "Length", infra , p.241.

2. Dunstan (ed.), 1969, pp. 91-92.

lexical tone, which is as integral a part of the word as its other phonological constituents of vowels and consonants. Such words and syllables may, however, have their tones modified when they appear in certain combinations in connected speech, as will be demonstrated later in the chapter.

Igbo has two fundamental tones: high and low. Both tones are free in their relationship to each other, in that a high tone can be preceded and followed by a low tone, and vice versa. Additionally a high tone may be followed by another high tone, and two low tones may behave similarly. Such speech tones may be represented in musical notation as in Example 1; and the music of the songs tends to duplicate such speech tones.

Example 1.

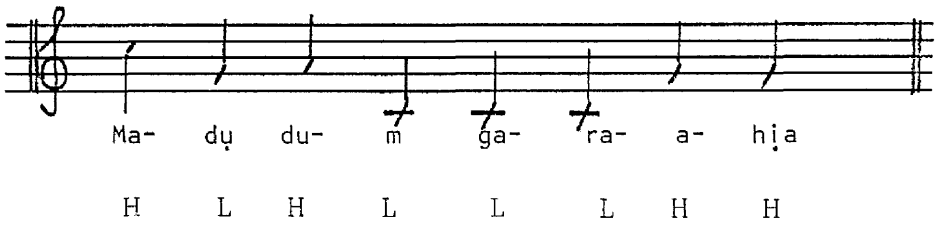


Example 1 also illustrates another important fact - that the tones of Igbo (as of other tone languages) are relative and not absolute. A pitch that is regarded as a low tone in one syllable may be treated as high tone in another. Oke (rat) and oke (the male of any species)

demonstrate this point. Example 2 also reinforces the same point by showing it in the context of a sentence.

In sentences of connected speech, various speech contours emerge either due to grammatical reasons, or due to the influence of vowel assimilation, or on account of special tone behavioural norms. For example, "a down-drift type of intonation" arises because "a high tone after a low tone is not as high as the tone which preceded the low tone".[1] This may be illustrated from the sentence: Madu dum gara ahia ("All people went to the market"), as in Example 2 below.

Example 2



It has been stated that a low tone may be followed by either another low tone or by a high tone, while a high may be followed by another high or by a low. In the latter case, however, there is a third possibility,

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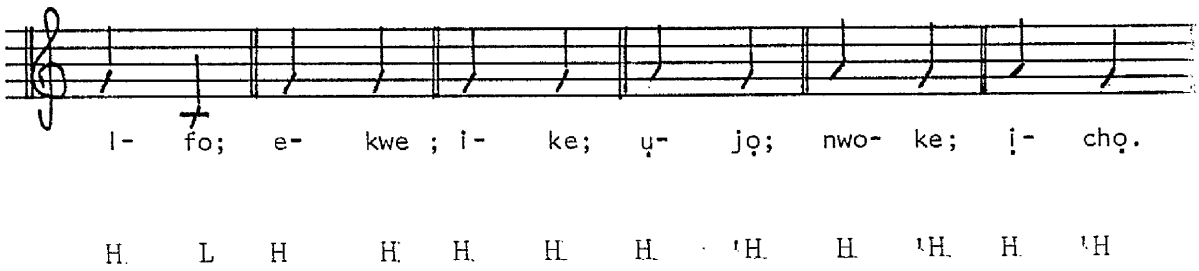
1. Dunstan, op.cit., p. 92.

namely a tone which is lower than the high tone which precedes it, but not so low as a low tone. This may be described as a "lowered high tone", separated from the preceding high tone by a "downstep".[1] The various tonal possibilities after a high tone are illustrated in Example 3 below:

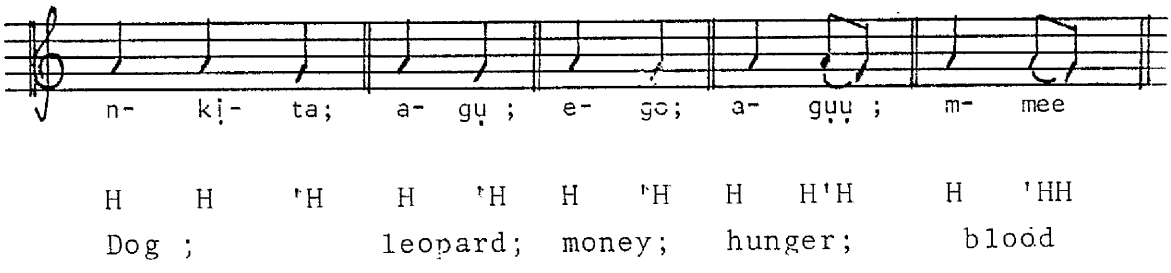
Example 3



(ekwe - the slit-drum; ike - strength; ụjọ - cowardice; nwoke - a man; ịchọ - as in ịchọ okwu - to pick a qurrel).

Other examples of the way in which this "lowered high" tone occurs in words of various structures are given in Example 4 below:

Example 4



1. Earlier writers referred to this third type of tone as a "mid-tone", e.g. Ward, 1936.

1.3. Stress[1]

Stress - the degree of force with which sounds or syllables are uttered to effect a change in the meaning of words - is one of the sound attributes whose existence in the Igbo language is still doubtful. If we accept that "the languages of the world fall into two classes, depending on whether the rhythm with which they are spoken is stress timed or syllable-timed",[2] it must be recognised that Igbo is a syllable-timed language, and that stress is therefore of comparatively little if any significance, in relation to its tonal organisation. This point is reinforced by consideration of meaning. In a stressed language like English, meanings of words are differentiated by stress, e.g. object (verb) and object (noun); content (verb) and content (noun), and so on. But in Igbo, stress is of no importance in determining the meanings of words. Tone wields supreme influence because it is the only non-segmental means through which words can be assigned different meanings. No matter how the word akwa (low-high) is stressed it will still mean 'egg' or 'eggs'. Any change in meaning must be through tonal operation, hence the following words:

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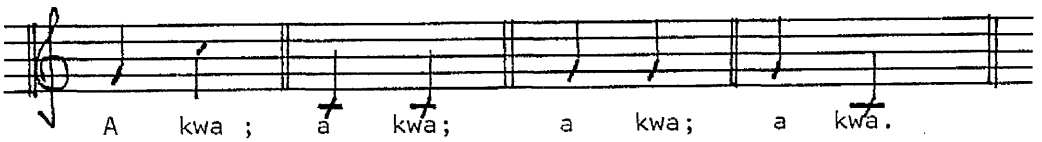
1. 'Stress' is here used in the sense of 'a reinforced chest-pulse' as in Abercrombie, 1971, pp. 34-35. However, this is not to deny the association of features of duration and pitch also with English 'stress'.

2. Abercrombie, 1971, p. 17.



L H L L H H H L

Egg(s); bed; bridge cry; cloth.

However, it must also be appreciated that in connected speech, variations in speech features such as rhythm, tone, and loudness are also to be found, expressing various attitudes on the part of the speaker: for example, anger, vividness in narration, pleading and so on. And invariably music behaves in sympathy with speech.

1.4. Vowel assimilation

When words are combined into phrases or sentences, or when compound words are formed, there may be expected to be changes in pronunciation. According to Westermann and Ida Ward, "the main cause of such change is speed of utterance: the organs of speech, passing from one position to another quickly, are apt to take short cuts, such short cuts often involving an alteration in articulation. This often leads to the substitution of another sound for one of the original sounds, or to the dropping out of a sound."[1] In Igbo, almost

1. Westermann and Ward, 1957, p. 119.

all words end in a vowel and very many begin with one, so that two vowels are almost constantly juxtaposed, and the first is frequently assimilated to the quality of the second. Thus in bars 8-10 of the Ifo Eziagụ All, where the phrase Ọ kwanụ dibie Ụmụ Ịtakwụ ("He is a medicine man from Ụmụ Ịtakwụ village) is realised as Ọ kwanụ dibiu Ụmụ Ịtakwụ, the assimilated vowel is 'e' in the word dibie. In bars 16 and 17 of the same song, la ọ gwọrọ ("Because he cured") is also realised as lọ gwọrọ.

As regards the tonal behaviour of assimilated vowels, "if the two vowels are originally on the same pitch, the vowel resulting from elision is on that pitch: if, however, there is a difference of pitch originally, this vowel is pronounced on a rising or falling intonation according as the original vowels are high or low".[1] In Igbo culture, as far as known, there is virtually no distinction between the ways of speaking and singing various Igbo words or sounds, as is the case in Western vocal art; assimilation, therefore, influences both the pitch patterns of spoken words and their corresponding melody identically. For example:

(1) V + V gives VV with first V changed to second as in nke a ("This particular one") which is realised as nkaa.

(2) V + Y gives iy with first V assimilated to y, as in the words nwa nne ya ("His brother") in bars 170-171,

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1. Adams, 1932, pp. 14-15. Adams uses the term 'elision' to include what we have referred to as assimilation.

Eziagụ A16 which are sung as nwa nni ye. Gwọrọ nne ye ishi ("Cured her mother of blindness") in bar 17 of Ezaigụ A11, sung as gwọrọ nni ye ishi is another example. More examples can be discovered in other songs.

1.5. Elision

Elision, the disappearance of a vowel's duration as well as its quality, also occurs in Igbo. This can be formulated as CV + V giving CV; the first vowel disappearing completely. Eziagụ A59 bar 26 has chịrị ọchị ("that laughed") sung as chịrọchị, and similarly chịgburu onye ("laughed who to death?") becomes chịgburonye. Fụta ịkpa ("come to the wilderness") is sung fụtịkpa (Eziagụ A16); kpọrọ akpọ ("dried" or "that is dried") becomes kpọrakpọ (Eziagụ A16 bar 11). Close examination of songs especially the texts of Eziagụ A54 and A56 and their corresponding forms as they are realised when sung will repay study.

1.6. Length

Length is another phonological category which is relevant when words are set to music. Again as far as known within the lexical and grammatical structure of Igbo, there is no distinction of short or long syllables and all syllables (including vowels and nasal consonants) are of equivalent length.[1] Phonologically, however, various

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1. Dunstan, loc.cit.

degrees of syllable length may be encountered; these have not yet been thoroughly studied, but a tentative statement may be made as follows:

(i) Some unchangeable words such as agụụ (hunger), mmee (blood), niile (all), and nwaanyị (female) seem to have long vowels. This extension of 'sound length' occasionally carries with it a corresponding extension of rhythmic duration, with an accompanying tonal glide. Typical examples encountered in these songs are: nnaa (one), in Eziagụ A15, bars 7 and 8, and in Eziagụ A16, bars 25, 77, and 131; kpoo (an onomatopoeic word representing the sound of the chopping of wood) in Eziagụ A23, bars 1, 2, 5 and 6; and asaa (seven) in Eziagụ A34, bars 49, 53, 57 and 61.

(ii) Long vowels also arise from assimilation as has been shown earlier in the case of nkaa.[1]

(iii) Similar behaviour results from CV + N, giving CVN; e.g. n-na + m = nnam (my father), so also with n-ne + m = nnem (my mother).

In song, also, the final vowel of words is sometimes prolonged e.g. to fill the rhythm of the melody (Eziagụ A53); for emphasis and to express duration of time (Eziagụ D23); or simply for drmatic purposes as in Eziagụ A54 in which mixed moods of fear, excitement, and admiration are portrayed.

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1. Supra, p. 240.

1.7. Melodic and tonal contours

In all these instances, music follows closely the tonal inflections of the texts; and the terraced contour characteristic of most Igbo melodies occurs as a result of the environmental behaviour of high tones and step-tones. Ekwueme's observation can be cited here with profit: "On account of the terraced nature of Igbo speech, the melodic shape of Igbo songs is also a terraced one which, in general starts at the highest point and gently works its way down to the lowest point."[1]

Another instance when the melodic contour is a faithful replica of the tonal inflection of the words is when a melodic instrument such as the ọja (the flute) imitates the speech contour(s) of a vocal line(s), especially in musical performances involving singing and dancing with instrumental accompaniment. In addition to the flute, other melodic instruments such as the ụbọ-aka (the lamellaphone), the opu (the horn), the ekwe (the slit-drum), and the ngedegwu (the xylophone) imitate the melodic contour of words. Two classic examples are found in two Ifo songs. The first occurs in bars 63 to 68 of Eziagụ A12 where the musical element of speech is reproduced by the flute. The second and more elaborate example is in Eziagụ A16 where the musical element of speech is realised by the flute (in bars 180-183); by the slit-drum (bars 186-187); and finally by the ikoro (bars 190-195).[2]

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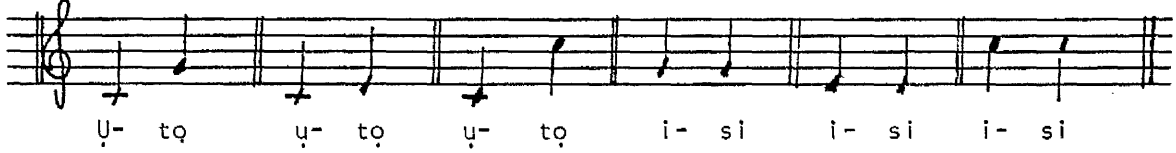
1. Ekwueme, 1974, p. 339.

2. Appendix A, song 14.

It has been demonstrated that tone, to a large extent, determines the melodic shape of the song; but there are occasions when melody exercises a considerable hegemony over linguistic tone. The violation of the canons of tonal syntax by melody is more a feature of songs of the Ịgụ egwu category in general than of Ifo songs.

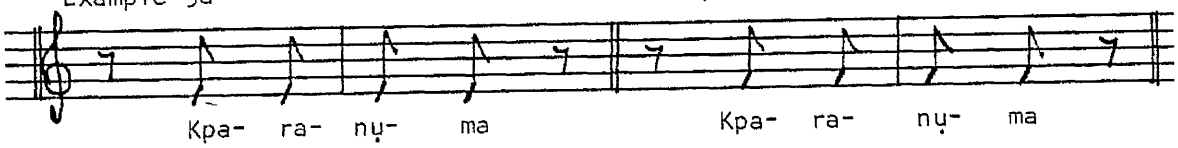
In the former song categories, especially in spontaneously composed satirical song and unformalised praise singing during Egwu echichi (music associated with title taking and other initiation ceremonies), new words may be fitted to old tunes and vice versa. A conscious or unconscious desire to provide every note in the melody with a syllable of text may induce the singer to insert enclitic syllables to fill it out. Conversely, some words may be cut off or omitted totally if sufficient provision is lacking in a tune for as many of such words as the meaning of the text would seem to suggest. A composer may also for musical expedience modify the intervals of, say, a disyllabic word such as ụtọ (sweetness) as is illustrated in Example 1 below without distorting the meaning provided that the ascending direction of the interval involved is maintained. Similarly, pitches of monotonic - syllabic words such as isi (head) may be freely and safely transposed or shifted without doing violence to the meaning of the word, as is illustrated in Example 2 below. In the Ifo Eziagụ 16, the chorus refrain 'kparanụma' is thus transposed up a second in bars 147 to 148; 161 to 162; and 175 to 176 (see Example 3a and b below).

Example 1



Example 2

Example 3a



Example 3b

One example is encountered in Eziagụ A24 where the semantic distortion of a word is condoned on the ground that the context is a sufficient guide to the meaning of the word. When the tones of the word enyi are high-low, the word means a friend; but when the tones are high-high, the word means an elephant. In bar 20 music imposes a high tone on the second syllable of enyi thus changing its contextual meaning from 'his friend' to 'his elephant'. Violation of tonal canon in the interest of music and tonal rhyme is also found in Eziagụ C40, and Eziagụ A30.

This isolated example notwithstanding, Ifo, by virtue of being a special type of vocal genre which serves

as an age-honoured encapsulator of the Igbo cultural ethos, is virtually transmitted in a fixed form to the extent that, its minor variations notwithstanding, each Ifo song exists only for a single Ifo story. The degree to which music asserts its will on the words of Ifo is therefore comparatively limited.

It has been noted earlier that music does manipulate intrusive vowels, nasalised consonants and the so-called 'nonsense' words and syllables, again for dramatic as well as rhythmic purposes.

2. Melodic Autonomy

Finally, can tunes evolve independently of words? In vocal music this is very rare - a remote possibility - because of the primacy of song in Igbo music generally. But this can occur in instrumental music, especially in the group of Egwu a na-ati eti, na-agbaagba ("Music that is danced with instrumental accompaniment"), typical of which are dances per se such as Mkpọkịtị, Ịgba Ogwurugwu, and Ọgba mgbada masquerade music. In all these cases, it is the ọja that prevails. Performers on melodic instruments, and especially on the ọja (the notched edge-blown vertical flute) can, and do create exquisite melodies quite independent of words. According to Ihekanwa Onyeji, the celebrated Eziagụ community flautist and horn player, the ọja has special 'stock' melodic phrases called "Mkpụrụ ọja" ("Seeds of the flute") which are permuted and combined

ad libitum by a professional flautist in composition. And everyone aspiring to professionalism in this instrument must acquire this knowledge in the first stage of his training. It took him five years to qualify after working under two masters. The more advanced stage is to learn the technique of composition, i.e. using these phrases to create melodies in the ọja idiom. This took him another ten years to accomplish because according to him, "A kpọrọ m ọja mkpa, ya na echu m ụra." ("I am determined to excel in the flute, and I practised both day and night."). This information was confirmed by Ụga Ọfọ the chief flautist to the Ịgba Ogwurugwu dance group who stated that the second stage took him twelve years to complete. To a less gifted person, it could be more for as Basden testified, "steady application is necessary in order to become a qualified performer on these. The performer must know his instrument thoroughly ..."[1] Ihekanwa and Uga were in agreement that during the second stage of the training, besides learning to compose independent melodies, one is expected to perfect in the art of directing the dance. This involves the knowledge of the characteristic rhythmic figures in all the important dances in the community. In actual performance, it devolves on the flautist to announce the rhythmic figure to be danced, to accompany both the chief drummer and the

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1. Basden, op.cit., p. 359.

dancers in realising it, and to correct any faulty steps he may notice while the dancers are dancing.

3. Vocal Modes

In the performance of Ifo three vocal modes are used: a speech mode, a recitation mode, and a song mode. The speech mode is employed in the narrative texts of Akụkọ Ifo (Ifo narrative), and Akụkọ na Ifo (Ifo stories and songs), while the lyric portions are rendered in the song mode. With the exception of the Ifo Eziagụ A25, A36, A54 and A65, in which the recitation and song modes are combined, and also Eziagụ A26 ("Kpụkpụrụ ike") which is the only Ifo that combines the three modes, all the other Ifo per se (Songs which tell their own stories without a prose setting) are executed in the song mode.

In the speech mode the raconteur tells the story in his or her own words employing as many Igbo rhetoric devices as he/she can muster to clarify the meaning and dramatize the story effectively.

The recitation mode is used to express emotions or striking thoughts. It is delivered in a free rhythm, and at a high pitch level which is frequently coupled with a high vocal intensity characteristic of Inine.[1] In Eziagụ A54, for example, the initial exclamatory phrase

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1. Supra, p.141.

covers an interval of a tenth. The use of rests and the prolongation of terminal vowels at the end of phrases and periods helps to heighten the dramatic tension of the plot. Equally notable, and probably the most distinguished feature of this portion of Ifo, is that it is declaimed by the soloist who also concludes the recitative part with a 'leading phrase' while signalling the entry of the chorus and establishes the 'Solo-chorus' manner of performance. In Eziagụ A54 the lead phrase is Nne ya nwaanyị ọma, followed by the first chorus refrain: Mmịrịzọ mịzọ.

4. Singing Style

The manner of singing is one of the features that determines musical style, and the Igbo have a clear and definite concept of this and also articulate it in concrete terms. Many elements relate to singing style, chief of which is the manner of tone production. The etymology of two main speech organs used in describing singing style in general and tone production in particular needs discussion so that their connotations may be understood when applied in musical terminology.

The first is Onu which means 'voice' or 'neck'. Two sentences illustrate their usage. Onu na-egbu m mgbu ("I have pains in my neck"). A nụrụm onu nna m ("I heard the voice of my father"). Similarly, A nụrụm onu ọdụm ("I heard the voice of the lion", i.e. his roaring noise). Onu is an attribute of vocal quality; hence although a person has one 'voice', the quality of his/her onu okwu ("talking

voice") is different from his/her onu egwu ("singing voice") and onu akwa ("crying voice"). And if he/she chooses the same voice can be disguised - an art called inwo onu or igbanwo onu ("to disguise or change voice", i.e. to manipulate the vocal cords in such a way that the sound that is emitted from the same voice assumes a different timbre). This can be done in ordinary speech when a story teller mimics or imitates the voices of other people or animals. Hunters are adepts in imitating the cries of animals - a trick which helps them to lure their prey. In singing, inwo onu or igbanwo onu is equivalent to 'singing falsetto' - a very common feature of Inine style.[1] Ugori[2] is also realised in a purely falsetto voice. It is because the concept of 'timbre' is well established that people are able to distinguish between sounds of different traditional instruments. Timbre also portrays one's voice, age, emotion and temper besides portraying the sounds of animals and birds.

Another speech organ is Akpiri, literally 'throat'. Akpiri is a multi-functional organ serving as a speaking, singing, crying, breathing, and eating apparatus. It is a generic word designating not only the throat, but also the larynx itself, the suspensory mechanism of the larynx and all the other minor innumerable muscles and muscle-groups responsible for exciting the

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1. Supra, p. 141.

2. Supra, p. 145.

organ of the voice. Physiologically, Akpịrị ('throat') is imbedded in the neck (Onu), hence both of them are operative words in describing the manner of tone production and the quality of the voice.

The following are modes of expressing different vocal qualities and the corresponding style of singing inherent in them:

(i) Onu ọma ("Good voice") is characterised by a smooth, sweet and flowing tone. When one remarks: Onu ya na-atọ ụto, "His/her singing voice is sweet"; the nearest Western musical term to 'sweet' is 'dolce'.

(ii) A singing voice with the opposite quality is called Onu Ọjọọ ("Bad voice").

(iii) Onu nwayọọ ("Calm voice", i.e. a singing voice that is soft, clear, serene and tenderly).

(iv) The opposite of Onu nwayọọ ("Calm voice") is Onu ike ("Strong voice", i.e. loud, robust and clear). But if ike (strong) implies rage, pomposity, or authority, as when a king (Eze) or general (Ọchị agha) gives orders, then Onu ike may be further qualified: Onu ya na-agbọtụ ("His voice is roaring", i.e. with rage, anger and authority).

(v) Onu dere ede ("Voice that is mellow and soft", i.e. not coarse or metallic in sound). Dere ede derives from odude - to be so soft or too well cooked that it becomes almost unnecessary for one to 'bite' the food before swallowing.

The Igbo appreciate the cooperation necessary

between Akpịrị ("Throat"), Onu ("Neck"), and Ngụgụ (A generic word covering the entire respiratory organs - diaphragm, back, flanks and abdominal walls - whose functional unity sets the breath in motion in singing). Hence obere onu ("a small voice") is usually attributed mainly to lack of breath support caused by either small or weak Ngụgụ (Respiratory organs). Lack of breath support is called Ume obubu; therefore, a singer who sings faintly, languidly or inaudibly is likened to a person who is in want of breath, e.g., a dying man. Hence the expression Ọ na-ekwe ka onye ume na-ebu ("He/she is singing like a person who is in want of breath"), or Ọ na-ekwe ka ọna anwụ anwụ ("He/she is singing like a dying person").

(vi) Ịgụ or ikwe onu ọkụ ọkụ means to sing with agitation, i.e. at a quickening rate.

(vii) Onu ịma jijiji means singing with vibrato or tremolo.

(viii) Onu awọ: a croaking sound, similar to that of the frog, hence the title 'voice of the frog'.

(ix) Ikwe or ịgụ nịmị nịmị means 'to sing with the nose', i.e. to produce nasalized sounds: a characteristic singing style of the Anambra and Oru areas.

(x) Ọ̀chị̀chị̀ means to sing with the throat, i.e. with a very tense voice.

(xi) Onu mgbaka: a broken voice, or a coarse voice.

(xii) Onu ọgụgụ means to loose one's voice due to over use or strain caused by shouting. Shouting can cause the blocking of one's throat a phenomenon described

as Akpịrị ntachị, 'ntachị' means to 'stick together'.

Onu ọma ("A good or beautiful voice") is recognised and acknowledged both in ịgụ egwu in general and in Ifo in particular, but while it takes precedence in ịgụ egwu over other criteria such as command of repertoire, and retentive memory, it is secondary in Ifo singing to the command of a large repertoire, a retentive memory and rhetoric ability. This is so because, among other reasons, ịgụ egwu (especially event-oriented group performances, as distinct from the solo singing of minstrels and other performances involving a limited number of persons) is more a 'day' than a 'night' activity. It also occasionally involves the whole community, and it has elements of competition especially where it is organised between rival village groups. But in Ifo the chief preoccupation is entertainment, and that is why in an Ifo session anybody who remembers an interesting Ifo is free to indicate and, when called upon, to tell or sing it. Hence the relevance of one of the opening formulas:

Ibe anyi e nwere m akuko m ga-akoro unu,
koro anyi ka obi di anyi mma.

Members of my group, I have a story to narrate,
Tell us to gladden our hearts.

In other words, even when a so-called 'good voice' would be the ideal no individual would be denied the honour of singing the solo part of an Ifo on the grounds of a 'bad voice'. In fact, in such a situation even the somewhat 'croaking' voice adds humour to the whole performance.

Anybody can join the chorus provided that he or she sings in tune and his/her voice blends; for no matter how democratic any group of singers is, the members will never tolerate these two singing defects and will bluntly ask the singer to stop singing because he or she is spoiling the song, by saying: Onu gị adighị mma ("Your voice is faulty") and by further specifying the particular singing fault. To indicate that the person, say Okeke, is singing out of tune, other singers will comment: Onu Okeke anaghị adanye ta ("Okeke's voice does not fall in well"), Ibe ya na-ekwe n'enu, ọ na-ekwe n'ana ("When others are singing upward, he is singing downward"); or simply: Okeke kwere gaa n'enu, o kwere gaa n'ana ("Okeke sings upward and sings downward"). To express that Okeke's voice does not blend we say: Onu Okeke gbara iche ("Okeke's voice 'branches' off", i.e. in a different direction). This metaphor derives from the idea of a plant or tree growing branches from a single stem: when a tree has a single stem, it grows in one direction, but once branches appear its movement is no more in one and the same direction. Hence Ụkpaka gbara mbanaka atọ ("The oil bean tree with three branches"), or Ọjị gbara ise ("A kola nut with five cotyledons"). By analogy therefore, all the voices singing in a chorus that blend are moving in the same direction, but anyone that does not blend is moving in a different direction from the stem of the chorus tree.

In relation to singing style, Akụezue's voice and style represent what the Eziagụ community accepts as a "Beautiful or good voice and singing style". Madams

Akụvuiro Madụka from Isulo and Mgbọkwụ Enwere from Ogbunka - two neighbouring towns about six miles apart - supported this verdict of excellence, and were able to identify Akụezue's voice when they heard a recording of her Ifo. "How did you identify her voice so easily?", I enquired. Akụvuiro blushed and said: "Onwehụ onye uke anyị amahụ onu Akụezue; otegwo ya na egwu" ("There is none of our peers who cannot recognise Akụezue's voice; she has been long in the trade of singing"). Using various metaphorical expressions she appraised her performance:

(i) Onu ya dị ụtọ ("Her singing voice is beautiful"). When asked to elaborate Mgbọkwu retorted: Ị nwehụ ntị? ("Have you no ears?"); Ṅado ntị mma mma ("Listen attentively"); Ọ na-achị ya achị? ("Does she sing with effort?", i.e. with strain due to tension of the muscles); Ọ na-emeghe ọnụ; o jihu akpịrị agụ ("She opens her mouth; she does not sing with the throat"). In effect, she was implying that a beautiful voice sings effortlessly producing a round and resonant tone. And her emphasis on the use of the 'ear' is noteworthy, because in oral folk art a 'good ear' is an indispensible equipment of a musician.

(ii) Onu ya guru egu ("Her voice is serene and calm"). Ogugu is a metaphor borrowed from water. When a pond or stream is disturbed it becomes muddy - a condition described as mgbarụ. But when the muddy water settles it becomes calm, clear, sparkling and transparent, a condition

described as ogugu. A calm and serene voice, therefore, is neither coarse nor does it sound metallic.

(iii) Onu ya kara aka ("Her voice is very mature"). According to this panel, a matured singing voice na-ada ụda ka mgbịrịgba "rings like a bell", i.e. is clear, and has a tinge of vibrato like an excited bell.

(iv) Ọ na-akpọfụta okwu mma mma; ọ bịa nahụ ama onu jijiji ("She enunciates clearly; and her 'mouth' does not tremble"). She sings confidently, a lack of confidence resulting in fear and trembling.

(v) Onu ifo ya dụ mma ("Her Ifo voice - singing style - is good"). Because Ifo is sung at night to a small audience, and is unaccompanied, the singer must regulate the volume of her voice to suit the conditions.

In summary, Akụezue sings with a high, open, calm and relaxed voice which is tinged with an element of vibrato. Her intonation is good and the voice is well projected. The voice and intonation of other singers are, in contrast, not as good as that of Akụezue and they, especially Onyiridie Ike, sing with a high but more tense voice. On the whole the staple ornamental device common to all the singers, including Akụezue, is a glissando in the form of a rising attack at the beginning, and a falling release at the end of a phrase, with a protracted terminal tone at the end of each song.

These views expressed by acknowledged and experienced folk-critics on singing style have the stamp of authority because they are based on the aesthetic principles of singing accepted and practised by their circle

of culture. And with little modifications their opinions may represent those of their counterparts in other parts of Igboland.

5. Ornamentation

Closely related to the manner of singing is the use of ornamentations of which the following are employed in the corpus of Ifo songs.

5.1. Grace note

The only grace note used in these songs is the appogiatura which appears at the following intervals above and below the main notes: 100 Cents above (Eziagụ A54 bar 8), 200 Cents above (Eziagụ A56 bar 23); 300 Cents above (Eziagụ A56 bar 8, A57 bar 16); 300 Cents below (Eziagụ A16 bars 124, 127, and 128); 400 Cents below (Eziagụ A54 bar 7); 500 Cents above (Eziagụ A32 bar 21, and A57 bar 18); 500 Cents below (Eziagụ A16 bar 123, A32 bar 68, and A57 bar 28); 700 Cents above (Eziagụ A57 bar 17); and finally, 900 Cents above (Eziagụ A2a bars 9, and 13; A56 bars 4 and 18). Other intervals are absent.

An examination of these examples shows that these grace notes occur mainly in the solo phrases because the chorus refrain in Ifo is always fixed - in text and therefore in melody and rhythm - and are not amenable to either change or variation by ornamentation or by any other device for that matter. It will also be observed that the

obtrusion of these grace notes does not disturb either the rhythm or blur the owrds, and the anticipatory appogiaturas found in Eziagụ A2b bars 1, 5, and 11 give a clear and separate articulation to successive notes of the same pitch assigned to different syllables.

5.2. Melismas

The melismatic movement arises when one syllable is sung to more than one note and typical examples are found in Eziagụ A34 bars 53, 61, and 69; A11 where it featured regularly in all the chorus refrains beginning with the first entry at bar 5; and in A78 bars 1, 3 and 17.

5.3. Glissandi

Glissando is created when the singer moves from one tone to another without making differences in pitch sharply defined. Such gliding movement may be ascending (Eziagụ A24 bars 9, and 13); or descending (Eziagụ A2a bars 2, 4, 8, 16 and 19). It may occur in the middle of a phrase as can be seen in almost any of the songs or appear as a falling cadential glissando (Eziagụ A23 bar 18; and A32 where it is extensively used in the chorus refrains). It may span 200 Cents (Eziagụ A24 bar 9); 400 Cents (Eziagụ A24 bar 13); 500 Cents (Eziagụ A24 bars 1, 5, 10); 900 Cents (Eziagụ A23 bar 41); or even 1000 Cents (Eziagụ A54 bar 1).

5.4. Conclusions

Ornamentation is a very common phenomenon in singing generally and a staple element of style especially in Inine, or Avụ (Declaimed speech and lament), Itụ ugori (Ululation) and Egwu mmanwụ (masquerade songs) and in all these cases it is employed with great exaggerated intensity and serves not only as ornaments to the melody but also to heighten dramatic effect by expressing various shades of dynamics and moods. In such performances the voice is intense and facial expressions become the indices of the singers' temperament and mood which may portray cheerfulness, franziness or contemplation. But in Ifo singing, the use of ornamentation is primarily governed more by the personal fancy of the singer rather than by tradition.

CHAPTER SEVEN

MUSICAL ANALYSIS

1. Notational and Analytical Devices

The results of this study are based on the synthetic analysis of 281 songs from Eziagu. The conclusions arrived at can be verified by examination of the 400 Ifo songs deposited at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.

All the transcriptions of selected songs from the corpus are transposed to a common pitch. The objects of this transposition are twofold: first, to avoid the introduction of accidentals and tonal implications; and second, to facilitate the comparison of the structural layout of the songs and the determination of the mutual relationships of notes of the tone series ('scale') with the foundation note ('song final').

1.1. Musical symbols

For purposes of intelligibility, it is necessary to apply useful and adequately representative Western symbols in the description of musical style. However, these have been supplemented with extra symbols following the examples of Otto Abraham and E.M. von Hornbostel,[1]

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1. Abraham and Hornbostel, 1909-1910.

and George Herzog.[1] These extra symbols are:

Grace note

A note of indefinite pitch, but in the neighbourhood of the position of the 'X'.

Glissando

Note somewhat prolonged

Song final (SF) or Foundation note (FN)

1.2. Intervallic structure

The analytical method adopted for the tonal structure of the songs takes cognizance of the work of Mervyn McLean[2] (with modifications) in the representation of the intervallic components of the songs.[3]

This method has been adopted in preference to a

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1. Herzog, 1928, pp. 183-231.
2. McLean, 1966, pp. 174-190.
3. Vide Appendix C, infra, pp. 611-656.

more simple approach based on interval counts, such as that employed by, for instance, Merriam.[1]

1.3. Formal structure

In treating the structural components and overall form of the songs, various symbols are used to identify the structural divisions of the songs. The first phrase in each song is designated A, the next B if it has a melodic character distinct from that of A, and so on. If it is identical, the letter A is repeated. Modifications of sections are shown as A^1, A^2, B^1, B^2, etc.

To show the relationships between the melodic contour and the rhythmic structure or character of each phrase the melodic motif (mm) is superimposed on the rhythmic figure (rf). Each feature, melodic or rhythmic, is identified by small letters thus: a, b, c, and so on. Modifications of each element are represented by a^1, b^2, etc. which are slightly different from a and b.

2. Tonal Features

In spite of the fact that occasional part singing is encountered in the songs used in this study, such as in Eziagu A2b, A11, A23, A34, A54, and D41, Ifo songs are essentially monophonic; the melodies are word-born rather

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1. Merriam, 1956, pp. 55-67.

than harmonically conceived. On the above premise therefore, 'tonality' in this study connotes 'melodic tonality', to use Eino Roiha's terminology which implies "the tonality that prevails in principle in monophonic music (as in an ancient Greek, medieval, primitive and oriental music) ..."[1] In other words, the concept of tonality as used here eliminates any idea of harmonic implications. To this end our discussion of tonal features will be limited to the range, the tone series (i.e. the tones used in the construction of each song), as well as to the interrelationships of the tones of the tone series.

2.1. Range

The tonal range (i.e. the distance between the highest and the lowest tones in a melody) of the songs is generally confined between 900 Cents (Eziagu A2a) and 1700 Cents (Eziagu A16).[2] Taking the final note as the foundation tone, the soloist never begins lower than the pitch of the foundation tone, but on various occasions above it (100 Cents in Eziagu A2a; 300 Cents in Eziagu A11 and A12; 500 Cents in Eziagu A15, A24, A56, and A78; 700 Cents in Eziagu A23, A33, A34, A54, and A57; 800 Cents in Eziagu A32 and 900 Cents in Eziagu A2b).

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1. Roiha, 1956, p. 40.

2. Vide Table 5, p. 270

2.2. Tone series

A tone series designates all the tones which are used in the construction of a particular song. The Western term 'scale', which suggests a fixed 'ladder of sounds' that can be repeated at various pitches is rejected because it is foreign to the Igbo concept of tonality. For the same reason also the designation 'tone row', favoured by some scholars, has been rejected because of its association with Schönberg's highly organised system of atonality.

From the summary of the tone series[1] it can be seen that the tonal structures found in Ifo songs are pentatonic, hexatonic, and heptatonic, with a preponderance of hexatonic types. Out of the 17 songs selected for detailed analysis, 11 are hexatonic; 4 heptatonic, and 2 pentatonic. And when the tone series are further re-grouped according to their 'scale-types',[2] the hexa-type still predominates: 13 hexa-types (i.e. 11 hexa-31 and 1 hexa-28), 4 hepta-63, and only 1 penta-15 which is itself conspicuous by being the Ifo prelude (Eziagụ A15).

It seems that Igbo vocal music uses more hexatonic and less pentatonic scales than Yoruba music, based on a kindred tone language whose music, according to T.K. Philips, is almost always based on the pentatonic scale.[3]

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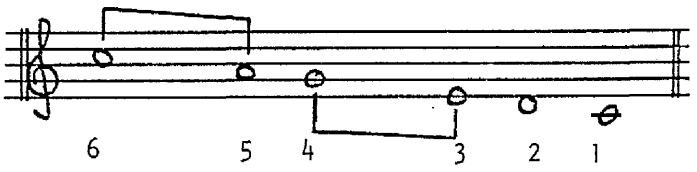
1. Vide Figure 3, (a) and (b), pp. 271-274.
2. Kolinski, 1961, pp. 38-76.
3. Philips, 1953.

03 A few explanatory remarks about the method of classification of tonal structures adopted in this analysis are necessary at this point. Hitherto, there seems to be no generally accepted system of classifying tonal structures of so-called 'non-Western' melodies. For instance, Nketia and others who prefer classification according to the number of tones within an octave would welcome Eziagu A15 (Example 1 below) as a typical anhemitonic-pentatonic scale because it has five tones, and is non-half tonal (i.e. it does "not include half-steps") and furthermore, it is constructed "entirely out of major seconds and minor thirds".[1]

Example 1



But Kolinski seems to find this approach of little value: "As a matter of facts," he contends, "the differentiation of tonal structure on the basis of the number

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1. Nketia, 1963, pp. 34-35.

of tones within one octave, or according to the occurrence of half-tones, appears to be of little value as a primary principle of classification, even though the number of tones as well as the anhemitonic character constitute in themselves important elements. Of far greater significance in determining the characteristics of tonal structure is the manner in which the tones are connected, the greater or lesser melodic significance of the various tones, and the position of the tonal centre, - the key-tone within the scale; in short, the functional relationships between the tones."[1] And if his theory of 'cycle of fifth' is adopted, "all scales, then, whose tones lie within such a section of five tones from the cycle of fifths, - that is, the so called anhemitonic-pentatonic scales, - as well as those having fewer tones, ... constitute a tonal type which may be called the 'pent-type'."[2] Hence Eziagụ A15 is a penta-15 type. In the absence of a 'blue print' on the classification of tonal structures, it is safe, and the information is more complete if both methods of classification are adopted,[3] since in effect both methods seem to complement each other.

Eziagụ A2a proves this point convincingly. Assessed according to the number of tones in the song, it is pentatonic scale by virtue of having five tones (see Example 2 below).

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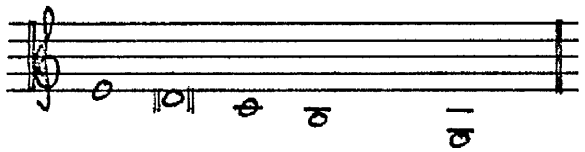
1. Kolinski, 1936, pp. 491-492.

2. Kolinski, loc. cit.

3. Vide, Tables 3 and 4 infra, pp. 268-269.

Example 2.



But when appraised according to Kolinski's principles it is a hexa-28 type which strongly suggests that this melody might be composed with five tones (C G D * E B) chosen out of a six-tone scale (C G D A E B).[1]

However, a tone series is an important element of musical style only in so far as it furnishes useful information about the tonal significance of its notes; i.e. the functional affinities of its notes should be established in relation to the foundation note. And as this aspect of tonal features is more closely related to the intervallic structures of songs, it is fully discussed in the section on "Melodic Elements",[2] while the tone series of each song is re-drawn to reflect the relative importance of its notes.[3]

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1. Vide Table 5 Song 9, infra, p. 270.
2. Infra, p. 295.
3. Vide Figure 3 (c) and (d).

Table 3

Songs classified according to the number of tones in the tone series

Heptatonic:

Eziagụ A34, A12, A16, and A24.

Hexatonic:

Eziagụ A57, A78, A33, A54, A55, A56, A2b, A32, A53, A11, and A23.

Pentatonic:

Eziagụ A2a, and A15.

Table 4

Songs classified according to their scale-types

Hepta-63:

Eziagụ A34, A12, A16, and A24.

Hexa-31:

Eziagụ A57, A78, A33, A54, A55, A56, A2b, A32, A53, A11, and A23.

Hexa-28:

Eziagụ A2a.

Penta-15:

Eziagụ A15 - The Ifo prelude.

Table 5

Summary of the tonal features of the songs.

Song	Title	Mode	Foundation Tone	Modal Form Authentic	Modal Form Plagal	Scale	Scale-type	Range in Cents
1.	Eziagụ A34	C	C^4	Authentic	-	Heptatonic	Hepta-63	1200
2.	Eziagụ A57	C	C^4	-	Plagal	Hexatonic	Hexa-31	1700
3.	Eziagụ A12	C	G^4	-	Plagal	Heptatonic	Hepta-63	1400
4.	Eziagụ A78	G	G^3	Authentic	-	Hexatonic	Hexa-31	1400
5.	Eziagụ A33	G	G^3	Authentic	-	Hexatonic	Hexa-31	1000
6.	Eziagụ A54	D	D^4	Authentic	-	Hexatonic	Hexa-31	1200
7.	Eziagụ A55	D	D^4	-	Plagal	Hexatonic	Hexa-31	1200
8.	Eziagụ A56	D	D^4	-	Plagal	Hexatonic	Hexa-31	1200
9.	Eziagụ A2a	D	D^4	-	Plagal	Pentatonic	Hexa-28	900
10.	Eziagụ A2b	A	A^3	Authentic	-	Hexatonic	Hexa-31	1200
11.	Eziagụ A32	A	A^3	Authentic	-	Hexatonic	Hexa-31	1500
12.	Eziagụ A16	E	E^4	-	Plagal	Heptatonic	Hepta-63	1700
13.	Eziagụ A24	E	E^4	-	Plagal	Heptatonic	Hepta-63	1500
14.	Eziagụ A53	E	E^4	-	Plagal	Hexatonic	Hexa-31	1400
15.	Eziagụ A11	E	E^4	-	Plagal	Hexatonic	Hexa-31	1200
16.	Eziagụ A23	E	E^4	-	Plagal	Hexatonic	Hexa-31	1200
17.	Eziagụ A15	E	E^4	-	Plagal	Pentatonic	Penta-15	1200

Figure 3 (a) & (b): Tone series showing all the notes encounteredd in each song.

Range Song-Final

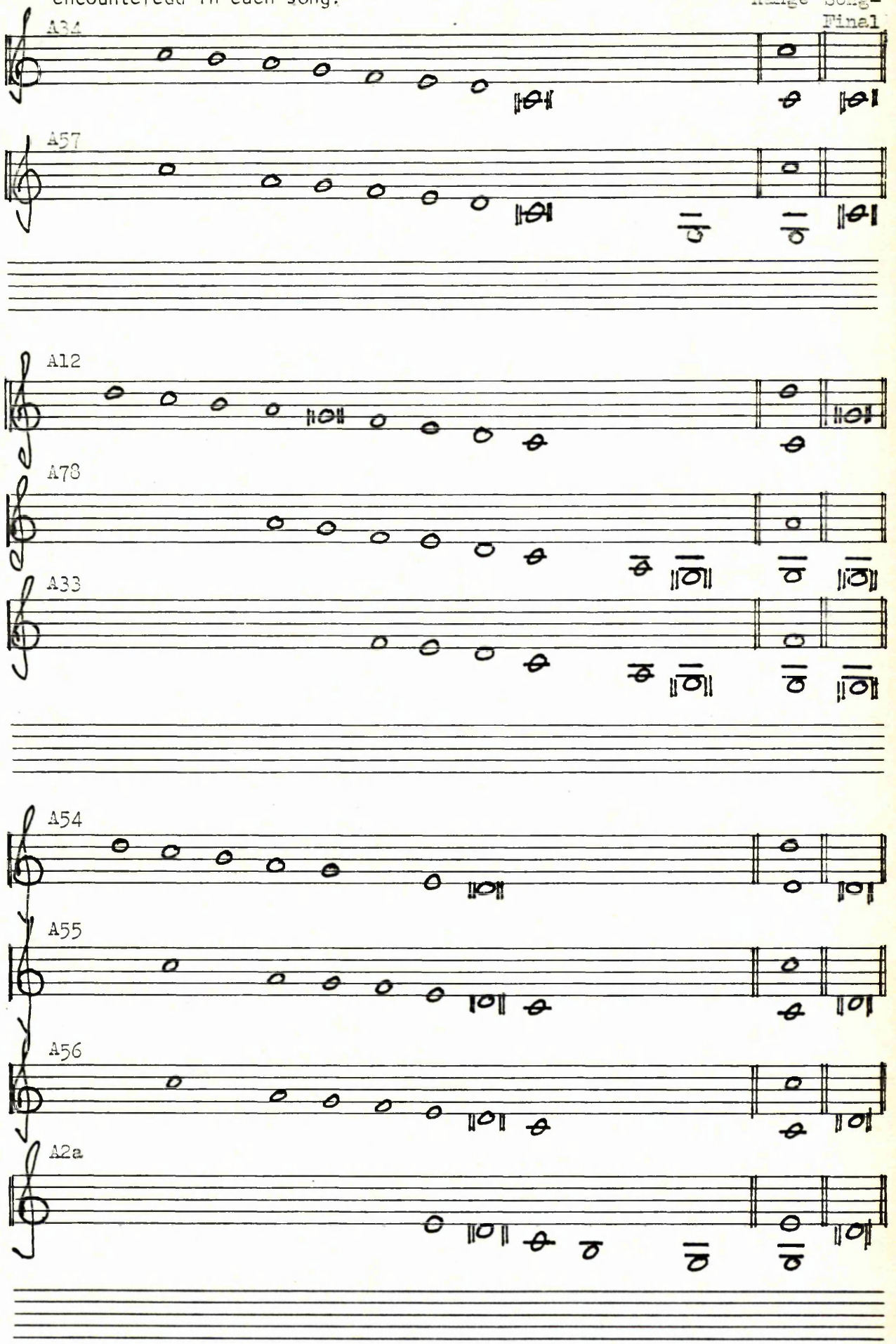


Figure 3 (b).

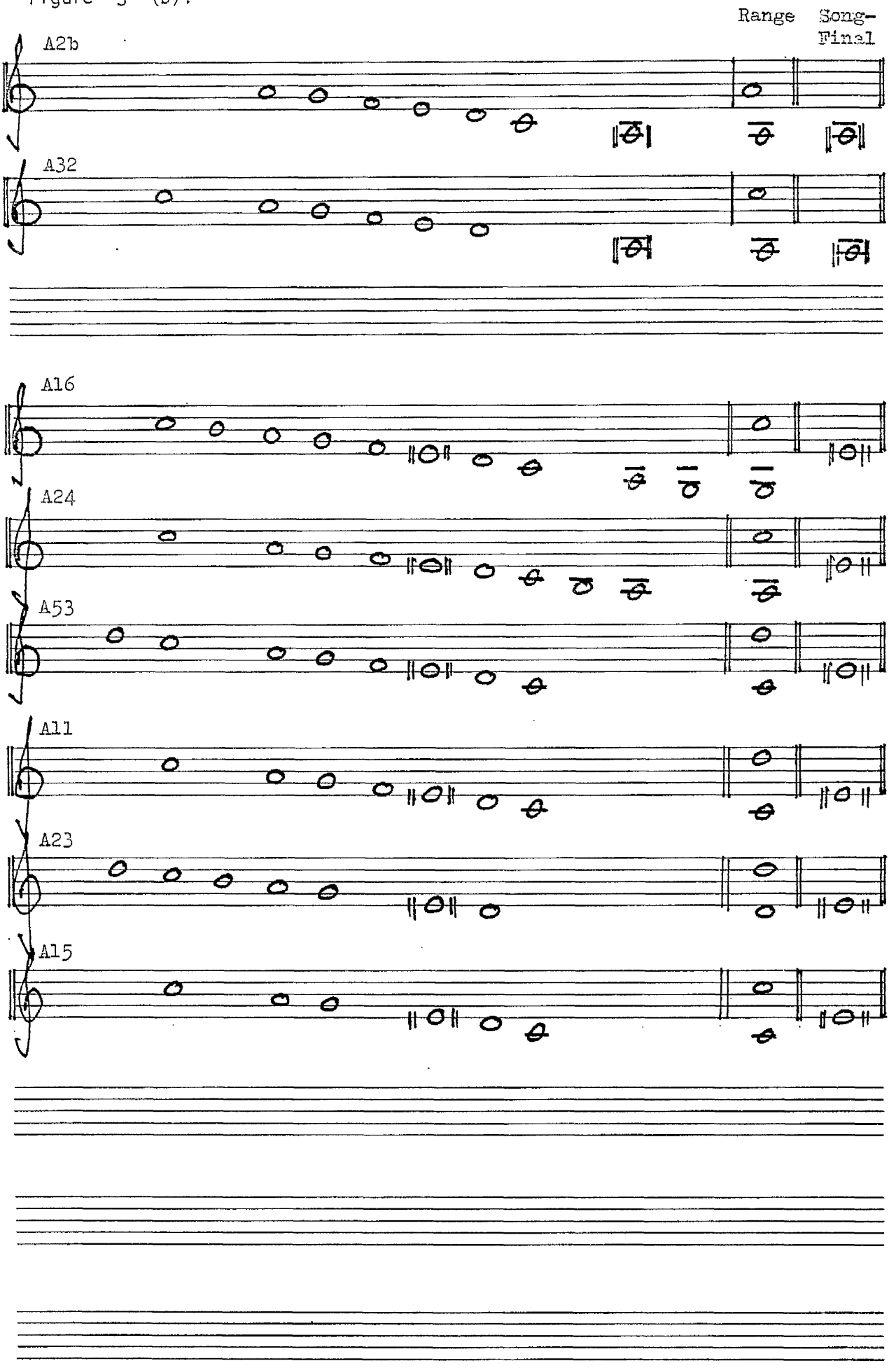
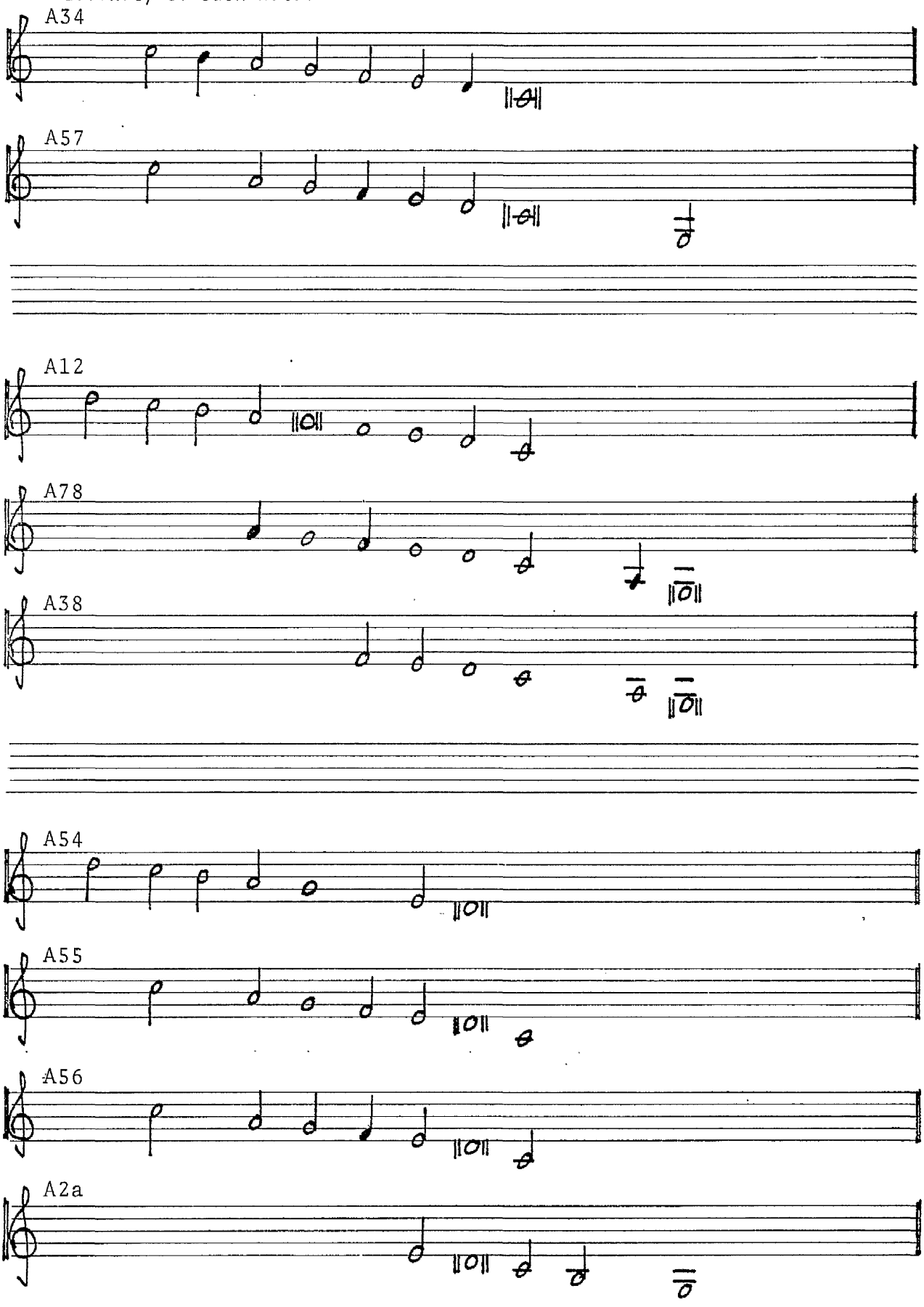
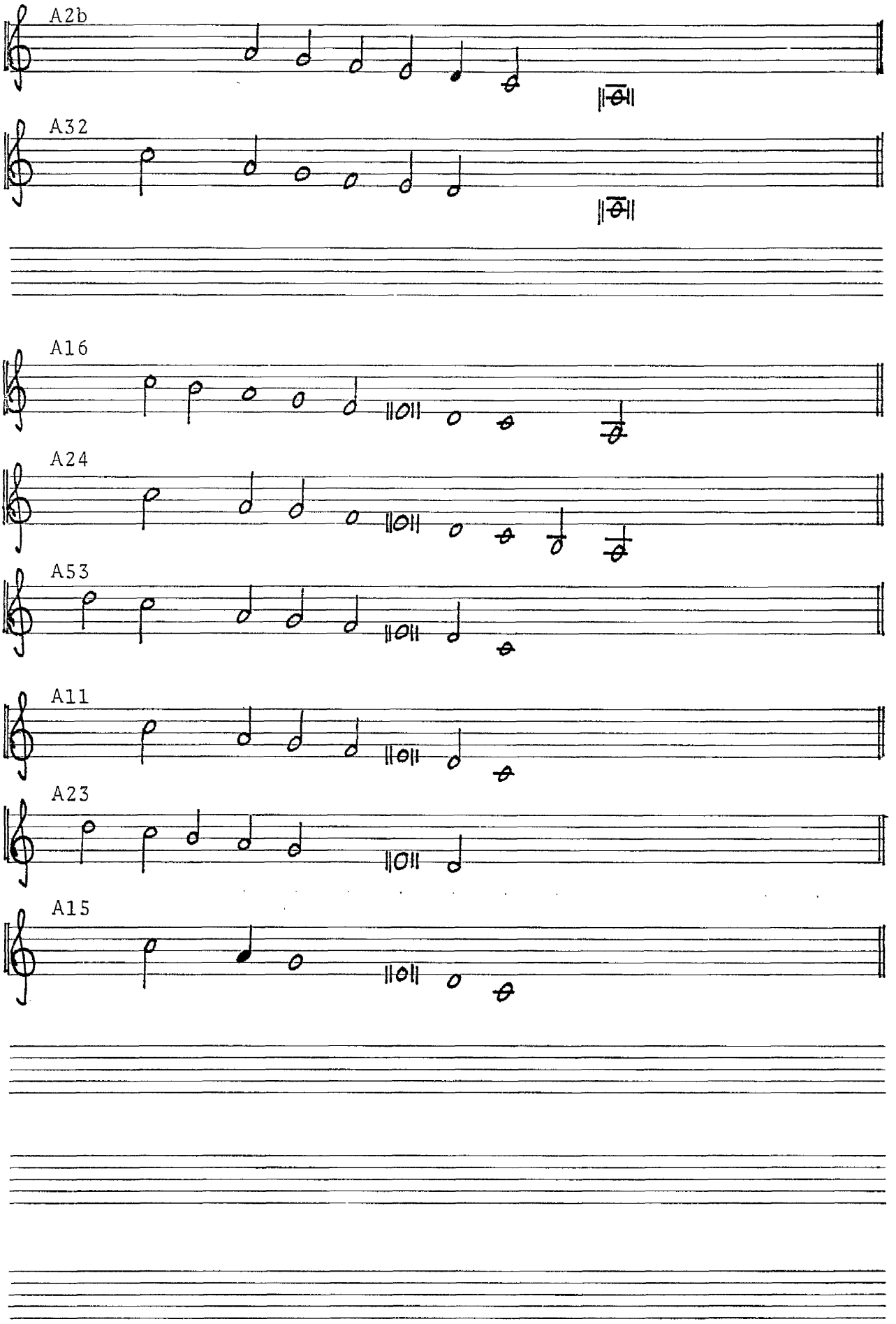


Figure 5 (c) & (d). Tone series according to the functional affinity of each note.[1]



1. ‖o‖ represents the Song Final (Foundation note);
   o represents any note which occurred as a Solo Phrase Final. Such notes rank next to the final in being temporary resting notes.
   d represents any other principal note.
   f represents any non-essential note.

Figure 3 (d):



2.3. Foundation notes

Current approaches in determining the 'tonal centre' in non-Western traditional songs seems to be largely on the lines suggested by Judy C. Hall and Bruno Nettl, that the tonal centre may be a note which "occurs most often during the song; occurs with sufficient length or duration to distinguish it from other tones of the scale; occurs as the final tone of at least one phrase in the song; and occurs as the final tone of the song."[1]

After observing what almost all the soloists did at the beginning of each Ifo performance, as a result of interviews with some of the song leaders on the processes of teaching a new song, and after experimenting with each of the four criteria suggested by Hall and Nettl, it was decided to accord the status of 'tonal centre' to only that note which "occurs as the final tone of the song". And in this thesis the term 'foundation note' (hereafter referred to as FN) is used to represent this note. In the opinion of the writer this term more accurately reflects the singers' concept of a cradle of tonality. Before developing this point further, it is necessary to explain the limitations of the other three criteria.

It has been established that the solo-chorus pattern is one of the characteristics of Ifo song in particular,[2] and "the formal structure of African song"[3] in

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1. Hall and Nettl, 1955, p. 58.

2. Supra, p. 170.

3. Merriam, 1962, p. 67.

general. An examination of the transcriptions of the songs will demonstrate that except where the solo part ends with the same words sung by the chorus (Eziagụ A34, A2a, and A2b), or where the solo part ends with words which rhyme with those of the chorus, and therefore have identical tone levels (Eziagụ A11, A53, A56, and A78), the solo phrase always ends on an inconclusive tone which is ultimately resolved by the chorus refrain. Eziagụ A15, A16 and A24 may be examined at this juncture for they drive the point home. It is therefore logical that if a note which "occurs as the final tone of at least one phrase in the song" should be the tonal centre, then the final tone of the chorus refrain has the best claim. This tone also is invariably the final tone of the song.

Because of the nature of length in Igbo prosody,[1] it is difficult to justify the adoption of a note that "occurs with sufficient length or duration to distinguish it from other tones of the scale" as a tonal centre.

As for the tone which "occurs most often during the song", the frequency counts of two related songs, Eziagụ A34 and A57, have been deliberately included to demonstrate the unreliability of this method as means of determining the tonal centre of a song.[2] In the former song,[3] the note that has the highest frequency, E^4, is

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1. Supra, p. 241.
2. Vide Section 4.1 "Tonal Structure", infra, p.
3. Vide Table 6 infra, p. 279.

not the tonal centre; while the opposite is the case in the latter.[1] However, the exercise of a frequency count has some value because occasionally it can help to determine the relative importance of a note in the gamut of notes of the tone series. In Eziagu A34, for instance, the presence of B^4 in the tone series makes the 'scale' and the 'scale-type' heptatonic and hept-63 respectively. But an examination of the notation by frequency count reveals that although B^4 carries the weight of two pulses, it appears only once in the whole song (Eziagu A34 bar 57) which casts doubt on its relative prominence. Its behaviour however is interesting. Because it is approached by step from C^5 above and quitted by a leap of 700 cents downwards to E^4 it is tempting to regard it as an essential note. But its tonal insignificance is demonstrated by its absence from the group of essential notes of the song in general[2] and of those of its phrase group in particular.[3]

Even when the tone series is grouped in "conjunct 4ths" (which Jones has suggested is the characteristic order of scale notes of African songs[4]), the ephemeral function of B^4 becomes clear - it performs only a linking function, joining the two essential notes C^5 and A^4 as can be seen in Example 1 below.[5]

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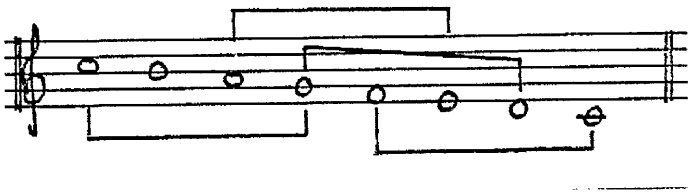
1. Vide Table 7, Infra, p. 280.
2. Vide "Melodic Contours of Eziagu A34", Appendix D, Figure 1.
3. Vide "Melodic Contours of Eziagu A34" line 16.
4. Jones, 1949, p. 10.
5. For a discussion on 'essential and non-essential' notes of a melody, vide the section: "Melodic direction", infra, p. 298.

Example 1



As will be explained shortly, the Ifo singers regard the foundation note (FN) as the point of ultimate repose and therefore as their cradle of tonality; it is to them the most important note in the tone series.

In Ifo the FN of each song is always fixed by the soloist by singing the chorus refrain as she invites the audience to participate: Ihe unu ja na-ekwere m ghụ, 'shara' ("What you shall be singing for me is 'shara'", or any other chorus refrain, e.g. "Gbampọ"). It is from the pitch of the chorus refrain that the soloist takes a convenient pitch for her opening phrase. In other words, besides providing an effective means of audience participation, the chorus refrain provides a complementary phrase to that of the solo; by singing repeatedly a fixed text, it creates a rhyme[1] which punctuates the whole musical idea that the solo part unfolds. Through this rhyming process which

1. Vide the song texts as well as the general form of each song.

Table 6

Eziagụ A34

(i) In 8 quaver unit metre, single aspect, duple.

(ii) Monophonic in texture.

(iii) Range - 1200 Cents; from C^5 - C^4

(iv) Tonal centre C^4

(v) Song final C^4

(vi) Mode: C mode, authentic form; Heptatonic, Hepta-63 type.

(vii) Tone series: C^5 B^4 A^4 G^4 F^4 E^4 D^4 C^4

Frequency of notes of the tone series:

C^5 - 42

B^4 - 2

A^4 - 108

G^4 - 156

F^4 - 17

E^4 - 198

D^4 - 121

C^4 - 151

Table 7

Eziagụ A57

(i) In 8 quaver unit metre, single aspect, duple.

(ii) Monophonic in texture.

(iii) Range: 1700 Cents, C^5 - G^3

(iv) Tonal centre: C^4

(v) Song final: C^4

(vi) Mode: C mode, plagal form; hexatonic scale of Hexa-31 type.

(vii) Tone series: C^5 A^4 G^4 F^4 E^4 D^4 C^4 G^3

Frequency of notes of the tone series:

C^5 - 39

A^4 - 39

G^4 - 56

F^4 - 33

E^4 - 50

D^4 - 10

C^4 - 104

G^3 - 3

is both tonal and rhythmical, it constantly emphasises the foundation note thus providing the soloist with a tonal point of reference and serves as a unifying factor - melodic, rhythmic, and aesthetic - in the whole compositional process.

In transcribing Ifo songs once the tones of the chorus refrain are fixed, other tones of the melody can be easily fixed. The writer therefore strongly shares the view of George Foss that "we must accept that the final tone represents, to the traditional performer, a satisfactory point of rest. If this were not the case, the traditional singer, unencumbered by 'rules' of style, would change it. Such a change would certainly occur either consciously or unconsciously."[1]

Almost the same principle of fixing the tonal centre of Ifo songs applies to other categories of songs. Again, it is the cantor who invariably provides the 'tonal reference'. It should be noted that the tonal centre of each song is more or less fixed during the first rehearsal of the song by each performing group and it is very fascinating to note the absolute degree of accuracy with which song leaders recall these fixed pitches at any subsequent rehearsal.

Briefly stated, during the first rehearsal of a new song, the cantor begins a song on any pitch, and more often than not, on a pitch convenient to her/him. It

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1. Foss, 1967, pp. 106-107.

could well be the pitch on which the cantor learnt the song. Whichever it is, the chorus accepts or rejects the pitch and demands readjustment according to whether the pitch is suitable to a majority of the singers or not. If the pitch presented is considered high and unmanageable, the singers complain: Ọ karị enu ("'It' is too high." 'High' is relative; the 'it' refers to the 'pitch' chosen there being no single precise term for pitch except the word onu, literally 'neck', 'voice'). Hence Onu gị akara enu ("Your voice is too high", i.e. the pitch chosen by the cantor). Expressed differently, the singers could say: Onu anyị ajahụ eru kaa ("Our voices cannot get 'there'", 'there' refers to the 'height' of the pitch). This is so because the Igbo conceptualize intervals vertically in terms of 'high' and 'low'. In effect, the singers have more or less stretched out their 'aural antennae' and discovered that their voices cannot sing such a high pitch. The cantor is then advised: Wedata onu gị ("Lower your voice", i.e. the pitch). The verb wedata (lower) conjures up the mental picture of a readjustable rung of a vocal ladder (an here a ladder of pitches) which the cantor can at will lower a step or more. Similarly, for a relatively low pitch, the cantor will be advised: Wenite onu gị enu ("Raise your voice", i.e. the pitch). Reason? Onu gị dị ana ("Your voice is low", i.e. you have set a low pitch). Note the two opposite concepts: enu (high) and ana ("Earth", "land", but here used as the opposite of Enu igwe, sky). Different gradations of pitch are

indicated by the use of two suffixes after the verbs wenite (raise) and wedata (lower); hence Wenịte onu (Raise your voice), wenịte-kwuo (raise it a bit higher), and wenịte-tụkwuo (raise it a little bit higher still); conversely, wedata onu (lower your voice), wedata-kwuo (lower it a bit), wedata- tụkwuo (lower it a bit still). By this sort of 'trial and error' approach, a convenient pitch (tonal centre) of any song is arrived at, and thereafter, firmly absorbed mentally by all the singers, especially the cantors.

In a sense it can be claimed that the tone series derived from these Ifo songs are fairly reliable representatives of those that most nearly approximate the common usage and taste of the singers. And since the melodies are logogenic, i.e. word-born, and the texts fixed and handed down from generation to generation in a fairly stereotyped fashion, it is valid to postulate that these tone series, which had oral validity in the Eziagu community at the specific time of performance, are typical of their Ifo songs, and may with little variations be typical of Ifo songs in general.

2.4. Ending formulae

Because of the theory of melodic tonality enunciated earlier,[1] a 'cadence' in the sense of an harmonic formula that ends a phrase, or a section, does not exist

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1. Supra, p. 263.

in Ifo songs. What is encountered is a fall through a one dimensional progression, and this may be better described as a 'linear-cadence'. This progression to the final point of repose is generally generated by the phrase "junction" interval, i.e. the fall from the last note of the solo to that of the chorus part.

These points of repose may be non-final (a sort of imperfect and interrupted cadence in Western terminology) or more final. The latter are found at the end of the chorus refrain in which the feeling of tonality is constantly emphasised until the end of the song where complete finality is registered. Non-final points of repose are invariably found in the solo phrases, but occasionally the solo phrase may be as final as the chorus refrain and this is generally the case when the chorus sings a fragment of the solo phrase (Eziagụ A34).

Various phrase-end markers feature in Ifo songs. Most common among them are:

(a) the sense conveyed by the story which is sung;

(b) musical features such as a particular rhythmic pattern, e.g. repeated monotones,[1] a sequence of intervals and rests, etc.

The finalis can be approached either from above (Eziagụ A55 and A56); or below (Eziagụ A11, A12, and A53). The rising movement may be 200 Cents (Eziagụ A2a), 300 Cents

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1. Eziagụ A34 is a notable exception.

Figure 4

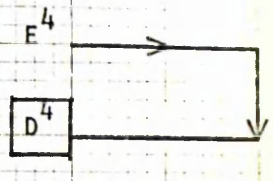
Direction and Interval of approach to the song final

(1) A linear progression; a repeated monotone.

Eziagu A15 and A16

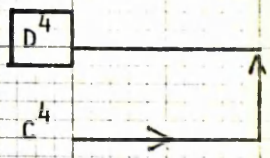
(2) A drop of 200 Cents

Eziagu A55 and A56



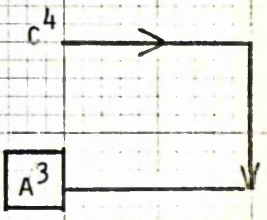
(3) A rise of 200 Cents

Eziagu A2a

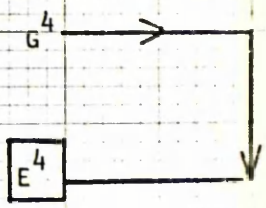


(4) a. A drop of 300 Cents

Eziagu A26

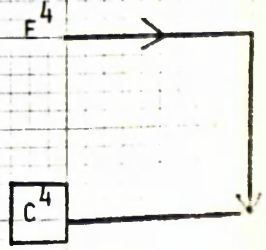


Eziagu A23 and A24



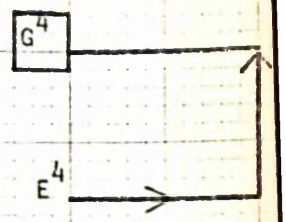
b. A drop of 400 Cents

Eziagu A34 and A57



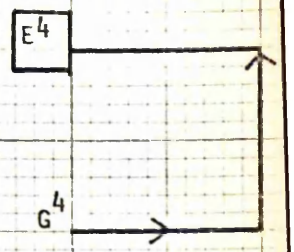
(5) a. A rise of 300 Cents

Eziagu A12



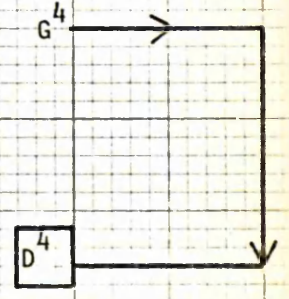
b. A rise of 400 Cents

Eziagu A11 and A53

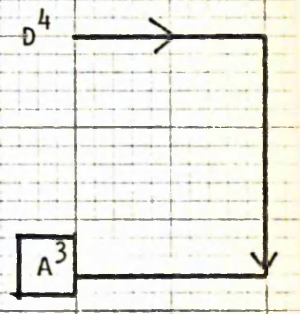


(6) A drop of 500 Cents

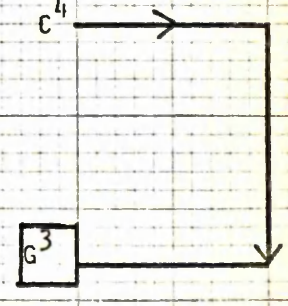
a. Eziagu A54



b. Eziagu A32



c. Eziagu A33 and A78



(Eziagụ A12), or 400 Cents (Eziagụ A11, and A53); the fall may be 200 Cents (Eziagụ A55, and A56), 300 Cents (Eziagụ A2b, A23, and A24) or 400 Cents (Eziagụ A34 and A57).[1] The progression to the final tone may be an outline of a triad (Eziagụ A2b) or by the use of a repeated monotone. All the songs in the E mode display this characteristic rhythmic cadential formula with varying successive levels of tones. With the unit of a beat as quaver, the incidence ranges from two (Eziagụ A15 and A53), four (Eziagụ A16), to five tones (Eziagụ A11 and A24). It also appears extensively in Eziagụ A23 while in Eziagụ A53 it appears in both the solo and chorus parts.

2.5. Harmony and polyphony

Ifo is primarily a mono-linear song. That is, it is sung unaccompanied in unison; the leader singing a solo part while the chorus sings a fixed refrain. And since traditionally men rarely participate in an Ifo performance, the question of singing in parallel octaves is a remote possibility. However, in some songs (notable examples being Eziagụ A11, A12, A32, A33, A34 and A57) chords are implied by the overlapping of the solo and chorus parts, thus creating a kind of polyphony.[2] A close examination of these songs quoted above will reveal a preference for the following 'harmonic' intervals: a minor

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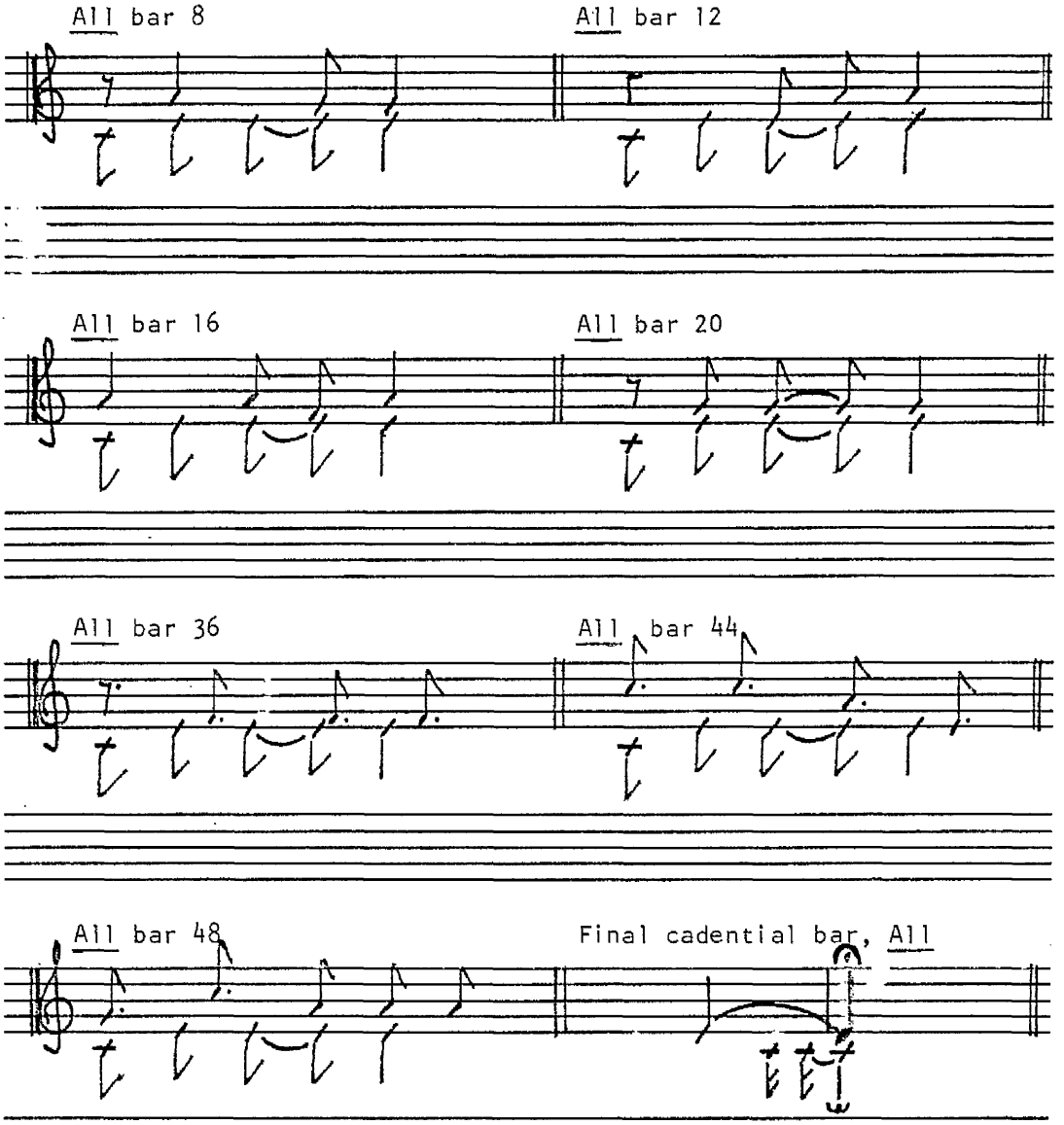
1. Figure 4, pp.285-286.

2. Vide the Section: "Overlapping", infra, p. 289.

2nd (Eziagu A11 bar 36); a major 2nd (Eziagu A24 bar 31); a minor 3rd (Eziagu A11 bar 20); a major 3rd (Eziagu A2a bar 5, A11 the final bar); a perfect 4th (Eziagu A11 bars 8, 12, and 48[1]); a perfect 5th (Eziagu A2b bar 5); a minor 6th (Eziagu A2b bar 11); a major 6th is found in clusters in Eziagu A34. Other examples abound.

Example 1



1. Vide Example 1.

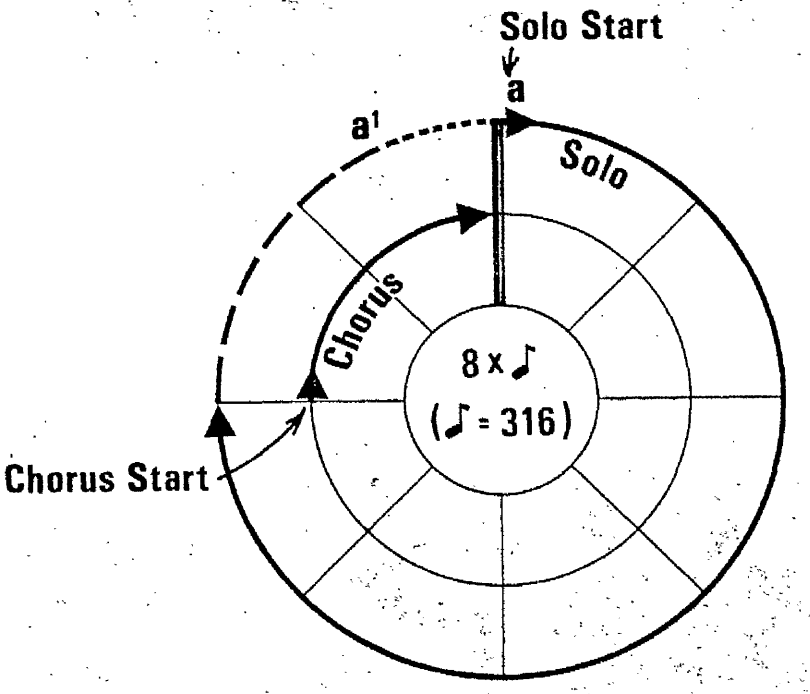
2.6 Overlapping

In the songs analysed, the solo and the chorus exhibit two distinct temporal relationships:

(a) A structure in which there is not overlapping between the two; the chorus phrase commences immediately after the solo phrase, and this relationship is maintained throughout the song. Typical of this group are Eziagụ A2a, A16, A24, and A78.

(b) Those songs which begin without overlapping, as in (a) above, but in which overlapping later occurs, between solo and chorus phrases. The degree of overlapping ranges from: ½ a pulse, as in Eziagụ A15 bars 3, 9, 11, 13, 15, etc. (Figure 5 below); three pulses, as in Eziagụ A32 (Figure 6 below); six pulses, as in Eziagụ A57 bars 16-17 (Figure 7); to a complete bar as in Eziagụ A11 (Figure 8 below).

The variations in the degree of overlapping depend largely on the relative lengths of the solo and chorus phrases. Where the chorus phrase is short, two patterns are generally possible. Compare Eziagụ A15 (Figure 5) with A57 (Figure 7). Figure 8 also shows the pattern that emerges when the chorus phrase is fairly long, as typified by Eziagụ A11. Figure 9 illustrates a form where both the solo and the chorus phrases are almost of equal length, as in Eziagụ A12.



Figure[1] 5 Eziagu A15

This song is in an 8 quaver unit metre per bar. The solo phrase and the chorus phrase, which make up the musical sentence, consist of 8 quavers thus: solo (6 quavers) and chorus (2 quavers). The complete circle represents this sentence which is repeated 32 times for the complete performance of this item.

Eziagu A15 shows only a very slight overlapping of not more than a pulse between the end of the chorus part and the beginning of the solo.

a ≙ represents the usual starting point of solo phrases, as in bars 1, 2, 5, 6, etc.

a^1 = ½ a pulse anticipation, as in bars 3, 9, 11, 13, 15 etc.

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1. This figure and the four subsequent ones are based on principles introduced in Rycroft, 1967. They represent various examples of temporal relationships between solo and chorus phrases encountered in the songs analysed. The chorus phrase is always constant and is represented by the middle circle. The outer circle, represents the solo phrase. Each segment represents a pulse.

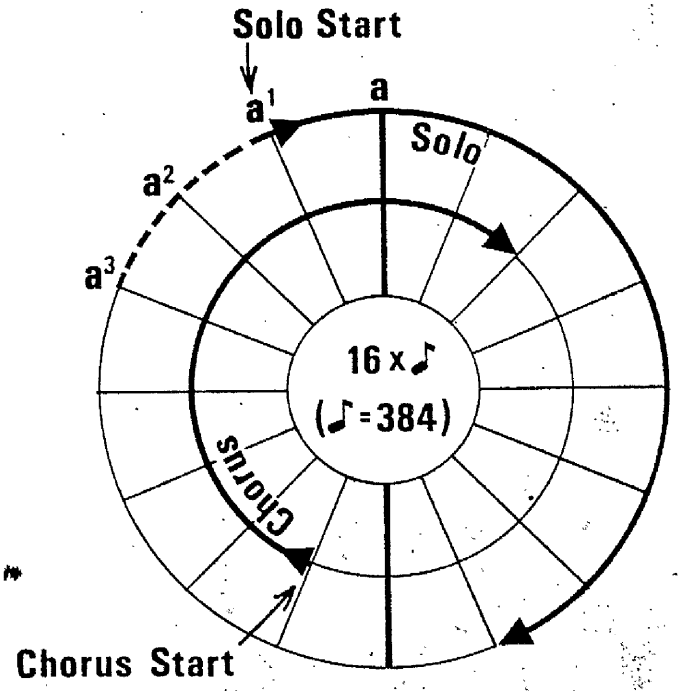

FIGURE 6 Eziagu A32

The complete circle represents a 16-quaver unit (i.e. 2 bars of 8 quavers each. a, a^1, a^2 and a^3 show different starting points for the solo phrase, which creates overlappings that result in temporary polyphony:

a = the solo begins on the first strong accent in the bar (bars 5, 39, 45, and 51). This is a variation on the anacrusic opening of the solo phrases which is characteristic of this song.

a^1= the usual anacrusic beginnings; in bars 6, 10, 12 and 34, it is a single two-pulse-unit to a syllable; one and half pulses to a syllable in bar 2; a pulse to a syllable in bars 36, 42, 46, and 48; and half a pulse to a syllable in bars 30 and 32.

a^2= 2 pulse anticipation, as in bars 18, 20, 22, 28, and 40.

a^3= 3 pulse anticipation, as in bars 14 and 26.

Many songs imitate this pattern, albeit with some modifications by increasing the overlapping notes.

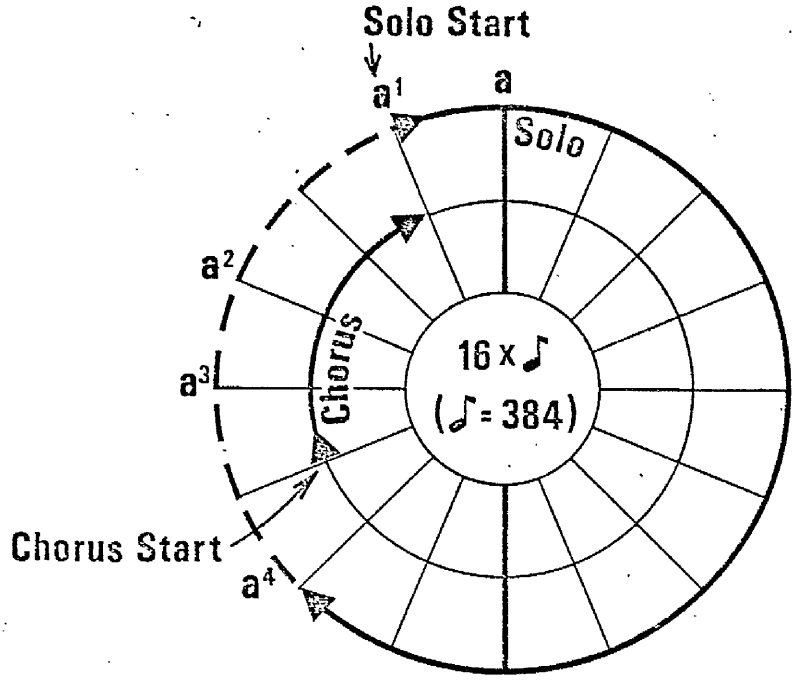

FIGURE 7 Eziagu A57

The complete circle represents two bars of 8 quaver units per bar. While the chorus phrase is always constant, a, a^1, a^2, a^3 and a^4 represent various starting points for the solo phrases:

a = First strong accent in each of the solo phrases. An anacrusic solo opening rhythm is the characteristic pattern of this song hence

a^1= represents the usual starting point of solo phrases, as in bars 1, 2, 8, etc.

a^2= 3 pulse anticipation, as in bars 6, 10, 12, 20, 22, etc.

a^3= 4 pulse anticipation, as in bars 20, 22, and 24.

a^4= 6 pulse anticipation, as in bars 16-17.

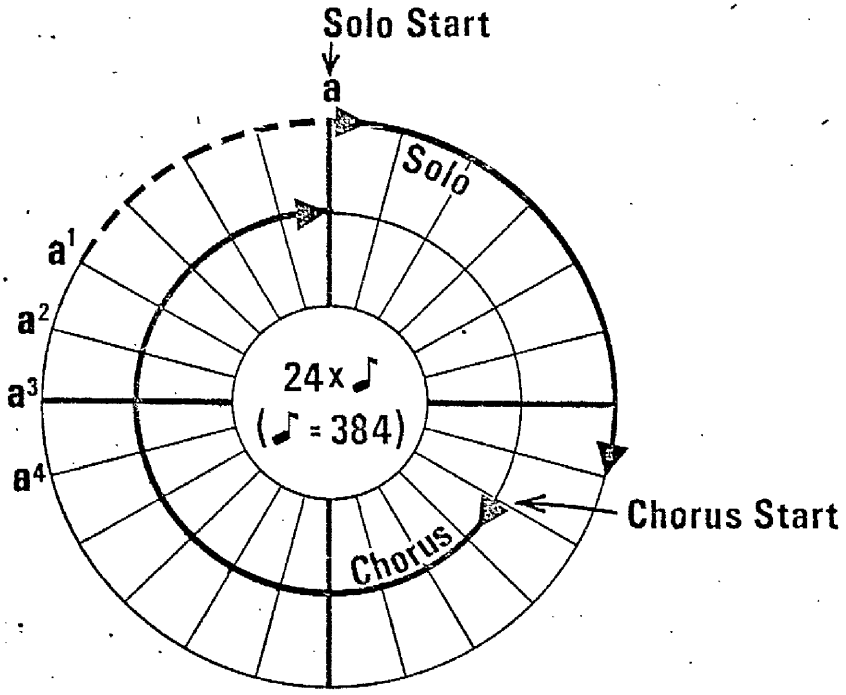

FIGURE 8 Eziagu All

The complete circle represents a 24-quaver unit (i.e. four bars of 6 quavers per bar). While the chorus phrase is always constant, a, a^1, a^2, a^3, and a^4 represent various starting points for the solo phrases:

a = solo entry on the first strong accent in bar 5.

a^1= 4 pulse anticipation, as in the opening solo phrase and bar 12.

a^2= 5 pulse anticipation, as in bars 8 and 20.

a^3= overlapping for a complete bar, as in bars 16, 39, 43, and 47.

a^4= 7 pulse anticipation, as in bars 15-16, 39-40, 43-44, and 47-48.

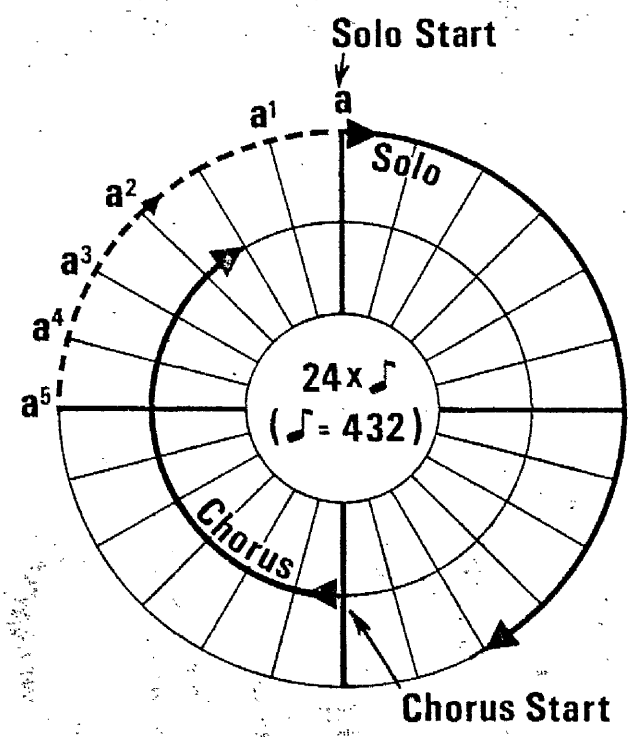

FIGURE 9 Eziagu A12

The concentric circles here represent a 'musical sentence' comprising 24 quaver units, divided into 4 bars of six quaver units each. In the outer circle, the darker portion represents the basic solo phrase, of 10 pulses duration, occurring in bars 1 and 2. The inner circle shows the chorus of the same duration, but occupying bars 3 and 4. While the starting and ending points of the chorus always remain constant, a, a^1, a^2, a^3 a^4 and a^5 show variants of starting points for the solo phrase:

a = the usual starting point, which begins in bar 5.

a^1= anacrusic rhythm beginning the opening solo phrase, which appears again in bars 63 and 69.

a^2= 3 pulse anticipation (bar 55).

a^3= 4 pulse anticipation (bar 59).

a^4= 5 pulse anticipation (bars 12, 16, and 35).

a^5= 6 pulse anticipation, i.e. a complete bar (bars 32 and 51).

3. Melodic Elements

3.1. Musical phrase

The 'solo-chorus refrain pattern of Ifo performance offers the basis for segmenting each song into broad structural features from which minor components: phrases, motifs, and other germs of melodic syntax hang. The smallest melodic unit in these songs, and in Igbo songs in general, is a 'sung-syllable'. This is quite understandable because the Igbo language is tonal and each tone virtually carries a separate and distinct pitch; a succession of different pitches organised in a coherent structure by the singer produces the melody.

However, professional singers who are by tradition 'poets cum composers cum singers' do not think note by note or syllabically; they think and sing in musical ideas because "African traditions deliberately treat songs as though they were speech utterances".[1] This is why in some vocal performances, songs and declaimed speech intermingle in varying proportions as is the case in Eziagu A29, A54, and B15. This unit or single musical idea, which in performance is usually sung in one breath, is here defined as a musical phrase. And as Nketia correctly observed, "the internal divisions that mark off the musical phrases within a song tend to correspond closely to grammatical units

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1. Nketia, 1975, p. 177.

of structure. That is, a musical phrase may be coterminous with a sentence, a clause, a phrase, or even a word that functions as a complete utterance."[1]

Structurally, the solo phrase and the chorus phrase are two distinct but complementary musical phrases. Evidence from these songs has shown that the length of a chorus phrase may vary from song to song, but it is regular within a single song. On the other hand the length of the solo phrase varies from song to song and also within the same song. A summary of the syllabic lengths of the solo phrases of Eziagụ A23 and A24 makes this point clear as shown in Table

In songs with lines composed of irregular numbers of syllables, the singer employs devices such as rests of different durational values, prolongation of notes or shortening of the basic rhythmic unit into smaller fractional parts, nonsense words and syllables, and intrusive vowels and consonants, in order to make up the rhythm and the melody of the song.[2] And as has already been pointed out,[3] an attempt to accommodate these odd syllables within the metric unit of the song results in an overlapping of parts which creates occasional polyphonic textures.[4]

The variation in the length of chorus phrases may be shown with a few examples. Eziagụ A15, A57, B23 and C40 employ refrains of two syllables only. Three-

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1. Nketia, 1975, p. 179.
2. Vide the section: "Music-Text", supra, p. 233.
3. Loc.cit.
4. Vide the Section: "Overlapping", supra, p. 289.

Table 8

Eziagụ A23

Line	No. of syllables in the solo phrase	No. of syllables in the chorus refrain
1	3	16
2	3	16
3	6	16
4	6	16
5	10	16
6	6	16
7	7	16
8	9	16
9	9	16
10	9	16
11	11	16
12	10	16
13	8	16
14	12	16
15	3	16

Eziagụ A24

1	7	6
2	7	6
3	13	6
4	13	6
5	12	6
6	13	6
7	11	6
8	10	6
9	13	6

syllable refrains are found in Eziagụ B2, B24, and C38; an eight-syllable refrain in Eziagụ A53; a ten-syllable refrain in Eziagụ A32; a fourteen-syllable refrain in Eziagụ A11; and a sixteen-syllable refrain in Eziagụ A23.

3.2. Melodic direction

An examination of the transcriptions of the songs shows that musical phrases correspond to the lines of the texts. And because Ifo melodies are word-born and words are tonal, the melodic contours represent the balance between the rising, falling, and level movements of the tones as well as various nuances of intonation which in turn create a variety of simple as well as complex types of intervallic structures.

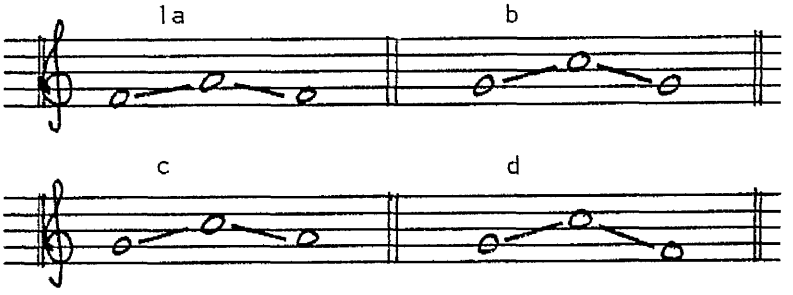
In general the melodic movement can be broadly described as pendular in character; i.e. they combine both ascending (especially at the beginning of solo phrases) with gradual descending movements, using both small and wide intervals and making short as well as extensive undulations. However, it must be noted that the entire song is rarely pendular; and the melodic configurations that emanate from pendular movements are numerous and defy minute classification. A few prominent characteristic units will be identified at random:

(i) 'Up-flextures' and 'down-flextures'

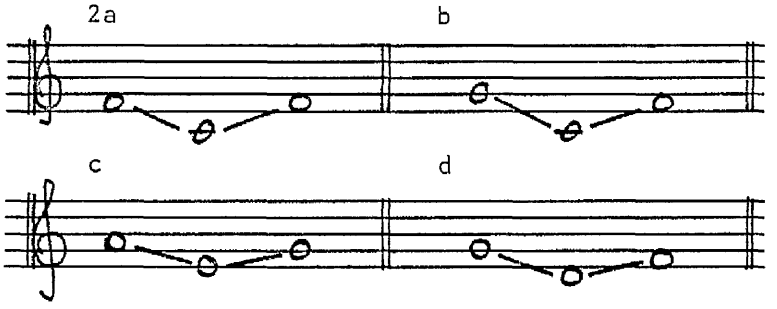
A two-member recurrent movement (say, for example, C^4 - F^4 - C^4 and A^4 - D^4 - A^4) is typical of both

up-flexture and down-flexture patterns. Both examples are found in Eziagu A57:

Up-flexture Example 1a (bars 3, 9, and 11); 1b (bar 14); 1c (bar 16); 1d (bar 20).

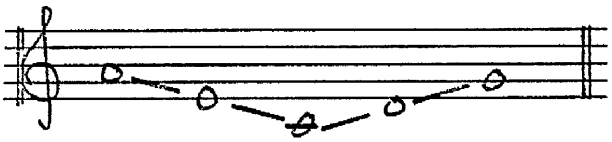


Down-flexture Example 2a (bar 19); 2b (bar 21); 2c (bars 23-24); and 2d (bar 26).



Flextures are not limited to only two pitches. Example 3 below shows a 'down-line' flexture containing three pitches and it is a sporadic pattern encountered in Eziagu A12 bars 13-14, 52-54, and 56-58.

Example 3.



(ii) 'Returning pendulum'

This is created when two notes attract and repulse each other in succession; the initial point of excitement may be from below as in Examples 4a and 4b; or from above as in 4c. Examples 4a-c come from Eziagu A12 bars 17, 59 and 48 respectively. A glance at the melodic contours of this song[1] reveals that C^5 is the highest note and in a majority of cases the initial note of the solo phrase; C^4 is the lowest note; A^4 the initial note of the solo phrases; while G^4 is the resting note of the chorus phrase as well as the song final. The returning pendulum pattern here emanates from the reciprocal pull between these essential notes of the song.

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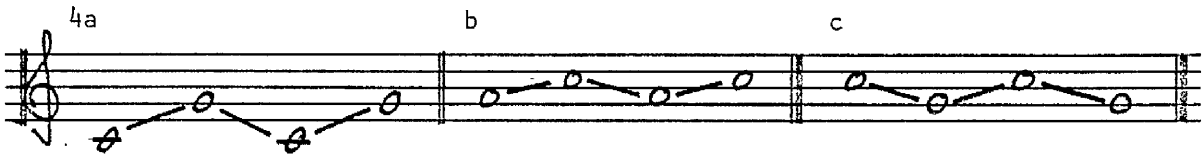
1. Vide Appendix D Figure 3.

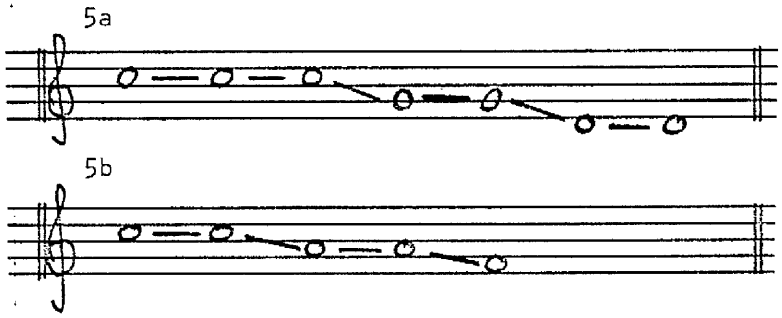
Example 4.



(iii) Terraced contour

This is a special structure exhibited by many songs (especially Eziagu A12, A16, A34) and derives from the principle of reiteration of two or more notes at different pitch levels in succession. Two examples suffice:

Example 5a (Eziagu A12 bar 1); 5b (Eziagu A57, bar 4)



(iv) Miscellaneous types

Miscellaneous combinations that defy precise description abound.[1]

1. For a detailed study of "The structure of melodic movement", vide Kolinski, 1956, pp. 881-918.

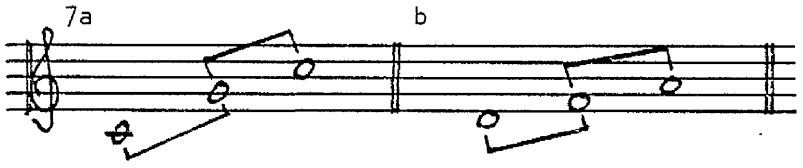
3.3. Intervals

The intervallic structures of each song have been discussed,[1] and from the summary of intervals used in these songs[2] it can be seen that the 'core' intervals characteristic of Ifo songs are those between 100 and 900 Cents. Although wider intervals are occasionally encountered, for example in Eziagụ A57 octave leaps are not only used between two solo phrases (bars 10, 12, 25, and 33) but also within the same phrase (bar 34), it seems that intervals wider than 900 Cents are peripherally exploited.

In general single leaps are most common, but none spans more than an octave. In fact only two examples of single leaps covering 1200 Cents are encountered in the songs analysed (Eziagụ A57 and A55).

Consecutive ascending leaps occur but rarely, and only as a 'split' octave, i.e. an octave broken into C^4 - G^4 and G^4 - C^5 as in Example 7a (Eziagụ A57 bar 4); or as 'triadic split fifth' as in Example 7b (Eziagụ A16 bars 1-3, 18-23, 45-57, 70-75, 100-103 and 106-109).

Example



1. Supra, p. 261.

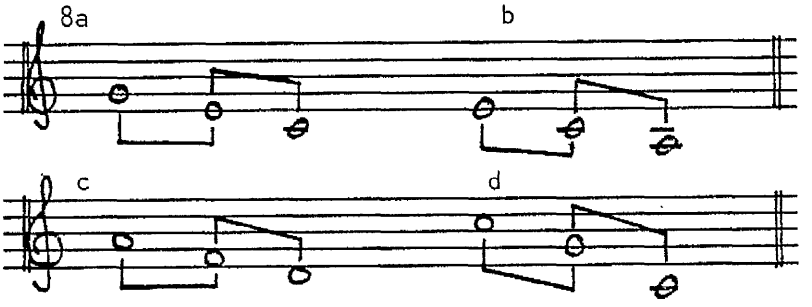
2. Table 9 infra, p. 308.

Two or more consecutive downward leaps are frequent and appear in varied combinations:

(i) Triadic split fifth

Example 8a (Eziagụ A16, bars 26, 30, 34, 78, 82, and 86; A12 bar 31); Example 8b shows its pattern as it appears as the characteristic progression of the chorus refrain of Eziagụ A2b; and Example 8c (Eziagụ A34 bar 10).

Example 8



(ii) Split octave (descending 4th followed by a descending 5th)

Example 8d above (Eziagụ A12 bar 48).

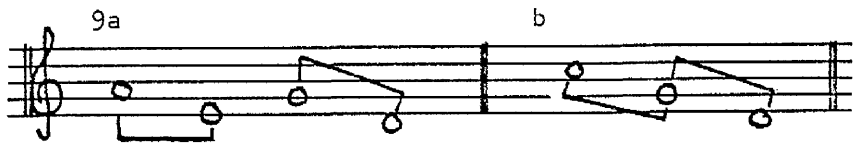
(iii) Descending interlocking 4ths

Example 9a (Eziagụ A34 bars 6, 8, 12, etc.); this is an integral intervallic pattern of the entire chorus refrain of this song.

(iv) Descending consecutive 4ths

Example 9b (Eziagụ A12 bar 1; A34 bar 77).

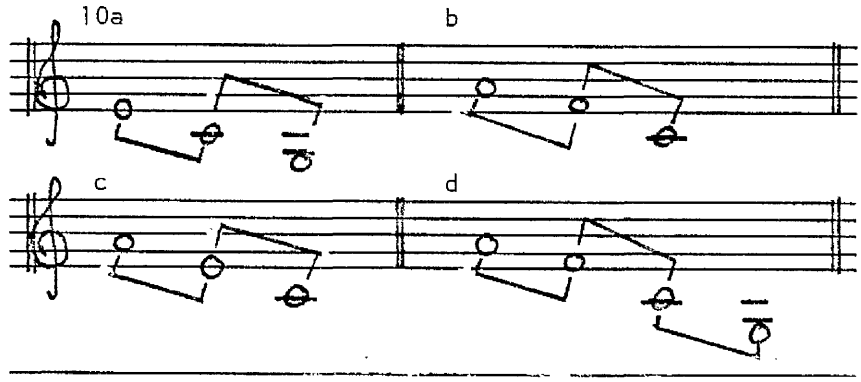
Example 9



(v) Arpeggio 6th (i.e. different combinations of 3rds and 4ths)

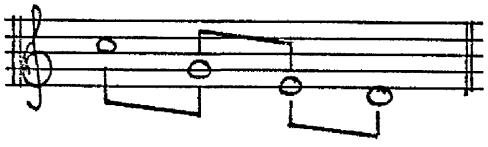
This may occur as 3 + 4 as in Example 10a which is the intervallic pattern of the chorus refrain of Eziagụ A78; Example 10b (Eziagụ A12 bar 33); or 4 + 3 as in Example 10c (Eziagụ A12 bars 13, and 52); or a compound of 3 + 4 + 4 as in Example 10d (Eziagụ A57 bar 36).

Example 10



(vi) Combination of 4th, 3rd and 2nd

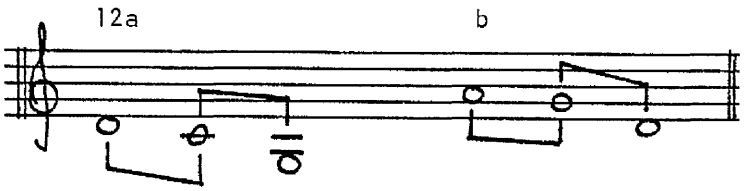
Example 11 (Eziagụ A34 bar 69).



(vii) Combination of 2nd and 4th

Example 12a (Eziagụ A33; its entire chorus refrain is dominated by this pattern); Example 12b (Eziagụ A32 bar 29).

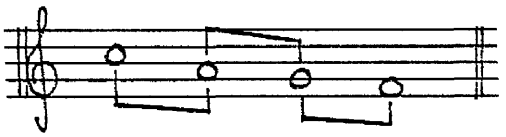
Example 12



(viii) Combination of a 3rd and 2nds

Example 13 (Eziagụ A32 bar 1).

Example 13



(xi) And finally Repeated monotones which is very common especially in Eziagụ A15, A16, and A34.

3.4. Melodic contour

In plotting the broad melodic contours of the songs, certain notes are considered as 'principal' notes (PN) by virtue of having special significance due to their structural positions in the melody and their pitches; in

other words because they perform special melodic tonal functions. These notes are:

(a) the initial and the final notes of each phrase;

(b) the highest note (HN) within a single phrase;

(c) the lowest (LN) within a single phrase;

(d) the song final (SF) which is also the foundation note (FN).

The initial and the final notes of the chorus refrain (CIN and CFN respectively) are always constant while that of those of the solo phrase (SIN and SFN respectively) vary considerably; but on the whole they are important phrase boundary notes whose foci are enhanced by the solo-chorus structure of Ifo songs. In addition, the final note of each of the solo phrases is a 'resting' note and ranks second to the FN.

The song final is important because it is invariably the final note of the chorus refrain which is the most constant phrase in each song. It is noteworthy that George Foss has established similar feature in the Anglo-American folk songs. "In an examination of a wide range of traditional tunes and tune variants," Foss declared, "it would seem that phrase finals are the most constant of the many variables in Anglo-American folk music. Other melodic characteristics of a tune family may be altered, but so long as the phrase endings, with their patterns of tension and repose, remain unchanged, the basic flavour of the tune is retained."[1] Furthermore, "the relation between

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1. Foss, 1967, p. 120.

the opening and closing notes of a song helps to characterise the melodic line".[1]

Besides establishing the ambitus of a song, the interaction of the highest and lowest notes with other essential and unessential notes in the melody determines directions of melodic movement. From the melodic contours of the songs it is possible to see at a glance: (a) different broad melodic structures of a song, phrase by phrase; (b) the intervals at phrase junctions (i.e. between two solo phrases or between the solo phrase and the chorus refrain) and their directions of approach to the chorus refrains; (c) all the essential notes in each song whose interactions produce the necessary tension and relaxation which give life and motion to the melody. When related to the tone series of each song, it will be found that once these essential notes are extracted, other remaining notes are either transitional notes performing either linking functions, i.e. joining essential notes; or functionally unimportant decorative figures such as repeated notes and grace notes.[2]

One pertinent and final point. The energy and force of musical gravity of Ifo songs are best appreciated in actual performance or in listening to a recorded performance. The melodies move towards and away from points of

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1. Kolinski, 1936, p. 496.

2. For a detailed discussion on different tonal affinities between notes of a melody, vide Waesberghe, 1955.

Table 9

Summary of intervals used in each song given in 100 Cents

Song	Title	1	2	3	4	5	7	8	9	10	11	12
1.	Eziagụ A34	1	2	3	4	5	7	-	-	-	-	-
2.	Eziagụ A57	1	2	3	4	5	7	8	9	-	-	12
3.	Eziagụ A12	1	2	3	4	5	7	-	9	-	-	-
4.	Eziagụ A78	-	2	3	4	5	7	-	-	-	-	-
5.	Eziagụ A33	-	2	3	4	5	7	-	9	-	-	-
6.	Eziagụ A54	1	2	3	4	5	7	-	-	-	-	-
7.	Eziagụ A55	-	2	3	4	5	7	-	9	-	-	12
8.	Eziagụ A56	-	2	3	4	5	7	-	9	10	-	-
9.	Eziagụ A2a	1	2	-	4	5	7	-	9	-	-	-
10.	Eziagụ A2b	1	2	3	4	5	7	-	-	-	-	-
11.	Eziagụ A32	1	2	3	4	5	7	-	-	-	-	-
12.	Eziagụ A16	-	2	3	4	5	7	-	9	-	-	-
13.	Eziagụ A24	1	2	3	4	5	7	8	-	-	-	-
14.	Eziagụ A53	1	2	3	4	5	7	-	-	-	-	-
15.	Eziagụ A11	1	2	3	4	5	-	-	-	-	-	-
16.	Eziagụ A23	1	2	3	4	5	7	8	-	10	-	-
17.	Eziagụ A15	-	2	3	4	5	7	-	-	-	-	-

tension and relative repose, thus giving purpose and direction to the lines. Other tension points which focus and direct the melodic energy toward its climactic points are rests, and prolonged notes; while through the use of glissandi, and gradual downward melodic motions relaxation is achieved. On the whole, there is always a general tendency to press forward towards the direction of tonal gravity - the finalis.

4. Tonal Structure

Ifo songs are related as a whole by having common intervallic structures and common melodic contours, but sub-sets arise because of the position of the finalis (foundation note) - thus Ifo may be considered as being grouped into different modes and submodes (authentic and plagal). Thus the G mode, for instance, subdivides into two: authentic (Eziagụ A33 and A78) and plagal (Eziagụ A12). Hence the following five mode groups occur: C, G, D, A, and E.

4.1. Songs in C mode

Eziagụ A34 and A57 belong to C mode, authentic and plagal forms respectively.[1] Both of these songs have the same song final, C^4 approached from E^4, 400 Cents above;

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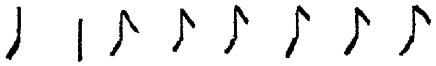
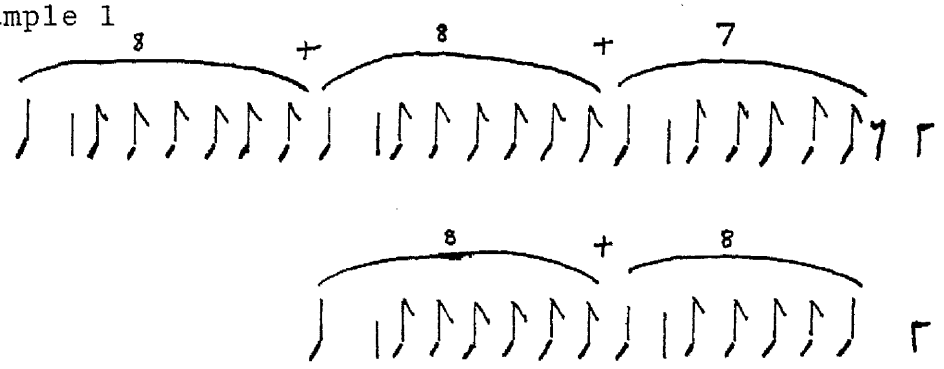
1. Vide Table 5 supra, p. 270 ; and Appendix C, Figures 1 and 2.

both are in 8 quaver unit metre, single aspect, duple; and have 14 intervals in common.[1]

However, each song is essentially unique as can be seen from their respective unique intervallic structures[2] and melodic contours.[3]

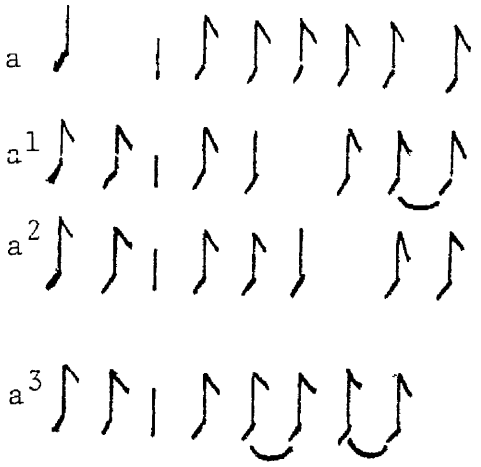
Considered individually in terms of rhythm and structural form, the basic rhythmic unit of Eziagu A34 is  which constitutes the rhythmic unit for the twenty-syllable-solo-phrase being repeated thus: 8 + 8 + 7 and twice in the twelve-syllable-chorus-phrase: 8 + 8 (Example 1 below). Four smaller rhythmic figures are recognisable (example 2 below).

Example 1



1. Appendix C, Figure 3.
2. Appendix C, Figures 4 and 5.
3. Appendix D, Figures 1 and 2.

Example 2



Each of the melodic contours and the combination of its rhythmic realisation give rise to the following structural components and overall form.

Melodic motif (mf); and rhythmic figure (rf)

Solo phrases		Chorus phrase
1.	mm = a	a
	rf = a	a
2.	mm = a	a
	rf = a	a
3.	mm = a^1	a
	rf = a	a
4.	mm = a^1	a
	rf = a	a
5.	mm = a^1	a
	rf = a	a
6.	mm = a	a
	rf = a^1	a

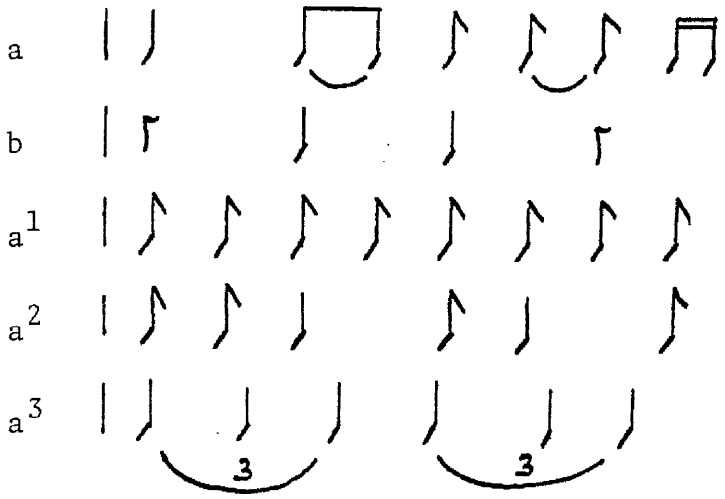
Solo phrases		Chorus phrase
7.	mm = a	a
	rf = a^2	a
8.	mm = a	a
	rf = a^1	a
9.	mm = a	a
	rf = a^1	a
10.	mm = a^1	a
	rf = a	a
11.	mm = a	a
	rf = a	a
12.	mm = a	a
	rf = a^2	a
13.	mm = a^1	a
	rf = a	a
14.	mm = a^1	a
	rf = a^3	a
15.	mm = a^1	a
	rf = a^3	a
16.	mm = a^1	a
	rf = a^3	a
17.	mm = a	a
	rf = a	a
18.	mm = a^1	a
	rf = a^1	a
19.	mm = a	a
	rf = a^1	a
20.	mm = a	a
	rf = a^1	a
21.	mm = a^1	a
	rf = a	a

Overall form:

$A\ \underline{A}\ A\ \underline{A}\ A^1\ \underline{A}\ A^1\ \underline{A}\ A^1\ \underline{A}\ A\ A\ \underline{A}\ A\ \underline{A}\ A\ \underline{A}\ A\ \underline{A}\ A^1$

$\underline{A}\ A\ \underline{A}\ A\ \underline{A}\ A^1\ \underline{A}\ A^1\ A^1\ \underline{A}\ A\ \underline{A}\ A^1\ \underline{A}\ A\ \underline{A}\ A\ \underline{A}\ A^1\ \underline{A}$

Eziagu A57 employs the following rhythmic figures:



The combination of melodic contours with rhythmic realisations give rise to the following structural components and overall form:

Solo phrase		Chorus phrase
1.	mm = a	a^1
	rf = a	b
2.	mm = a	a^1
	rf = a	b
3.	mm = a	a^1
	rf = a	b
4.	mm = a	a^1
	rf = a^1	b

	Solo phrase	Chorus phrase
5.	mm = a	a^1
	rf = a	b
6.	mm = a^1	a^1
	rf = a	b
7.	mm = a^1	a^1
	rf = a^2	b
8.	mm = a	a^1
	rf = a^1	b
9.	mm = a	a^1
	rf = a^3	b
10.	mm = a^1	a^1
	rf = a^1	b
11.	mm = a	a^1
	rf = a^1	b
12.	mm = a	a^1
	rf = a^2	b
13.	mm = a	a^1
	rf = a^1	b
14.	mm = a^2	a^1
	rf = a^1	b
15.	mm = a^1	a^1
	rf = a^1	b
16.	mm = a^1	a^1
	rf = a^1	b
17.	mm = a	a^1
	rf = a^1	b
18.	mm = a^3	a^1
	rf = a^1	b

Solo phrase		Chorus phrase
19.	mm = a^1	a^1
	rf = a^1	b
20	mm = a^3	a^1
	rf = a^1	b
21.	mm = a	a^1
	rf = a^1	b

Overall form:

A $\underline{A}^1$ A $\underline{A}^1$ A $\underline{A}^1$ A $\underline{A}^1$ A $\underline{A}^1$ A^1 $\underline{A}^1$ A^1 $\underline{A}^1$ A $\underline{A}^1$

A $\underline{A}^1$ A^1 $\underline{A}^1$ A $\underline{A}^1$ A $\underline{A}^1$ A $\underline{A}^1$ A^2 $\underline{A}^1$ A^1 $\underline{A}^1$ A^1 $\underline{A}^1$

A $\underline{A}^1$ A^3 $\underline{A}^1$ A^1 $\underline{A}^1$ A^3 $\underline{A}^1$ A A^1

4.2. Songs in G mode

Eziagu A12, A33 and A78 belong to a separate group of songs.[1] They have a common mode, G, which subdivides into authentic (Eziagu A33 and A78), and plagal (Eziagu A12); and are all in 6 quaver unit metre, and have three intervals in common.[2]

The two authentic forms further demonstrate closer tonal affinity by having the same song final, G;[3] and three more intervals in common.[3]

Further cross-comparison of each of the two authentic

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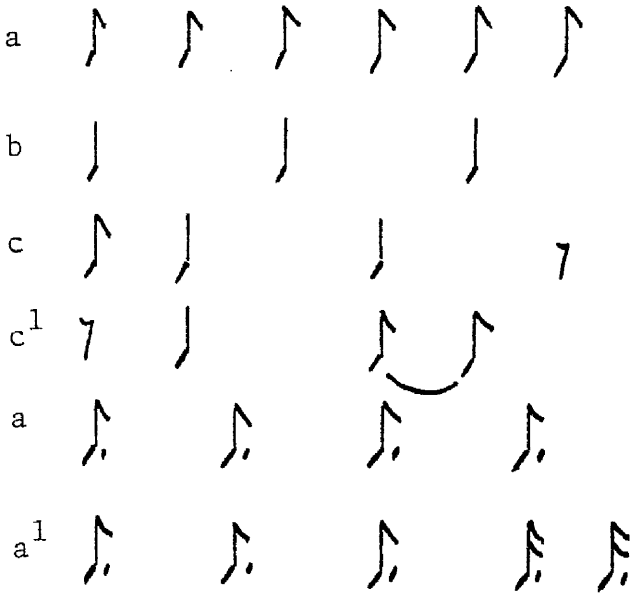
1. Vide Table 5 supra, p. 270 and also Appendix C, Figures 6, 7 and 8.
2. Appendix C, Figure 9.
3. Appendix C, Figure 10.

modal songs with their plagal counterpart reveals some tonal similarities which strengthens their claim to tonal kinship. While Eziagu A12 has only one interval in common with A33,[1] it shares five intervals with A78.[2]

However, each Ifo song is essentially unique as is reflected in their respective unique intervallic structures,[3] and melodic contours.[4]

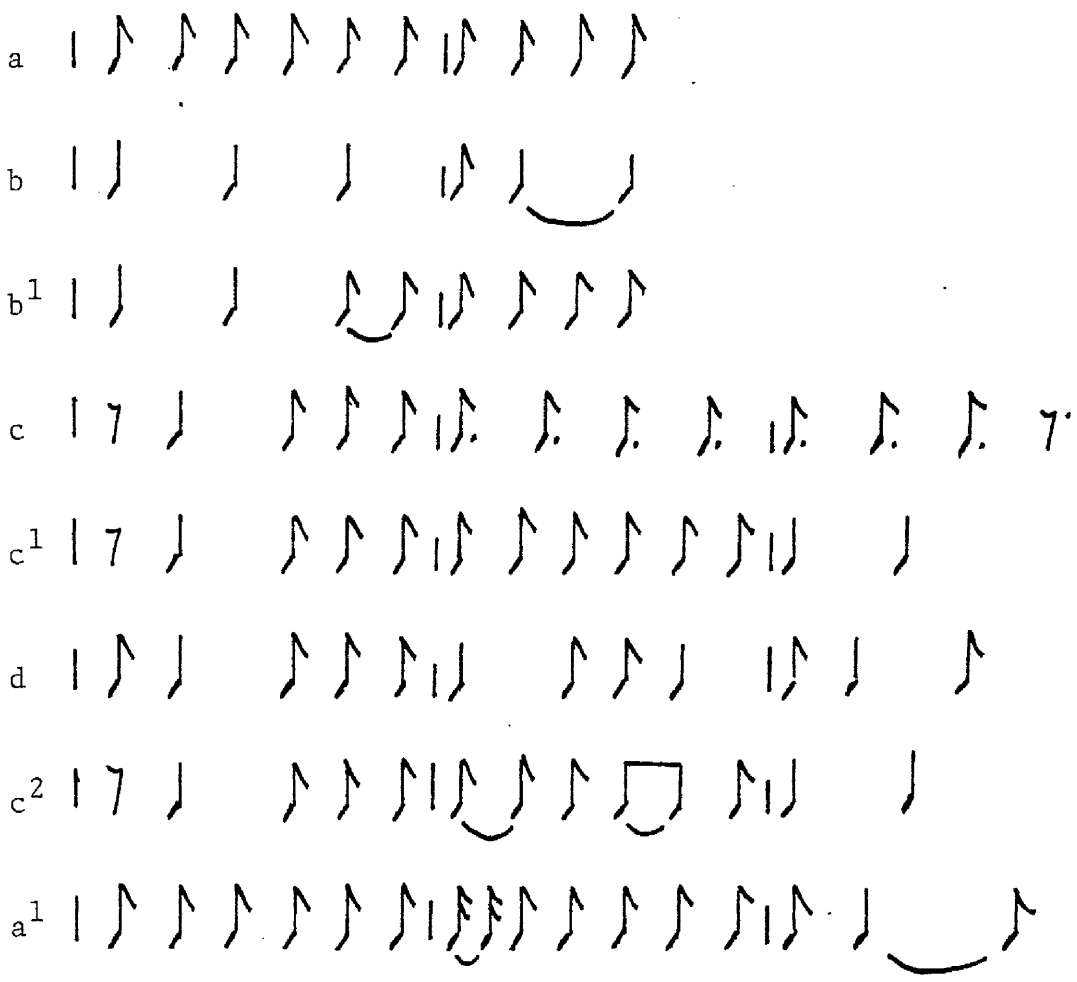
Considered individually in terms of rhythm and structural form Eziagu A12 employs six smaller rhythmic figures (Example 1 below) in various combinations in relaising the broad rhythmic units of its long phrases (Example 2 below):

Example 1



1. Appendix C, Figure 11.
2. Appendix C, Figure 12.
3. Appendix C, Figures 13, 14 and 15.
4. Appendix D, Figures 3, 4a-c, and 5.

Example 2



Each melodic contour and the combination of its broad rhythmic realisation give rise to the following structural components and overall form:

Solo phrase	Chorus phrase
Verse 1	
1. mm = a	a
rf = a	b
2. mm = a^1	a
rf = a	b

Solo phrase	Chorus phrase
3. mm = a^2	a
rf = b^1	b
4. mm = a	a
rf = c	b
5. mm = a	a
rf = c^1	b
Verse 2	
1. mm = a^1	a
rf = a	b
2. mm = a^2	a
rf = a	b
3. mm = a^2	a
rf = a	b
4. mm = a	a
rf = d	b
5. mm = a	a
rf = c^2	b
Verse 3	
1. mm = a^1	a
rf = a	b
2. mm = a^2	a
rf = a	b
3. mm = a^2	a
rf = c	b
4. mm = a	a
rf = c	b

Solo phrase		Chorus phrase
5.	mm = a^2	a
	rf = c	b
6.	mm = a^1	a
	rf = c^2	b
7.	mm = a	a
	rf = a^1	b
8.	mm = a	a
	rf = a^1	b

Summarized verse by verse, the following overall forms emerge:

Verse 1

$A \ \underline{A} \ A^1 \ \underline{A} \ A^2 \ \underline{A} \ A \ \underline{A} \ A \ \underline{A}$

Verse 2

$A^1 \ \underline{A} \ A^2 \ \underline{A} \ A^2 \ \underline{A} \ A \ \underline{A} \ A \ \underline{A}$

Verse 3

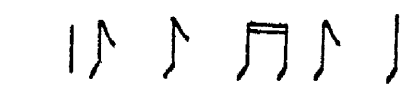
$A^1 \ \underline{A} \ A^2 \ \underline{A} \ A^2 \ \underline{A} \ A \ \underline{A} \ A^2 \ \underline{A} \ A \ \underline{A} \ A \ \underline{A}$

Eziagu A33 has one basic rhythmic figure which is repeated to create the broad rhythm for the solo phrase; and slightly modified to furnish the rhythmic figure of the chorus refrain and a few other sections of the melody. On the whole the following rhythmic units are recognisable:

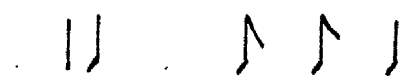
a

a^1

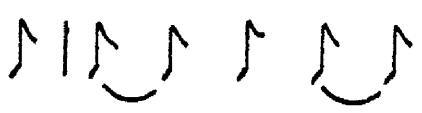
a^2



b



a^3



Each melodic contour and the combination of its broad rhythmic realisation give rise to the following structural components and overall form:

	Solo phrase	Chorus phrase
1.	mm = a rf = a	a a^1
2	mm = a rf = a	a a^1
3.	mm = a rf = a	a a^1
4.	mm = a^1 rf = a	a a^1
5.	mm = a^1 rf = a	a a^1
6.	mm = a rf = a	a a^1

Solo phrase	Chorus phrase
7. mm = a^2	a
rf = a	a^1
Verse 2	
1. mm = a^1	a
rf = a	a^1
2. mm = a^1	a
rf = a	a^1
3. mm = a^1	a
rf = a	a^1
4. mm = a^1	a
rf = a	a^1
5. mm = a^1	a
rf = a	a^1
6. mm = a^1	a
rf = a	a^1
7. mm = a^2	a
rf = a	a^1
Verse 3	
1. mm = a^1	a
rf = a	a^1
2. mm = a^1	a
rf = a	a^1
3. mm = a	a
rf = a	a^1
4. mm = a^1	a
rf = a	a^1

Solo phrase	Chorus phrase
5. mm = a^1	a
rf = a	a^1
6. mm = a	a
rf = a	a^1
7. mm = a^2	a
rf = a	a^1

Verse 4

1. mm = a^1	a
rf = a	a^1
2. mm = a^1	a
rf = a	a^1
3. mm = a^1	a
rf = a	a^1
4. mm = a^1	a
rf = a	a^1
5. mm = a^1	a
rf = a	a^1
6. mm = a^2	a
rf = a	a^1
7. mm = a^2	a
rf = a^2	a^1
8. mm = a^2	a
rf = a^2	a^1
9. mm = a	a
rf = a	a^1

Solo phrase	Chorus phrase
10. mm = a^1	a^1
rf = a	b
11. mm = a^1	a
rf = a	a^1

Verse 5

1. mm = a^1	a
rf = a	a^1
2. mm = a^2	a
rf = a^2	a^1
3. mm = a^2	a
rf = a	a^1
4. mm = a^2	a
rf = a^2	a^1
5. mm = a^1	a
rf = a	a^1
6. mm = a^3	a
rf = a	a^1
7. mm = a^3	a
rf = a	a^1
8. mm = a^2	a
rf = a	a^1
9. mm = a^2	a
rf = a	a^1

Solo phrase	Chorus phrase
Verse 6	
1. mm = a^1	a
rf = a	a^1
2. mm = a^3	a
rf = a^2	a^1
3. mm = a^3	a
rf = a	a^1
4. mm = a^2	a
rf = a	a^1
5. mm = a^2	a
rf = a	a^1
6. mm = a^3	a
rf = a	a^1
7. mm = a^3	a
rf = a	a^1
8. mm = a^2	a
rf = a	a^1
9. mm = a^3	a
rf = a	a^1
10. mm = a^2	a
rf = a	a^1
Verse 7	
1. mm = a^1	a
rf = a	a^1
2. mm = a^3	a
rf = a	a^1

Solo phrase	Chorus phrase
3. mm = a^2	a
rf = a	a^1
4. mm = a^3	a
rf = a	a^1
5. mm = a^2	a
rf = b	a^1
6. mm = a^2	a
rf = a	a^1
7. mm = a^2	a
rf = a	a^1
8. mm = a^3	a
rf = b	a^1

Verse 8

1. mm = a^1	a
rf = a^3	a^1
2. mm = a^1	a
rf = a^3	a^1
3. mm = a^3	a
rf = a	a^1
4. mm = a^3	a
rf = a^2	a^1
5. mm = a^2	a
rf = a	a^1
6. mm = a^2	a
rf = a	a^1
7. mm = a	a
rf = a	a

Summarized verse by verse, the following overall forms emerge:

Verse 1

$$A\ \underline{A}\ A\ \underline{A}\ \ A\ \underline{A}\ A^1\ \underline{A}\ A^1\ \underline{A}\ A\ \underline{A}\ A^2\ \underline{A}$$

Verse 2

$$A^1\ \underline{A}\ A^1\ \underline{A}\ A^1\ \underline{A}\ A^1\ \underline{A}\ A^1\ \underline{A}\ A^1\ \underline{A}\ A^2\ \underline{A}$$

Verse 3

$$A^1\ \underline{A}\ A^1\ \underline{A}\ A\ \underline{A}\ A^1\ \underline{A}\ A^1\ \underline{A}\ A\ \underline{A}\ A^2\ \underline{A}$$

Verse 4

$$A^1\ \underline{A}\ A^1\ \underline{A}\ A^1\ \underline{A}\ A^1\ \underline{A}\ A^1\ \underline{A}\ A^2\ \underline{A}\ A^2\ \underline{A}\ A^2$$

$$\underline{A}\ A\ \underline{A}\ A^1\ \underline{A}\ A^1\ \underline{A}$$

Verse 5

$$A^1\ \underline{A}\ A^2\ \underline{A}\ A^2\ \underline{A}\ A^2\ \underline{A}\ A^1\ \underline{A}\ A^3\ \underline{A}\ A^3\ \underline{A}\ A^2\ \underline{A}\ A^2\ \underline{A}$$

Verse 6

$$A^1\ \underline{A}\ A^3\ \underline{A}\ A^3\ \underline{A}\ A^2\ \underline{A}\ A^2\ \underline{A}\ A^3\ \underline{A}\ A^3\ \underline{A}\ A^2$$

$$\underline{A}\ A^3\ \underline{A}\ A^2\ \underline{A}$$

Verse 7

A^1 A A^3 A A^2 A A^3 A A^2 A A^2 A A^2 A A^3 A

Verse 8

A^1 A A^1 A A^3 A A^3 A A^2 A A^2 A A A

Eziagu A78 uses three rhythmic figures:

a 

b 

c 

With the exception of (a)  which is repeated in bars 1, 3 and 17 to give an (a + a) combination, other rhythmic figures almost cover the whole one-bar-phrase of solo and chorus sections respectively; and each melodic contour and the combination of its rhythmic realisation give rise to the following structural components and overall form:

Solo phrase		Chorus phrase
1.	mm = a	a
	rf = a	b
2.	mm = a	a
	rf = a	b
3.	mm = a	a
	rf = b	b
4.	mm = a^1	a
	rf = c	a
5.	mm = a^2	a
	rf = b	b
6.	mm = a^2	a
	rf = c	b
7.	mm = a^2	a
	rf = c	b
8.	mm = a	a
	rf = c	b
9.	mm = a	a
	rf = a	b

Overall form:

A $\underline{A}$ A $\underline{A}$ A $\underline{A}$ A^1 $\underline{A}$ A^2 $\underline{A}$ A^2 $\underline{A}$ A^2 $\underline{A}$ A A A $\underline{A}$

4.3. Songs in D mode

Eziagu A54, A55, A56 and A2a belong to the same group of songs.[1] They are in D mode authentic (Eziagu A54), and plagal forms (Eziagu A55, A56, and A2a); all are of a Hexa-type scale: Haxa-31 (Eziagu A54, A55 and A56) and Hexa-28 (Eziagu A2a). They are fairly close in range: Eziagu A54, A55 and A56 cover 1200 Cents; A2a, 900 Cents.[2]

Eziagu A54, the only song in authentic form, shows the following features when compared with its plagal counterparts: it has no interval in common with A2a; has four in common with A55: $G^4 - A^4$, $A^4 - C^5$, $E^4 - G^4$ and $G^4 - C^5$; and three with A56: $G^4 - A^4$, $E^4 - G^4$, and $D^4 - G^4$.[3] It is also in 6 quaver unit metre with A55 and A2a; and has its own unique intervallic structure.[4]

The three songs that belong to the plagal form present a fascinating variety of features. They have only two intervals in common.[5] But it is A55 and A56 that demonstrate the closest tonal affinity: they are both in D mode of plagal form, and of Hexa-31 type; they have the same song final, D^4; and above all have the greatest number of intervals in common - 11 on the whole.[6]

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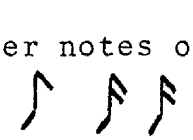
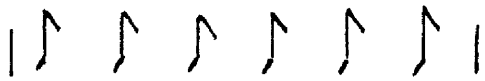
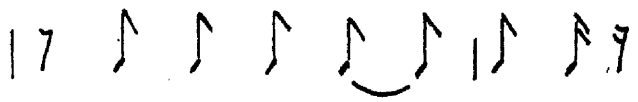
1. Appendix C, Figures 16, 17, 18 and 19.
2. Vide 'Summary of Tonal Features", Table 5, supra, p.270
3. Appendix C, Figure 20.
4. Appendix C, Figure 21.
5. Appendix C, Figure 22.
6. Appendix C, Figure 23.

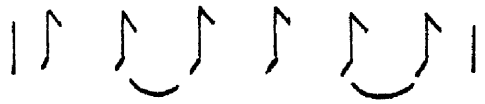
However, each one of them has its unique intervallic structure[1] and melodic contours.[2]

Considered individually in terms of rhythm and structural form, the first part of Eziagu A54 is in free rhythm, being a declaimed speech. While the approximate melodic contours of its uneven 6 phrases can be plotted, it is difficult to fix any particular rhythmic units; rather notes of different durational values () and rests are combined in each phrase with  featuring most often as prllonged terminal note of the phrases (see Example 1). Hence the structural form defies classification.

The second part, which is lyrical, uses three rhythmic figures:

a 

a^1 

a^2 

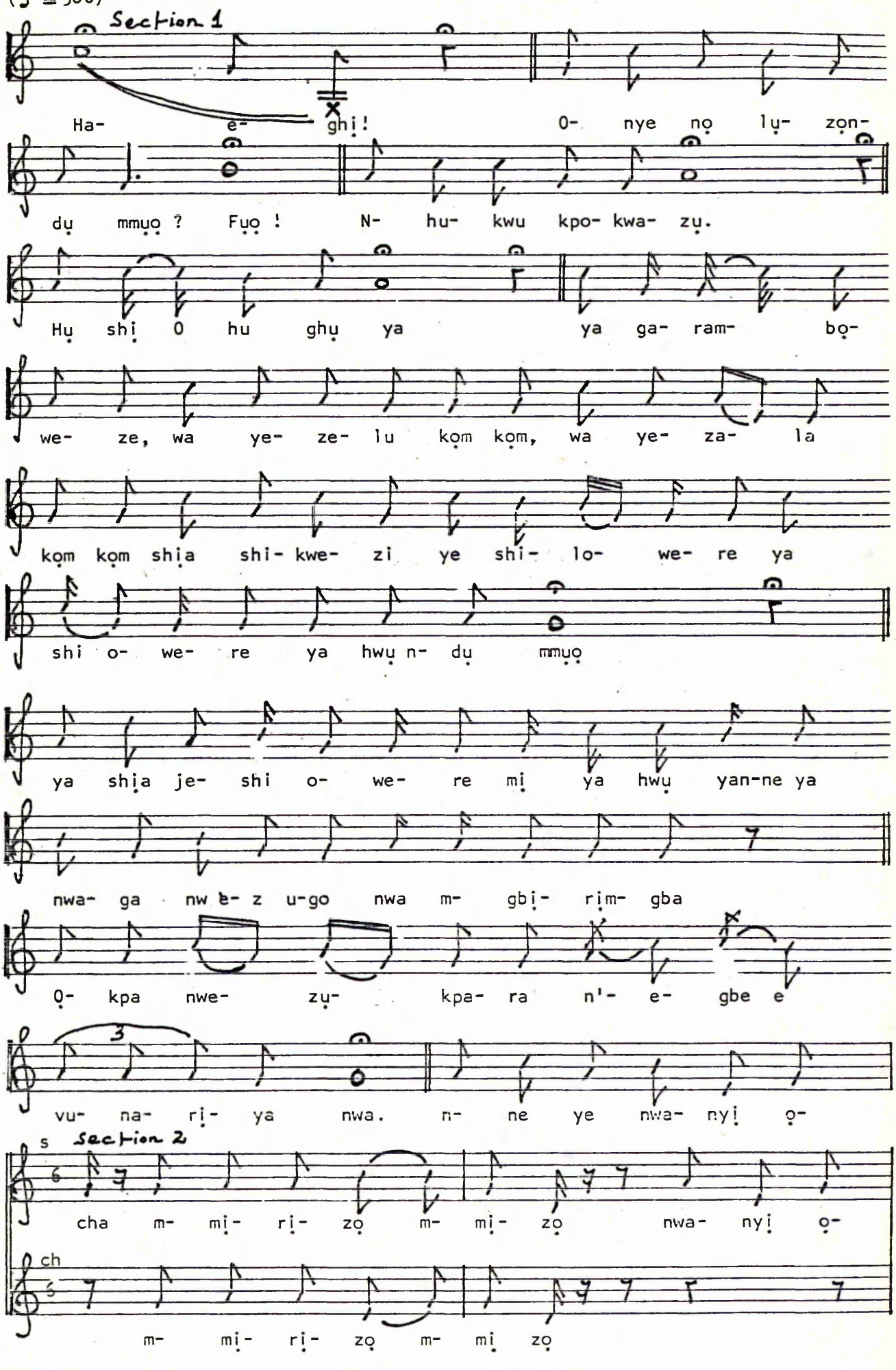
These combine with their corresponding melodic contours to give the following structural components and overall form:

Section 1: Declaimed speech by the solo; No formal structure. The melodic contours are however, given, i.e. its first six melodic contours.

---

1. Appendix C, Figures 24, 25 and 26.
2. Appendix D, Figures 6, 7, 8 and 9.

6. Onye nọ l'uzo ndi mmuo? (Eziagu A54)
(♪ = 360)



Section 2

Solo phrase	Chorus phrase
1. mm = a	a^1
rf = a	a^1
2. mm = a^2	a^1
rf = a	a^1
3. mm = a^2	a^1
rf = a	a^1
4. mm = a^2	a^1
rf = a	a^1
5. mm = a^2	a^1
rf = a^2	a^1
6. mm = a^2	a^1
rf = a	a^1
7. mm = a^3	a^1
rf = a^2	a^1
8. mm = a^2	a^1
rf = a^2	a^1
9. mm = a^2	a^1
rf = a	a^1
10. mm = a	aa^1
rf = a^2	a^1
11. mm = a^2	a^1
rf = a	a^1

Overall form:

$$A\ \underline{A}^1\ A^2\ \underline{A}^1\ A^2\ \underline{A}^1\ A^2\ \underline{A}^1\ A^2\ \underline{A}^1\ A^2\ \underline{A}^1\ A^3\ \underline{A}^1\ A^2\ \underline{A}^1$$

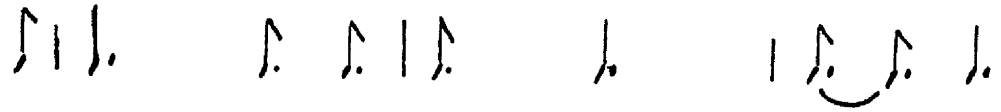
$$A^2\ \underline{A}^1\ A\ \underline{A}^1\ A^2\ \underline{A}^1$$

Eziagụ A55 employs the following rhythmic figures which reflect the lengths of its various phrases:

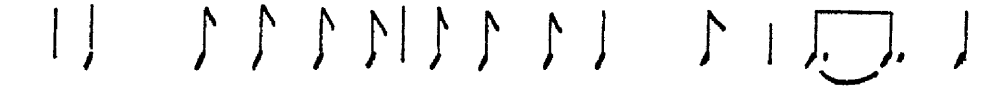
a

b

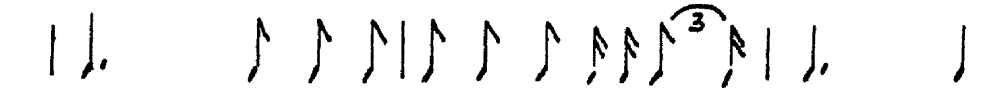
c



a^1



a^2



d

And each of these melodic contours and its rhythmic realisation give rise to the following structural components and overall form:

Solo phrase	Chorus phrase
1. mm = a	a
rf = a	b
2. mm = a	a
rf = a	b
3. mm = a	a
rf = a	b
4. mm = a	a
rf = c	b

Solo phrase	Chorus phrase
5. mm = a^1	a
rf = a^1	b
6. mm = b	a
rf = a^2	b
7. mm = a^2	a
rf = d	b

Overall form:

A A A A A A A A A^1 A B A A^2 A

Eziagụ A56 employs five rhythmic figures:

a

a^1

b

a^2

a^3

while 'b' is the rhythmic unit of the chorus refrain throughout the song, a, a^1, a^2, a^3 combine in pairs to produce the rhythms of different solo phrases. Four main combinations emerge:

$a + a^1$ $\qquad$ $a^2 + a^1$

$a^1 + a^1$ $\qquad$ $a^3 + a^1$

a^1 being constant, the rhythmic realisation of each melodic contour will be identified in terms of the first member of the rhythmic units, i.e. either as a, a^1, a^2, or a^3.

Each of the melodic contours and its rhythmic realisation give rise to the following structural components and overall form:

	Solo phrase	Chorus phrase
1.	mm = a	b
	rf = a	b
2.	mm = a	b
	rf = a	b
3.	mm = a	b
	rf = a^1	b
4.	mm = a	b
	rf = a^3	b
5.	mm = a	b
	rf = a^1	b
6.	mm = b^1	b
	rf = a^2	b
7.	mm = b^1	b
	rf = a^2	b
8.	mm = a^1	b
	rf = a^1	b

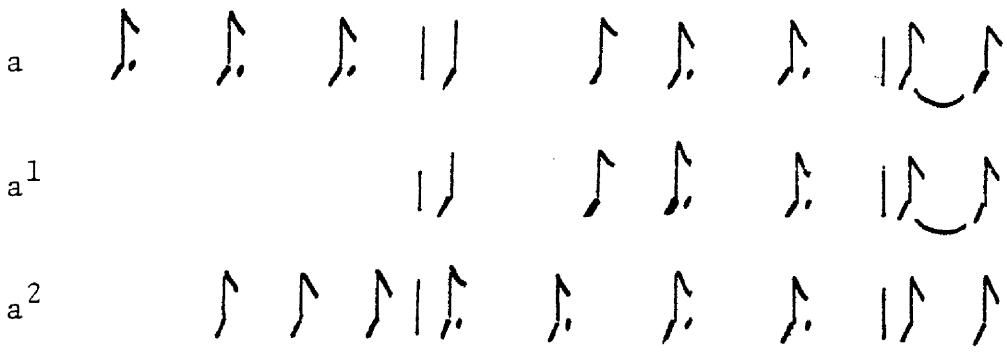
Solo phrase		Chorus phrase
9.	mm = a	b
	rf = a^1	b
10.	mm = a^1	b
	rf = a^1	b
11.	mm = a^3	b
	rf = a^3	b
12.	mm = a^1	b
	rf = a^1	b
13.	mm = a	b
	rf = a^1	b
14.	mm = a	b
	rf = a^2	b

Overall form:

A B A B A B A B A B B^1 B B^1 B A B A B

A B A B A B A B

Eziagu A2a employs the following rhythmic figures:



And each of the above melodic contours and its rhythmic realisation give rise to the following structural components and overall form:

	Solo phrase	Chorus phrase
1.	mm = a	a
	rf = a	a^1
2.	mm = a	a
	rf = a	a^1
3.	mm = a^1	a
	rf = a^2	a^1
4.	mm = a^1	a
	rf = a^2	a^1
5.	mm = a	a
	rf = a^1	a^1

Overall form:

A A A A A^1 A A^1 A A A

4.4. Songs in A mode

Eziagụ A2b and A32 constitute a separate group of songs.[1] They are in the authentic form of A mode; have the same scale: Hexatonic of Hexa-31 type;[2] are in 8 quaver

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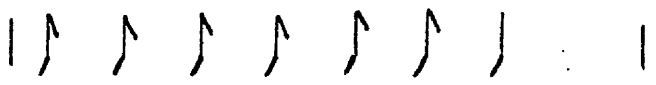
1. Appendix C, Figures 6, 7, 8 and 9.

2. Vide the summary of "Tonal Features", Table 5, supra, 270.

unit metre, and have seven intervals in common.[1]

However, each song is essentially unique as can be seen from their separate unique intervallic structures[2] and melodic contours.[3]

Considered individually in terms of rhythm and structural form, Eziagụ A2b has two basic rhythmic figures:

a 

a^1 

The chorus part, like its counterpart in Eziagụ A34 derives from the 13-syllable solo-phrase, being an exact repetition of the last five syllables, hence rhythm a^1 derives from a.

The melodic contours of the song and the combinations of their rhythmic realisations give rise to the following structural components and overall form:

Solo phrase	Chorus phrase
1. mm = a	a^1
rf = a	a^1
2. mm = a	a^1
rf = a	a^1
3. mm = a	a^1
rf = a	a^1
4. mm = a^1	a^1
rf = a^1	a^1

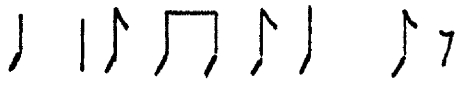
1. Appendix C, Figure 29.
2. Appendix C, Figures 30 and 31.
3. Appendix D, Figures 10 and 11a-b.

Solo phrase	Chorus phrase
5. mm = a^1	a^1
rf = a	a^1
6. mm = a	a^1
rf = a	a^1
7. mm = a^1	a^1
rf = a	a^1
8. mm = a^1	a^1
rf = a	a^1
9. mm = a	a^1
rf = a	a^1

Overall form:

A $\underline{A}^1$ A $\underline{A}^1$ A $\underline{A}^1$ A^1 $\underline{A}^1$ A^1 $\underline{A}^1$ A $\underline{A}^1$ A^1 $\underline{A}^1$ A^1 $\underline{A}^1$ A $\underline{A}^1$

Eziagụ A32 employs one rhythmic figure right through the song:

a 

which combines with the melodic contours to yield the following structural components and overall forms:

Solo phrase	Chorus phrase
1. mm = a	a^1
rf = a	a
2. mm = a^1	a^1
rf = a	a

Solo phrase	Chorus phrase
3. mm = b	a^1
rf = a	a
4. mm = b^1	a^1
rf = a	a
5. mm = b^1	a^1
rf = a	a
6. mm = b^1	a^1
rf = a	a
7. mm = b^2	a^1
rf = a	a
8. mm = b	a^1
rf = a	a
9. mm = b	a^1
rf = a	a
10. mm = b^1	a^1
rf = a	a
11. mm = a^1	a^1
rf = a	a
12. mm = b	a^1
rf = a	a
13. mm = b	a^1
rf = a	a

Solo phrase	Chorus phrase
14. mm = b	a^1
rf = a	a
15. mm = b	a^1
rf = a	a
16. mm = b	a^1
rf = a	a
17. mm = b	a^1
rf = a	a
18. mm = b^1	a^1
rf = a	a
19. mm = b^1	a^1
rf = a	a
20. mm = b^1	a^1
rf = a	a
21. mm = a^1	a^1
rf = a	a
22. mm = b^1	a^1
rf = a	a
23. mm = b^1	a^1
rf = a	a

Solo phrase	Chorus phrase
24. mm = b	a^1
rf = a	a
25. mm = b	a^1
rf = a	a
26. mm = b	a^1
rf = a	a

Overall form:

A $\underline{A}^1$ A^1 $\underline{A}^1$ B $\underline{A}^1$ B^1 $\underline{A}^1$ B^1 $\underline{A}^1$ B^1 $\underline{A}^1$ B^2 $\underline{A}^1$ B $\underline{A}^1$ B $\underline{A}^1$ B^1 $\underline{A}^1$ A^1 $\underline{A}^1$ B $\underline{A}^1$ B $\underline{A}^1$ B $\underline{A}^1$ B $\underline{A}^1$ B $\underline{A}^1$ B $\underline{A}^1$ B^1 $\underline{A}^1$ B^1 $\underline{A}^1$ B^1 $\underline{A}^1$ A^1 $\underline{A}^1$ B^1 $\underline{A}^1$ B^1 $\underline{A}^1$ B $\underline{A}^1$ B $\underline{A}^1$ B $\underline{A}^1$.

4.5. Songs in E mode

Eziagụ A16, A24, A53, A11, A23 and A15 belong to E mode,[1] and as a modal family they are all in the plagal form of E mode; have the same song final - E^4;[2] and have three intervals in common: C^5 - G^4, A^4 - G^4, and G^4 - E^4.[3]

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1. Vide Appendix C, Figures 32, 33, 34, 35, 36 and 37.
2. Vide Table 5 supra, p. 270.
3. Vide Appendix C, Figure 38.

All the six songs display a characteristic rhythmic formula of repeated monotone in approaching their respective song finalis. But within this unity of tonal kinship, each song has its own marked individuality as is reflected in their respective unique intervals[1] and melodic contours.[2]

Songs in E mode can be further regrouped into scale types:

(a) Heptatonic, Hepta-63 type

In this group are Eziagụ A16 and A24 which have 11 intervals in common[3] - all 'core' intervals, i.e. intervals which range from 200 - 900 Cents.

(b) Hexa-31 type

Eziagụ A11, A23, and A53 belong to this subgroup and have three intervals in common.[4]

(c) Penta-15 type

Eziagụ A15 has asserted its special function as the Ifo prelude by being the only song in Penta-15 group.

Considered individually in terms of rhythm and structural form, Eziagụ A16 employs the following rhythmic units which correspond to different and varied phrase lengths encountered in the song. For example, a^1 is the rhythmic cadential figure of repeated monotones characteristic of the chorus refrain: "kpa-ra-na-ma"; c is the rhythmic representation of the sound of cannon: "dụ-m dụ-m

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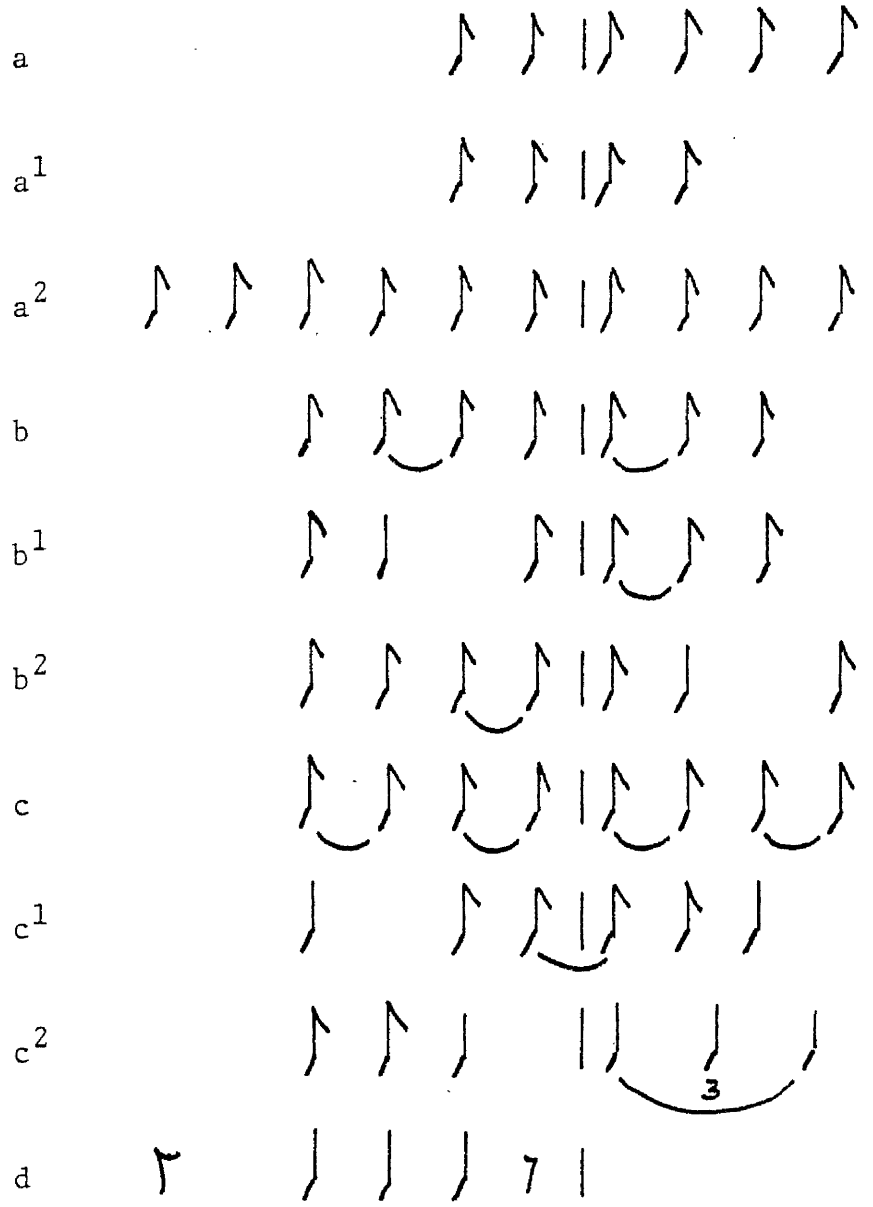
1. Vide Appendix C, Figures 39, 40, 41, 42, 43 and 44.
2. Vide Appendix D, Figures 12a-e, 13, 14, 15, 16 and 17a-b.
3. Vide Appendix C, Figure 45.
4. Vide Appendix C, Figure 46.

dụ-m dụ-m" (bars 166-167, 168-169); and d is the rhythmic realisation of first, the dance steps of the hero's mother: u-je-ri (bars 152-155); and second, the flute melody: "hwụ-tọ-rị" (bars 180-183).[1]



1. Supra, p. 70.

Each of the melodic contours and the combination of its rhythmic realisation give rise to the following structural components and overall form:

	Solo phrase	Chorus phrase
	Verse 1	
1.	mm = a	b
	rf = a	a^1
2.	mm = a	b
	rf = a	a^1
3.	mm = a	b
	rf = a	a^1
4.	mm = a^1	b
	rf = a	a^1
5.	mm = c	b
	rf = b	a^1
6.	mm = a^1	b
	rf = b^1	a^1
7.	mm = a^1	b
	rf = a	a^1
8.	mm = a	b
	rf = a	a^1
9.	mm = a^1	b
	rf = b^2	a^1
10.	mm = a	b
	rf = a	a^1
11.	mm = a	b
	rf = a	a^1

Solo phrase	Chorus phrase
12. mm = a	b
rf = a	a^1
13. mm = a	b
rf = a	a^1
14. mm = c	b
rf = b	a^1
15. mm = a^1	b
rf = a^1	a^1
16. mm = c	b
rf = b	a^1
17. mm = a^1	b
rf = a^1	a^1
18. mm = c	b
rf = b	a^1
19. mm = a	b
rf = a	a^1
20. mm = c	b
rf = b	a^1
21. mm = a^1	b
rf = b^1	a^1
22. mm = a^1	b
rf = a	a^1
23. mm = a^1	b
rf = b	a^1
24. mm = a	b
rf = b^2	a^1

Solo phrase	Chorus phrase
25. mm = a	b
rf = a	a^1
26. mm = a	b
rf = a	a^1
27. mm = a	b
	a^1

Overall form of verse 1:

A B A B A B A^1 B C B A^1 B A^1 B A B A^1 B A

B A B A B A B C B A^1 B C B A^1 B C B A B C

B A^1 B A^1 B A^1 B A^1 B A B A B A B

Solo phrase	Chorus phrase
Verse 2	
1. mm = a	b
rf = a	a^1
2. mm = a	b
rf = a	a^1
3. mm = a^1	b
rf = a	a^1
4. mm = c	b
rf = b	a^1
5. mm = a^1	b
rf = b^1	a^1
6. mm 2 a^1	b
rf = a	a^1

Solo phrase	Chorus phrase
7. mm = a^1 rf = b	b a^1
8. mm = a^1 rf = b^2	b a^1
9. mm = a rf = a	b a^1
10. mm = a rf = a	b a^1
11. mm = a rf = a	b a^1
12. mm = a^1 rf = a	b a^1
13. mm = c rf = b	b a^1
14. mm = a^1 rf = a	b a^1
15. mm = c rf = b	b a^1
16. mm = a^1 rf = a	b a^1
17. mm = c rf = b	b a^1
18. mm = a^1 rf = a	b a^1
19. mm = a rf = b	b a^1

Solo phrase	Chorus phrase
20. mm = a^1	b
rf = b^1	a^1
21. mm = a^1	b
rf = a	a^1
22. mm = a^1	b
rf = b^1	a^1
23. mm = a^1	b
rf = b^2	a^1
24. mm = a	b
rf = a	a^1
25. mm = a	b
rf = a	a^1
26. mm = a	b
rf = a	a^1

Overall form of verse 2:

A B A B A^1 B C B A^1 B A^1 B A^1 B A^1 B A B

A B A B A^1 B C B A^1 B C B A^1 B C B A^1 B A

B A^1 B A^1 B A^1 B A^1 B A B A B A B

Solo phrase	Chorus phrase

Verse 3

1. mm = a	b
rf = a	a^1
2. mm = a	b
rf = a	a^1

Solo phrase	Chorus phrase
3. mm = a	b
rf = a	a^1
4. mm = c	b
rf = b	a^1
5. mm = a	b
rf = b	a^1
6. mm = a^1	b
rf = a	a^1
7. mm = a^1	b
rf = c	a^1
8. mm = a^1	b
rf = c	a^1
9. mm = a	b
rf = a	a^1
10. mm = a^1	b
rf = b^1	a^1
11. mm = a^1	b
rf = a	a^1
12. mm = a^1	b
rf = b^1	a^1
13. mm = a	b
rf = c	a^1
14. mm = a	b
rf = b	a^1
15. mm = a^1	b
rf = a	a^1

Solo phrase	Chorus phrase
16. mm = a	b
rf = b	a^1
17. mm = a	b
rf = a	a^1
18. mm = a^1	b
rf = b	a^1
19. mm = a	b
rf = a	a^1
20. mm = c	b
rf = b	a^1
21. mm = c	b
rf = a^2	a^1
22. mm = a^1	b
rf = b^2	a^1
23. mm = a^1	b
rf = a	a^1
24. mm = c^1	b
rf = d	a^1
25. mm = c^1	b
rf = d	a^1
26. mm = c^1	b
rf = d	a^1
27. mm = c^1	b
rf = d	a^1
28. mm = a	b
rf = a	a^1

Solo phrase	Chorus phrase
29. mm = c	b
rf = a^2	a^1
30. mm = a^1	b
rf = a^2	a^1
31. mm = a^1	b
rf = b^2	a^1
32. mm = a^1	b
rf = a	a^1
33. mm = c^1	b
rf = c	a^1
34. mm = c^1	b
rf = c	a^1
35. mm = a	b
rf = c^1	a^1
36. mm = c	b
rf = b	a^1
37. mm = a^1	b
rf = a^2	a^1
38. mm = a^1	b
rf = b	a^1
39. mm = a^1	b
rf = a	a^1
40. mm = c^1	b
rf = d	a^1
41. mm = c^1	b
rf = d	a^1

Solo phrase	Chorus phrase
42. mm = c^1 rf = d	b a^1
43. mm = c^1 rf = d	b a^1
44. mm = c rf = a	b a^1
45. mm = a^1 rf = b	b a^1
46. mm = c rf = a	b a^1
47. mm = a^1 rf = c^2	b a^1
48. mm = a rf = b	b a^1
49. mm = a rf = b^1	b a^1

Overall form of verse 3:

A B A B A B C B A B A^1 B A^1 B A^1 B A B A^1 B

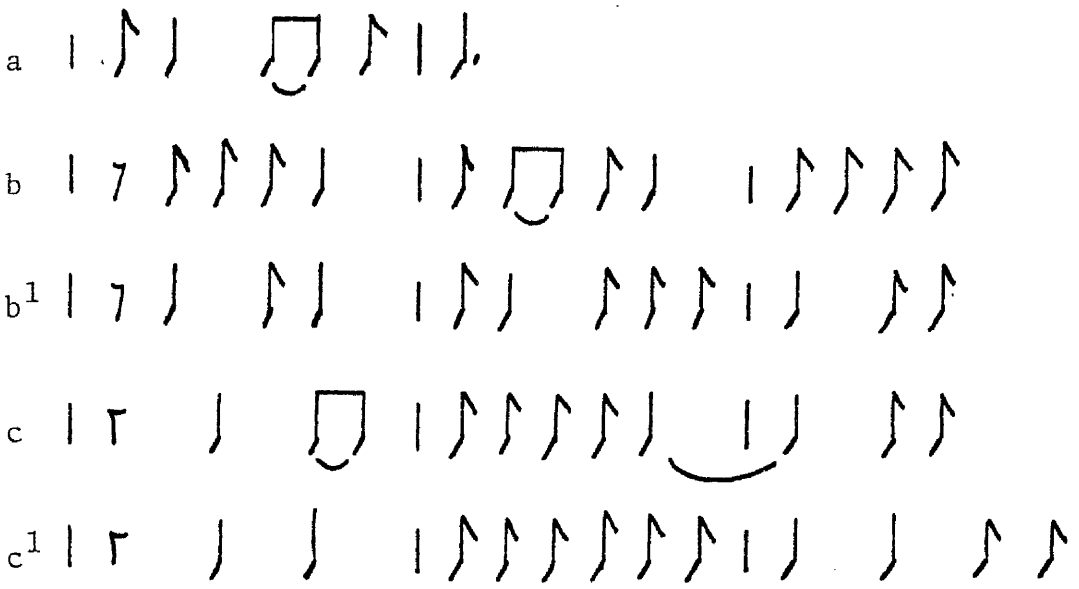
A^1 B A^1 B A B A B A^1 B A B A B A B A^1 B A B C B

C B A^1 B A^1 B C^1 B C^1 B C^1 B C^1 B A B C B A^1 B

A^1 B A^1 B C^1 B C^1 B A B C B A^1 B A^1 B A^1 B C^1

B C^1 B C^1 B C^1 B C B A^1 B C B A^1 B A B A B

Eziagu A24 uses the following rhythmic figures:



And each of the melodic contours and the combination of its rhythmic realisation give rise to the following structural components and overall form:

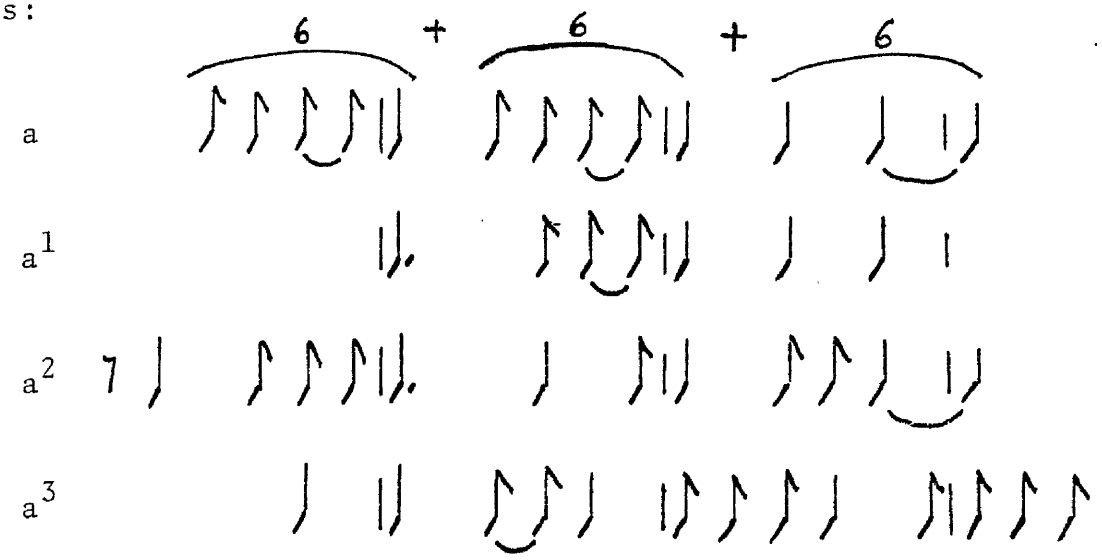
	Solo phrase	Chorus phrase
1.	mm = a	b
	rf = a	a
2.	mm = a	b
	rf = a	a
3.	mm = a	b
	rf = a	a
4.	mm = a^1	b
	rf = b	a
5.	mm = a	b
	rf = b	a

Solo phrase	Chorus phrase
6. mm = a	b
rf = b^1	a
7. mm = a	b
rf = b	a
8. mm = a^1	b
rf = b	a
9. mm = b^1	b
rf = c	a
10. mm = b	b
rf = c^1	a

Overall form:

A B A B A B A^1 B A B A B A B A^1 B B^1 B B B

Eziagų A53 uses the following broad rhythmic units:



A few fascinating features of this song deserve attention. The song has lengthy phrases and this is reflected in the length of its rhythmic units. Apart from rhythm 'a' which can be logically subdivided into three rhythmic motifs of 6 + 6 + 6 structure without impeding the rhythmic flow of the phrase, other rhythms maintain their organic flow from the beginning to the end of the phrase. In other words to reduce them to smaller rhythmic motifs would violate the individual rhythmic unity and flow of their respective phrases. The unifying rhythmic ligament used in the song as a whole is syncopation which, because of its preponderant proportion, gives the song a jerky rhythmic effect.

Another feature of this song is the use of a 'coda' - a passage of three phrases sung by both the soloist and the chorus to round off the song to a satisfactory conclusion (see the last seven bars of the song: Example 2 bars 47-53). Its appearance is signalled by the solo part in bars 44-46 (see Example 2 below) and it is clearly identified by the solo-chorus tutti. Structurally, it consists of three parts:

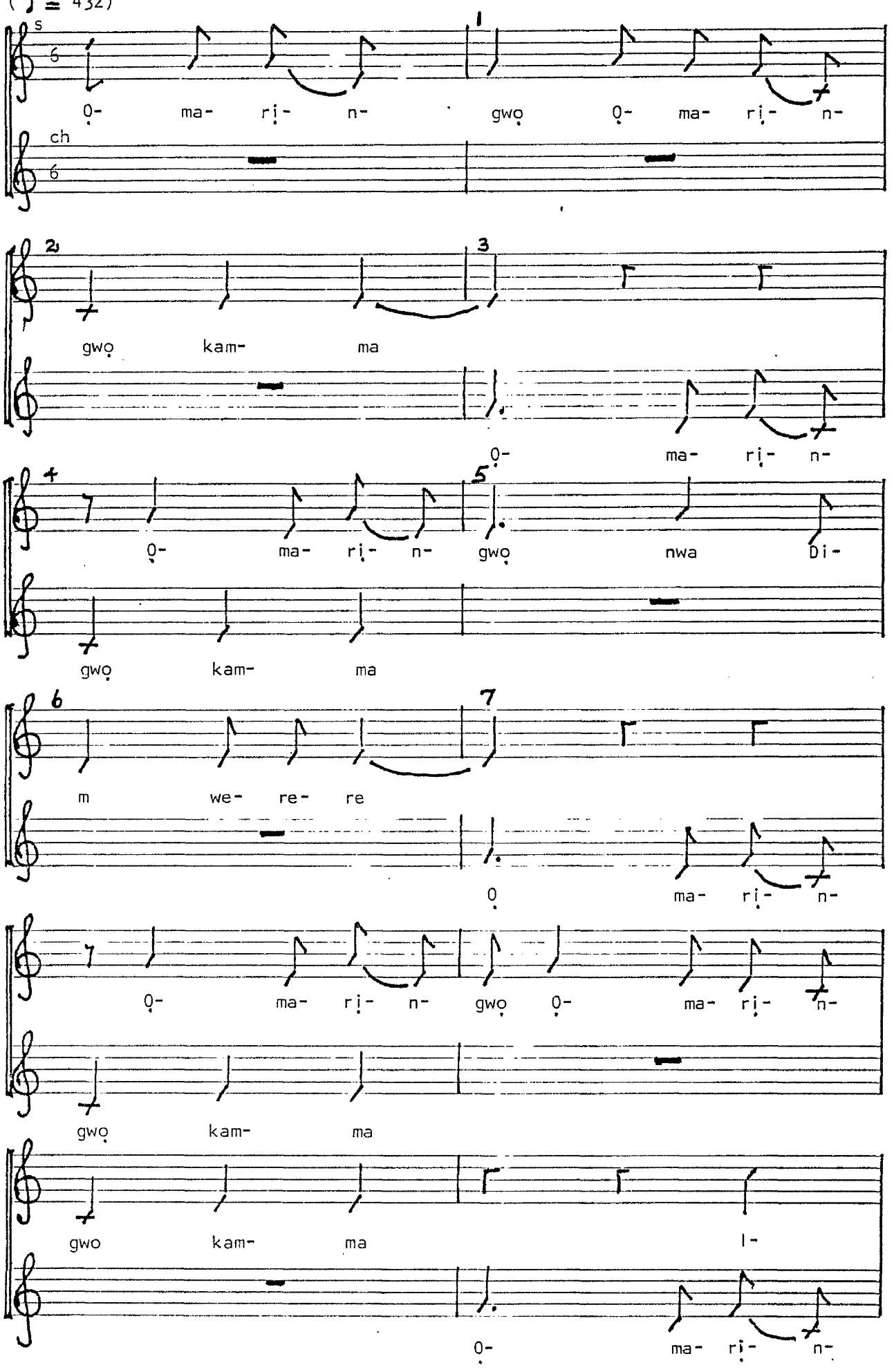
(a) the usual chorus refrain (see bars 47-48 marked 'A' in Example 2; and compare it with Example 1 bars 3-4);

(b) an echo of the second half of the solo phrase (see bars 49-50 marked 'B' in Example 2 below; and compare it with the solo phrase in bars 5-7 Example 1);

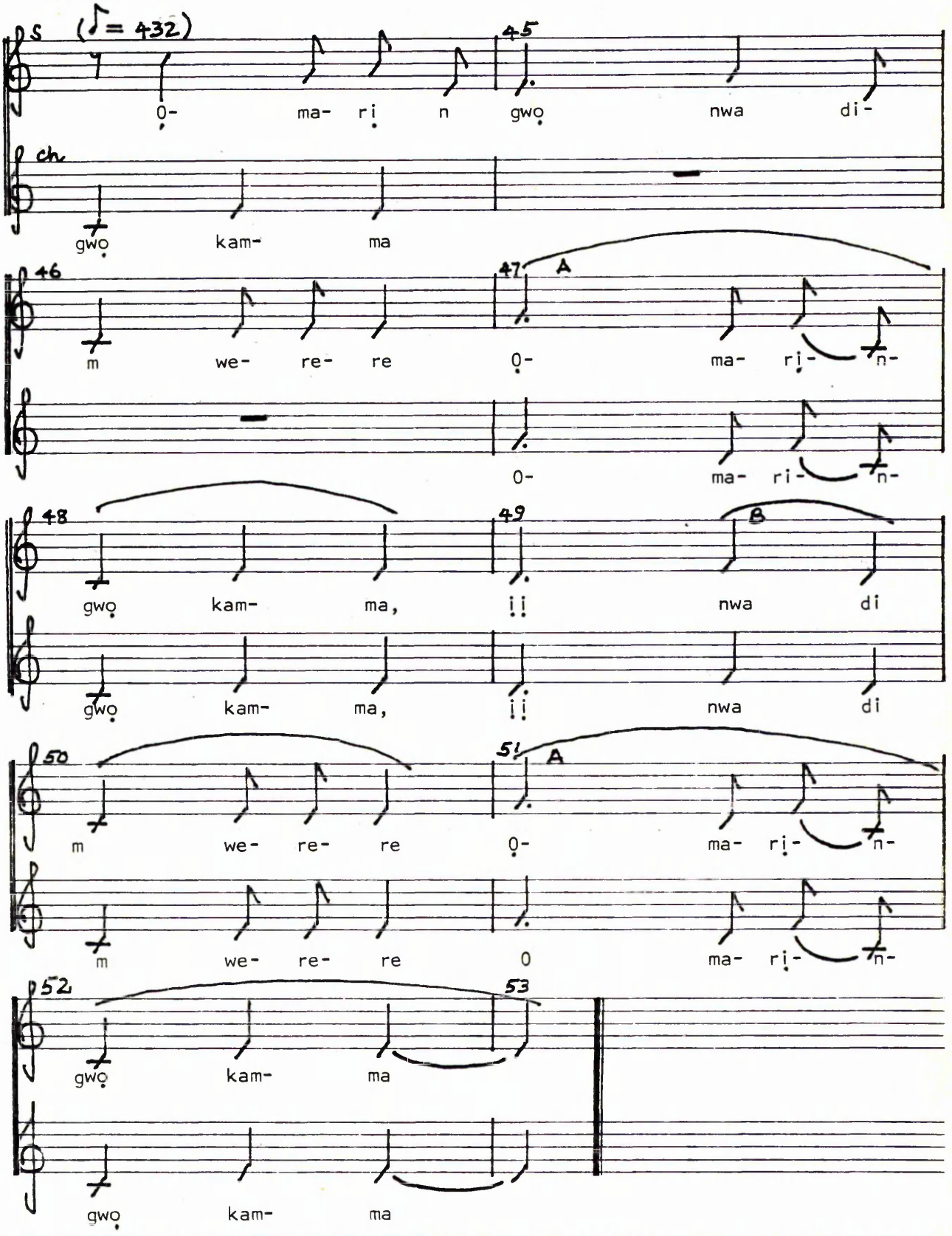
(c) a recapitulation of (a), i.e. the reappearance of the usual chorus refrain (see bars 51-53 marked 'A' in Example 2).

14. Ọmarịngwọ ka mma (Eziagụ A53)

(♪ = 432)



Ezigaq A53


S (♪= 432)
45
0- ma- ri n gwọ nwa di-
ch.
gwọ kam- ma
46
47
A
m we- re- re 0- ma- ri- n-
0- ma- ri- n-
48
49
B
gwọ kam- ma, ii nwa di
gwọ kam- ma, ii nwa di
50
51
A
m we- re- re 0- ma- ri- n-
m we- re- re 0 ma- ri- n-
52
53
gwọ kam- ma
gwọ kam- ma

Furthermore, the nonsense syllable 'ii' (see the first three pulses of bar 49, Example 2) is substituted for 'gwọ', the last syllable of the name Ọmarịngwọ (see the first three pulses of bar 5, Example 1) in order to avoid both tonal and rhythmic hiatus. This is a good evidence to support the claim of nonsense words and syllables to tonal adaptability.[1]

Each of the melodic contours and the combination of its rhythmic realisation give rise to the following structural components and overall form:

	Solo phrase	Chorus phrase
1.	mm = a rf = a	a a^1
2.	mm = a rf = a^2	a a^1
3.	mm = a rf = a^2	a a^1
4.	mm = a rf = a^3	a a^1
5.	mm = a rf = a^3	a a^1
6.	mm = a rf = a^3	a a^1
7.	mm = a rf = a^3	a a^1
8.	mm = a^1 rf = a^3	a a^1

1. Supra, p. 211.

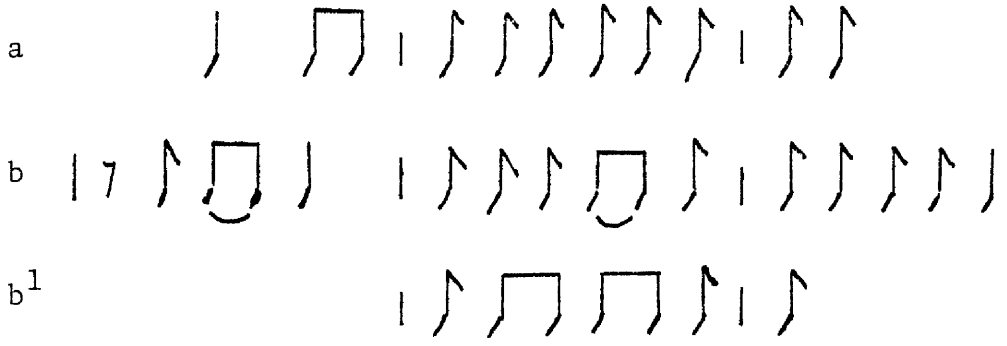
Solo phrase		Chorus phrase
9.	mm = a	a
	rf = a^3	a^1
10.	mm = a	a
	rf = a^3	a^1
11.	mm = a	a
	rf = a^3	a^1
12.	mm = a	a
	rf = a^2	a^1
13.	mm = a	a
	rf = a^1	a^1
14.	mm = a^1	a
	rf = a^1	a^1
15.	mm = a	a
	rf = a^1	a^1

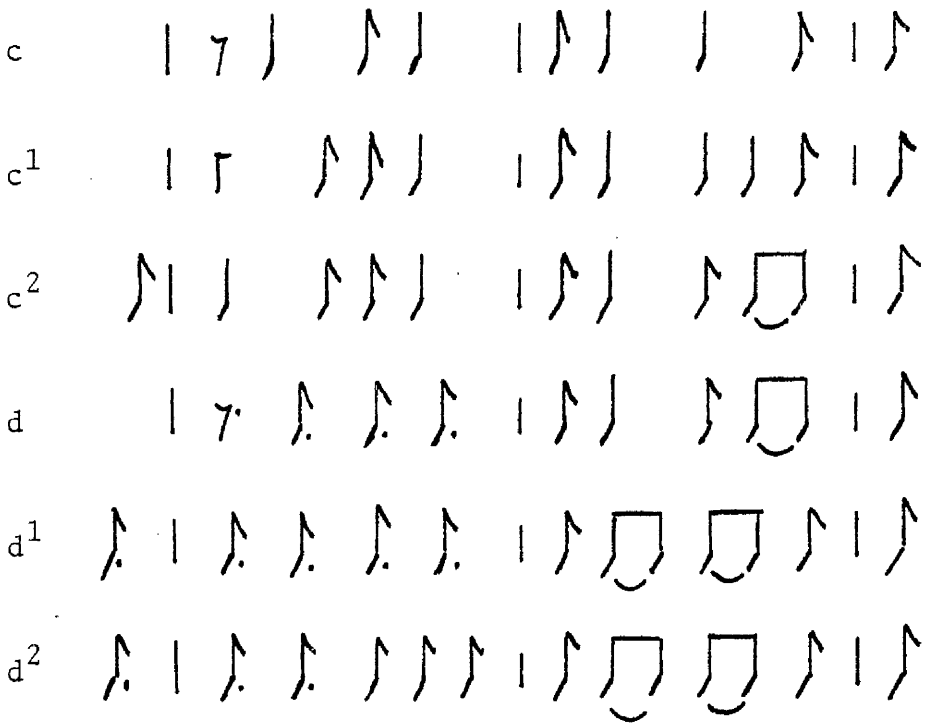
Overall form:

A A A A A A A A A A A A A A A^1 A A A A

A A A A A A A A^1 A A A

Eziagụ All employs the following rhythmic figures:





The rhythmic figure 'd' is peculiar to this song and it started in bars 24-26 and varied in bars 39-42, 43-46 and 47-50 to figures 'd^1' and 'd^2'. And each of the melodic contours and the combination of its rhythmic realisation give rise to the following structural components and overall form:

Solo phrase	Chorus phrase
1. mm = a	b
rf = a	b
2. mm = b^1	b
rf = b^1	b
3. mm = b^1	b
rf = c	b
4. mm = a	b
rf = c^1	b

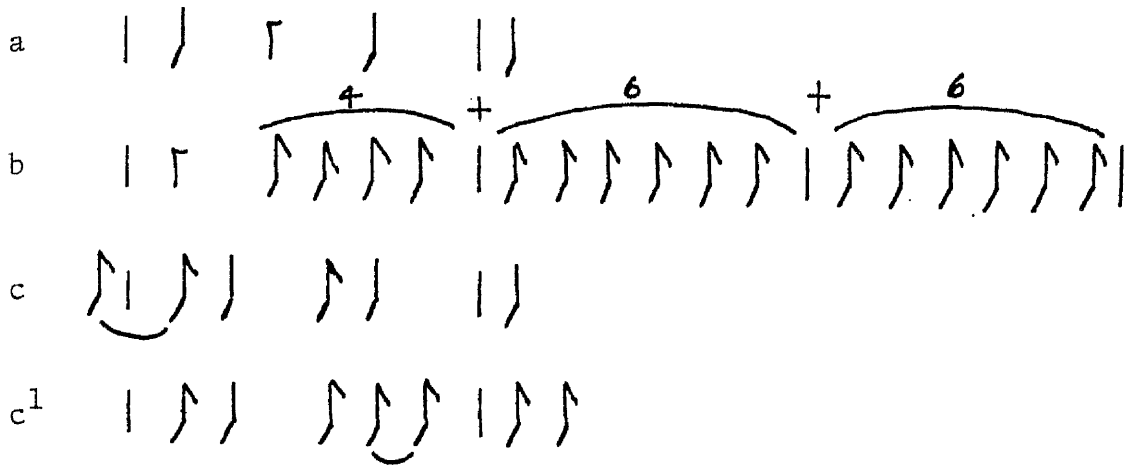
Solo phrase	Chorus phrase
5. mm = a	b
rf = c^2	b
6. mm = b^1	b
rf = b	b
7. mm = a	b
rf = d	b
8. mm = a	b
rf = d	b
9. mm = b^1	b
rf = d	b
10. mm = a	b
rf = d	b
11. mm = b	b
rf = d^1	b
12. mm = b	b
rf = d^1	b
13. mm = a^1	b
rf = d	b
14. mm = b	b
rf = d^1	b

Overall form:

A B B^1 B B^1 B A B A B B^1 B A B A B B^1 B

A B B B B B A^1 B B B

Eziagụ A23 employs the following rhythmic figures:



The rhythm 'b' is the figure of the 16-syllable chorus refrain of this 6 quaver-unit-metre song and can be broken down into smaller units of 4 + 6 + 6. The outstanding feature of the rhythm of this song is syncopation which saturates almost all the solo phrases. The significance of the leading note, B^4, in the hierarchy of essential notes should be noted also. It is the opening note of the solo phrase (Bars 1-2, 5-6, 12-13); and as a repeated monotone it creates a sort of rhythmic formula in the development of the melody. This repeated monotone also marks the end of the melody but the pitch is transposed 100 Cents, i.e. a semitone up to C^5. Probably the only explanation for this tonal shift is to see B^4 and C^5 as occasionally mutually interchangeable notes.

Each of the melodic contours and the combination of its rhythmic realisation give rise to the following structural components and overall form:

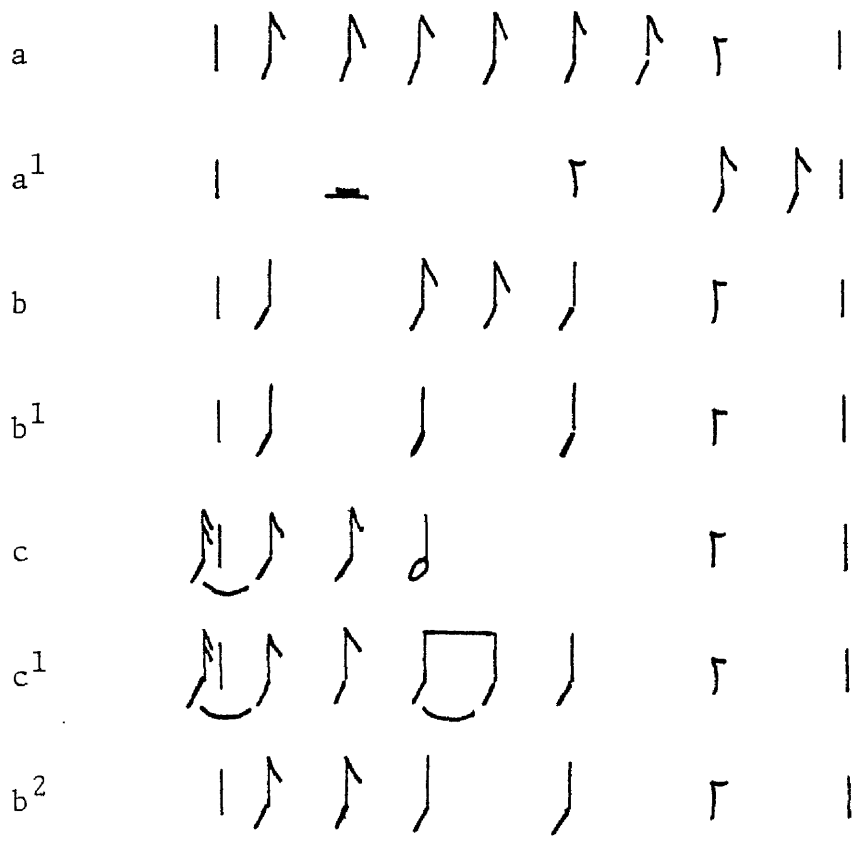
Solo phrase	Chorus phrase
1. mm = a	b
rf = a	b
2. mm = a	b
rf = a	b
3. mm = b	b
rf = c	b
4. mm = b	b
rf = c	b
5. mm = b	b
rf = c^1	b
6. mm = b	b
rf = c^1	b
7. mm = c	b
rf = c	b
8. mm = c^1	b
rf = c	b
9. mm = b	b
rf = c	b
10. mm = c^1	b
rf = b	b
11. mm = b^1	b
rf = c^1	b
12. mm = c	b
rf = b	b
13. mm = c	b
rf = b	b
14. mm = a	b
rf = a	b

Overall form:

A B A B B B B B C B B B C B C^1 B B B C^1

B B^1 B C B C B A B

Eziagu A15 employs the following rhythmic figures:



Each of the melodic contours and the combination of its rhythmic realisation give rise to the following structural components and overall form:

Solo phrase	Chorus phrase
1. mm = a	b
rf = a	a^1
2. mm = a	b
rf = a	a^1
3. mm = a	b
rf = a	a^1
4. mm = a	b
rf = a	a^1
5. mm = a	b
rf = a	a^1
6. mm = c	b
rf = a	a^1
7. mm = c^1	b
rf = a	a^1
8. mm = a	b
rf = a	a^1
9. mm = c^1	b
rf = a	a^1
10. mm = a	b
rf = b	a^1
11. mm = a	b
rf = b	a^1
12. mm = c^1	b
rf = a	a^1
13. mm = c^1	b
rf = b	a^1

Solo phrase	Chorus phrase
14. mm = a rf = a	b a^1
15. mm = c rf = a	b a^1
16. mm = a^1 rf = b^1	b a^1
17. mm = c^1 rf = c	b a^1
18. mm = a^1 rf = a	b a^1
19. mm = a rf = c	b a^1
20. mm = a rf = a	b a^1
21. mm = a rf = c^1	b a^1
22. mm = c rf = a	b a^1
23. mm = a rf = b^2	b a^1
24. mm = a rf = a	b a^1
25. mm = a rf = a	b a^1
26. mm = c^1 rf = a	b a^1
27. mm = a rf = a	b a^1

Solo phrase	Chorus phrase
28. mm = a^1	b
rf = a	a^1
29. mm = a	b
rf = a	a^1
30. mm = a	b
rf = a	a^1
31. mm = c^1	b
rf = a	a^1
32. mm = c^1	b
rf = a	a^1

Overall form:

A B A B A B A B A B C B C^1 B A B C^1 B A

B A B C^1 B C^1 B A B C B A^1 B C^1 B A^1 B A

B A B A B C B A B A B A B C^1 B A B A^1 B

A B A B C^1 B C^1 B

5. Rhythmical Structure

5.1. Types of rhythm

The Ifo songs analysed in this study embody two main types of rhythm: 'free' rhythm in the sense that it defies division into regular bars or measures (best exemplified in Eziagu A29, A54 and B15), and 'strict'rhythm

which easily permits division into bars. The latter rhythmic group overwhelmingly predominates and bar lines are used to locate its regularly recurring pattern.

Sometimes both types of rhythmic organisations are combined in one and the same song, as in Eziagụ A54. At other times free rhythm prevails in toto, as is the case in Eziagụ B15. An examination of both songs reveals a conspicuous absence of a regulative basic pulse. The singer segments the songs into uneven yet complementary units of ideas which are distinctly demarcated with prolonged terminal pauses, as shown in the transcriptions by the fermata signs.

Generally, in Igbo traditional singing style, Inine or Itụ avụ (Laments, dirges, boasting, and praise singing) and Ngụgụ akwa ("Singing-crying") are invariably sung in free rhythm. The Ifo B15 cited above is typical of Ngụgụ akwa and is in fact entitled "Akwa nwaanyị kwara ka di ya gburu ya inu" ("The cry of a woman who was beaten up by her husband"). In Ifo the sections in free rhythm are sung by the soloist alone after which the actual 'solo-chorus' portion begins in strict rhythm. Similarly in dances which are accompanied by singing and instrumental performance, especially in women's dances, it is usual for the song leader to begin a song with a prelude in free rhythm at the end of which the actual dancing commences in which both the soloist, the chorus and the instrumentalists join in strict rhythm.

Though Ifo is traditionally sung unaccompanied,

yet since such songs are in strict rhythm, they are potentially associable with some kind of bodily movement such as the shaking of the head, the stamping of a foot, or with hand-clapping. All of these serve as a 'time line', defined by Nketia "as a constant point of reference by which the phrase structure of a song as well as the linear metrical organisation of phrases are guided".[1] Such beat regulators are useful aids in the transcription of songs in general.

Of particular interest is the use of the pause in Eziagụ A54 where, as a rhythmic device, it is frequently encountered at the end of phrases or the end of the song, and just as Herzog pointed out, "together with long notes it is one of the prime features that indicate a temporary close or finality".[2] The long pause at the beginning of the song is a dramatic starting device serving as a signal.

Syncopated rhythmic figures are encountered less frequently in the songs, and appear only in Eziagụ A15 (bars 15-20, and 23-28), and in A24 (bars 29-30).

The connection between textual and musical rhythm is implicit in the discussion of the music-text relationship.[3]

5.2. Durational value of notes

On the whole the following durational values are used in the transcription of these songs: 

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1. Nketia, 1975, p. 78.
2. Herzog, 1939, pp. 19-20.
3. Supra, p. 233.

♩ ♩. 𝅗𝅥 and 𝅝 . The basic rhythmic unit is taken as a quaver, which corresponds with a syllable of the text. It occurs with the highest frequency in all the songs, appearing most frequently and prominently in the middle of phrases, and occasionally at the beginning of phrases producing an anacrusis. Sometimes it predominates the rhythm of the chorus refrain, as is the case in Eziagụ A23 and A24 where the sonority and dramatic effect of its repetition produces a tonal and rhythmic counterpoint -- two related aesthetic phenomena which occur not only when there is "a simple disagreement of durational values",[1] but also wherever parallelism, especially parallelism of contrasting ideas, is encountered in the text.[2]

From the basic rhythmic unit other units emerge. 𝅘𝅥𝅯 is encountered occasionally when syllables occupy fractional parts of the basic rhythmic unit. It is a prominent feature of Eziagụ A57 bars 14, 29, and 30, etc. and A78 bars 1, 2, 7 and 17.

Although ♩. is a rare durational unit, it is a characteristic rhythmic phenomenon of Eziagụ A11 as can be seen in bars 25, 29, 33, 37, 40-41, 44-45, 48-49, and 53-54. Its use in the solo part against the regular quavers of the chorus refrain produces tonal as well as rhythmic counterpoint. A similar effect is also achieved in bar 37 which is a tonal and rhythmic transposition of

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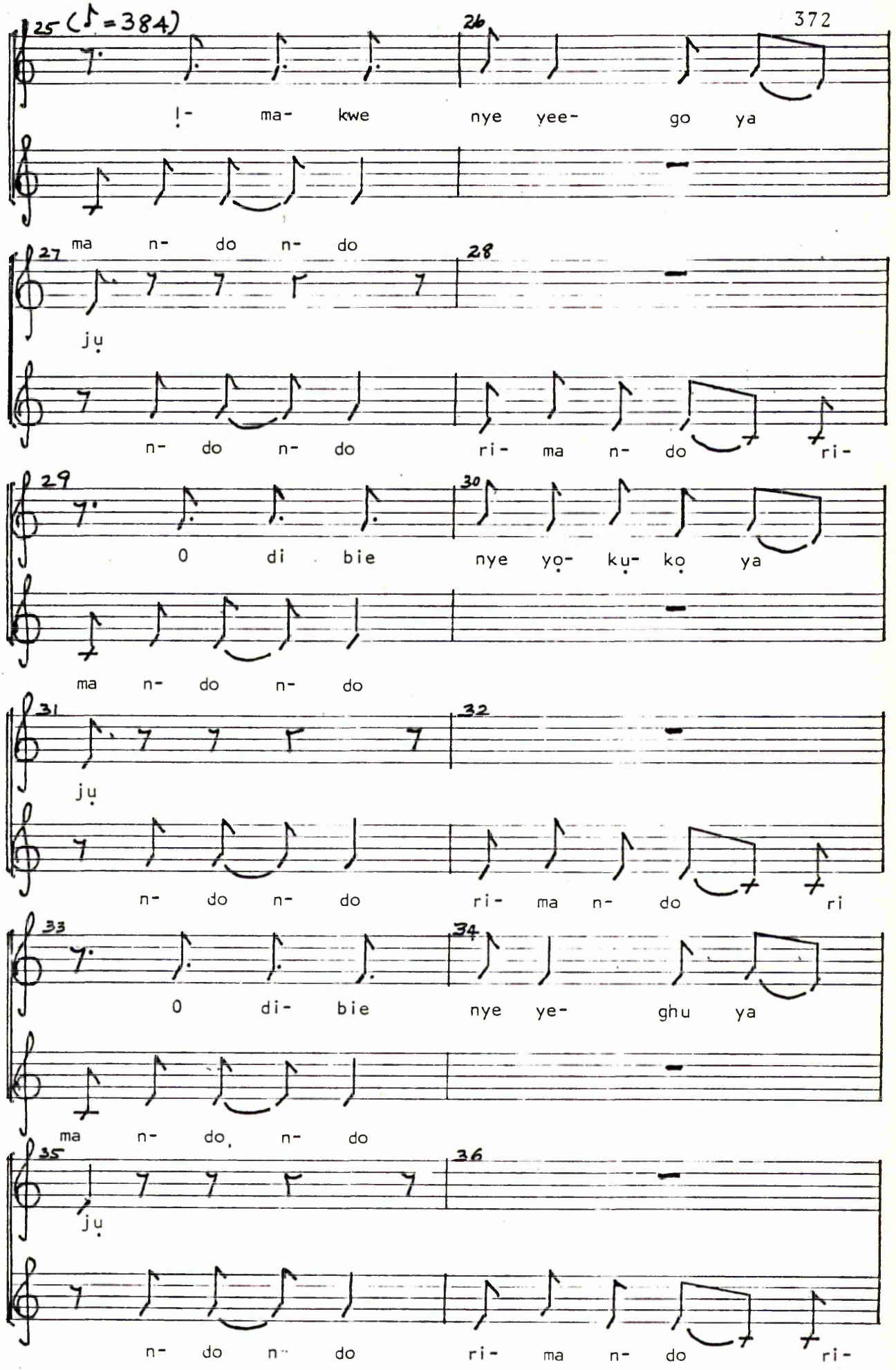
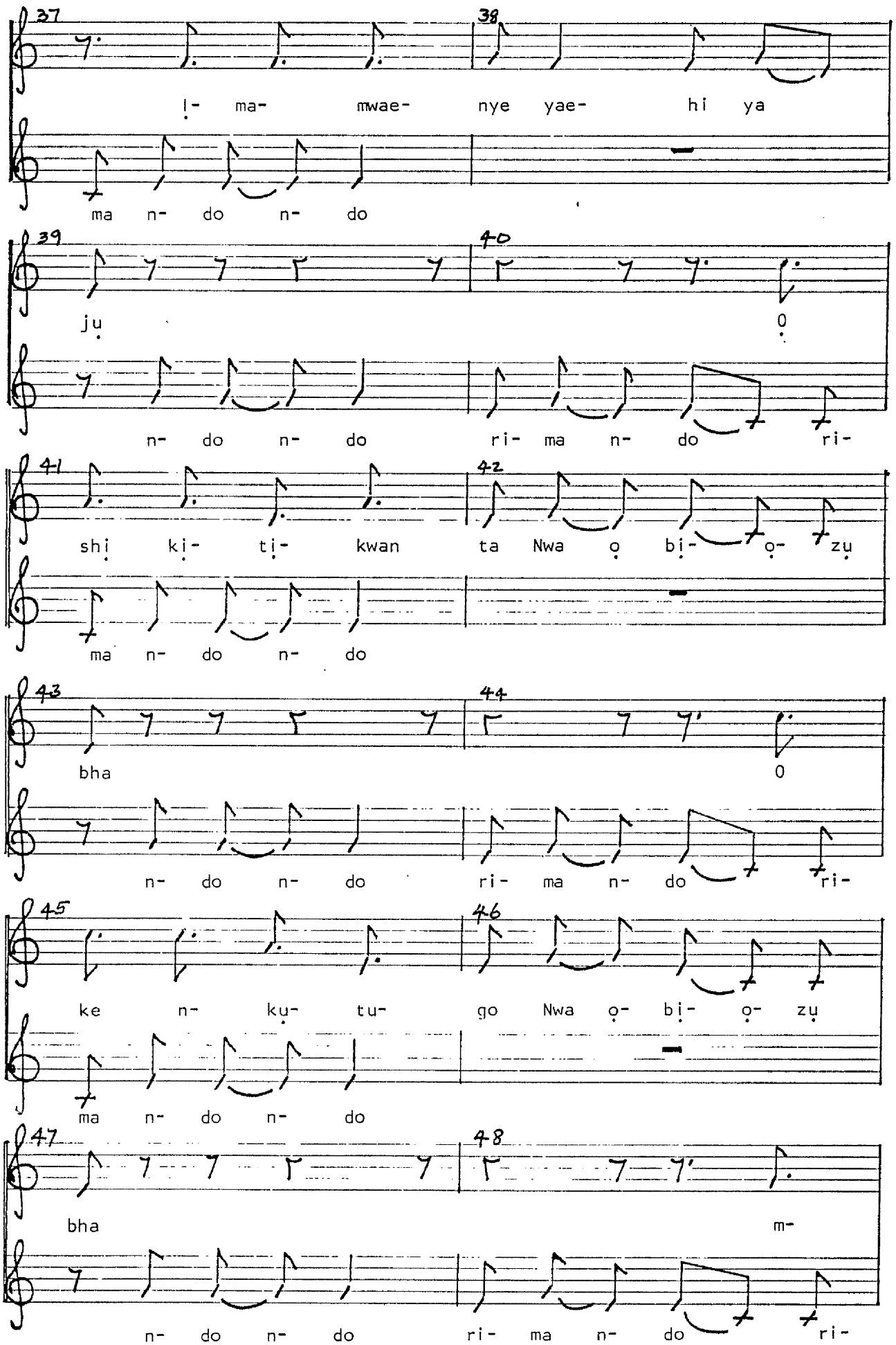
1. Nettl, 1956, pp. 67-68.

2. Supra, p. 218.


25 (♪=384)
26
!- ma- kwe nye yee- go ya
ma n- do n- do
27
28
ju
n- do n- do ri- ma n- do ri-
29
30
0 di bie nye yo- ku- ko ya
ma n- do n- do
31
32
ju
n- do n- do ri- ma n- do ri
33
34
0 di- bie nye ye- ghu ya
ma n- do, n- do
35
36
ju
n- do n- do ri- ma n- do ri-


37
38
ị- ma- mwae- nye yae- hi ya
ma n- do n- do
39
40
ju
0
n- do n- do ri- ma n- do ri-
41
42
shị kị- tị- kwan ta Nwa ọ bị- ọ- zụ
ma n- do n- do
43
44
bha
0
n- do n- do ri- ma n- do ri-
45
46
ke n- kụ- tụ- go Nwa ọ- bị- ọ- zụ
ma n- do n- do
47
48
bha
m-
n- do n- do ri- ma n- do ri-

bar 25; a tonal sequence is created by the shift in tone from high (bar 25) to high-mid (bars 33 and 37); while another rhythmic sequence is achieved by transposing bar 25 up 500 Cents in bars 44-45. Example 1 comprises excerpts from the main song to make this description clear.[1]

 is encountered often at the beginning and end of phrases, but also occasionally in the middle. Its value of two basic syllabic units derives in the main from the linguistic principles of assimilation, elision, and length.[1]

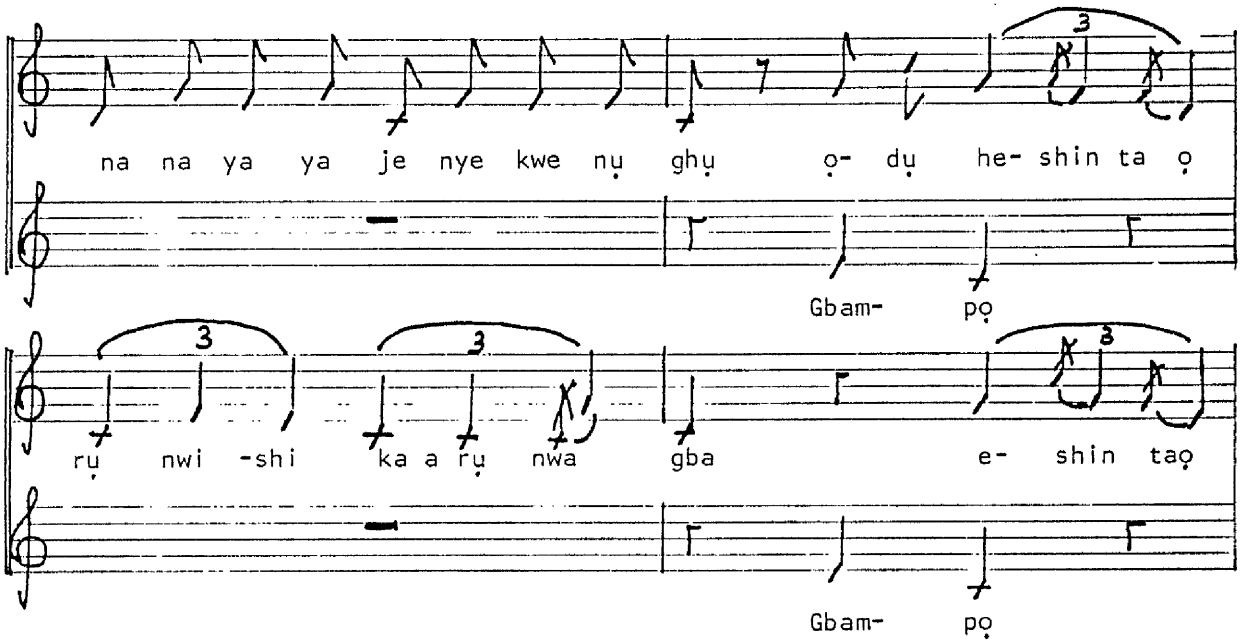
 is encountered mainly at the end of phrases, and it is a special rhythmic feature of Eziagụ A24 and A53.

Sometimes the syllable does not fall on the claps at the beginning of the measure. This sort of displaced accent creates irregular rhythmic patterns such as triplets (Eziagụ A57, bars 16-18; Example 2 below), and suspensions (Eziagụ A15, bars 16 and 18 etc.; Example 3, below).

And finally, to achieve prolongations of different degrees at the end of a phrase or of a song, or at climactic points in the story, different durational values are employed either singly or in combination thus: dotted crotchets () and tied crotchets () are frequently used in Eziagụ A24;  in Eziagụ A34;  in Eziagụ A15 and  at the final bars of songs.

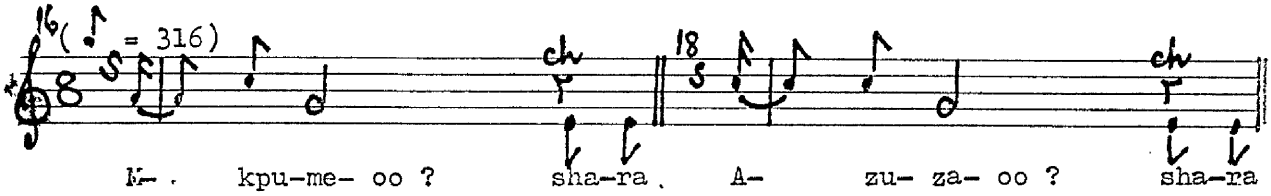
1. Vide Example 1, supra, pp.372-373.

Example 2



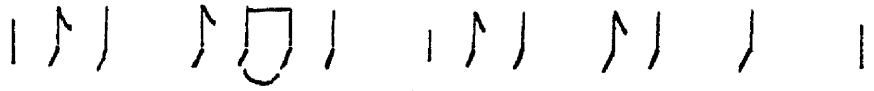
Example 3

Eziagụ A15 bar16 and 18



5.3. Rhythmic figures

Generally two and three unit rhythmic figures are encountered in the songs irrespective of the metrical unit of the song. For example in Eziagụ A34, which is in an 8 quaver metre, | ♫ ♫ ♫ ♫ | prevails at the beginning of the section, and changes to



(bars 21-22); and to 

(bars 53 and 61). An examination of the songs in the different mode groups indicates the vast variety of rhythmic figures used in the songs. On the whole rhythmic regularity is maintained within each song as a whole.

5.4. Metre

The Igbo concept of metre is quite different from that of its Western counterpart: while in Western art music metre is conceived as being basically in either duple or triple, simple or compound; the Igbo has a linear metrical organisation that is guided by the principle of the 'time line' (described earlier). Hence in the transcription of the songs used in this study, a quaver is adopted as the unit of a beat, and depending upon the number of pulses which occur within the measure (the quantity of music between two accented beats here identified by a handclap, and shown in the transcription by bar lines), two types of metric units are encountered: a 6 unit metre of single aspect and duple, and an 8 unit metre of single aspect and duple. These are indicated at the beginning of the song simply as 6 and 8 respectively.

5.5. Tempo

Related to rhythmic organisation is tempo, here defined as the speed at which a song is performed and is

indicated in the transcriptions by a metronome marking that expresses tempo in terms of quaver notes per minute.[1]

The Igbo have a clear concept of 'Tempo' in music and express it not in single and precise words but rather in relative terms formulated in metaphorical phrases and sentences. Although in Western musical practice, musical directions and metronomic markings are not interpreted in absolute terms,[2] the metronome is, at least, a widely recognised rough-and-ready 'speed reference' for establishing norms. But in Igbo culture, the speed of any musical performance derives from the motor impulse inherent in all human beings, and an explanation of this practice is an essential part of a description of musical style.

In the singing of purely vocal music such as Ifo songs, the speed is generated by the soloist at the beginning of each song; the chorus tunes itself to the set speed intuitively while all the singers maintain it throughout the song. Similarly, in musical performance involving singing with instrumental accompaniment, both the chorus and the instrumentalists follow the tempo dictated by the song leader. In dance music and purely instrumental music, on the other hand, all the instrumentalists take their cue both in tempo as well as in rhythm from a 'speed-reference' instrument which invariably is a struck idiophone

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1. Kolinski, 1959, pp. 45-57.

2. Kolinski, loc. cit.

such as the ekwe (the slit-drum) or the nkwọnkwọ (the wooden clappers).

In Ifo singing, although the soloist has the prerogative to dictate the tempo, he/she generally sets an 'acceptable' speed; i.e. a speed that is neither fast nor slow. If he/she sets a fast speed, other members of the singing group will accuse him/her of ịgba ọsọ ("running"), verbalised thus: Ọ na-agba ọsọ ("He/she is running"). An audacious member of the chorus may even reprimand the soloist politely: Agba one ọsọ ("Do not run"). Others may join in the protest by pointing out the consequences of singing at a fast speed: Biko ume ja-ebu anyị ("Please, we shall run out of breath"); or Anyị ja-atabu ire ("We shall bite our tongues").

Ịgba ọsọ is a metaphor borrowed from 'running'; and generally a fast tempo is objectionable in singing because it promotes bad enunciation which causes unintelligibility - one of the marks of bad singing. Besides, singers usually run out of breath and in fact occasionally some bite their tongues in a desperate attempt to manage many words at a fast speed.

On the other hand, if the soloist sets what is in effect a 'slow' tempo, the charge of ọkpụkpụ ("Dragging") is levelled against him/her. A member of the chorus or even an observer may interject: Akpụ one akpụ ("Do not drag", i.e. the singing). Ọkpụkpụ is a metaphor which describes different movements made by limbless objects especially snakes. Agwọ na-akpụ akpụ ("Snakes drag

themselves along"). Again other participants may register their protest by pointing out the possible effect of 'dragging' the singing: Mgbe anyị ekwecha otu ihwo nụ, chi ehwo ("Before we come to the end of this Ifo, the day will dawn"). Another member may add humorously: Ị na na-arahụ ụra ("You are virtually sleeping" - 'sleeping' in this context implies apparent indolence or inactivity). When the tempo set by the soloist is considered 'incorrect' and therefore unacceptable, he/she is morally bound to re-adjust it, either by increasing it (if it is slow) or decreasing it (if it is fast). Where the structure of the song suggests a contrast of mood, tempo is deliberately changed in performance as is the case in Eziagụ A54 and Eziagụ D41.

In conclusion, therefore, since the chief exponents of Ifo at Eziagụ are unanimous in accepting the tempi of these songs as generally moderate - a speed that is neither fast nor slow - it is valid to accept their verdict and postulate that in Ifo performance in particular, and in singing generally, a 'moderate' tempo, when translated into metronomic terms, ranges from ♪ = 252 (Eziagụ A78) to ♪ = 446 (Eziagụ A24).

6. Formal Structures

As was pointed out earlier,[1] Ifo for the purpose of this analysis is restricted to the songs of (a) Akụkọ na

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1. Supra, p. 158.

Ifo ("Ifo stories and songs", i.e. songs which are integral to stories, hereafter referred to as 'SS'), and (b) Ifo per se (i.e. narrative songs, hereafter referred to simply as 'S'). This classification is based on the structural position and the relative function of the song in an Ifo performance. There are 228 SS type and 53 S type.[1]

Both SS and S types can be further grouped under three general musical structures: (1) Sectional songs, (2) Non-sectional songs, and (3) Combinative songs, i.e. songs in which sectional and non-sectional structures are combined.

6.1. Sectional songs

A song will be defined as 'sectional' if there is some element, for example chorus refrain, or a recurrent textual feature which punctuates the performance, either regularly or irregularly. A sectional song with regular periods by definition consists of periods of equal duration, i.e. of an equal number of bars.

However, a song may be considered sectional at more than one level of structure, as in the case of an Ifo in which there is both a regular periodic chorus refrain, and a large structural division which arises from the combination of a regular number of periods, based on the refrain, into larger stanzaic units. In other words, such

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1. Appendix B. Infra, p.521.

a song will contain both short and regular solo/chorus sections as well as larger units made up of a number of the shorter solo/chorus units. The limits of the stanza in such a case are recognised by the recurrence of melodic or textual features (e.g. lines) or both. Typical examples of this class are Eziagụ A16 and A33.[1]

A song with irregular periods comprises periods of unequal length, as for example in Eziagụ A54, A12 and C13.[2]

6.2. Non-sectional songs

A non-sectional song is a song which cannot be broken into parts by means of such analytic devices as chorus refrain, melodic repetition, or textual punctuation. In other words, it defies division into stanzas. A breath pause on its own does not define a section, it must be accompanied by a parallel musical or textual feature which also defines the end of a musical section. Eziagụ A32, A34, and A57 are typical examples.[3]

6.3. Combined types

Combined types which may be non-sectional and regular or irregular, or sectional with regular or non regular

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1. Appendix A, songs 14, 5.
2. Appendix A, songs 8, 7, 20.
3. Appendix A, songs 12, 3, 4.

structures are not easy to identify in these songs.

6.4. Performance and form

While the text is the essence of Ifo as a genre (since it does not only encapsulate the oral tradition that is being handed down to the young generation, but also provides the framework and focus for its discussion), it is performance that provides the primary vehicle for its transmission and the ideal forum for its enjoyment and the realisation of its other social functions. Above all, it is in performance that the musical dimension is achieved. As such any meaningful analysis of the structural patterns of Ifo songs should demonstrate the awareness of this basic fact: that the circumstances and the style of Ifo performance are very integral to the identity of its melody for they generate its form and structure. A few examples will make this point clear.

Songs of Ajụjụ ("Question or Riddle") type, satirical and abusive songs are cases in point.[1] In Eziagụ A59, for instance, a sub-solo part evolves from the system whereby the main solo asks a question to the audience, and one singer answers it thus institutionalizing herself into a subsidiary soloist. This creates the following structural pattern:

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1. Vide Chapter Four.

Section 1	Main soloist (A)	...	Chorus (B)
	.....	...	"
Section 2	Sub-soloist (C)	...	" (B)
	.....	...	"
Section 3	Main soloist (A)	...	" (B)

This may be schematized as follows: A B C B A B.

Again because of the cumulative nature of the song Eziagụ C13, another variety of form emerges:

Verse 1 A

Verse 2 B + A

Verse 3 C + B + A

Verse 4 D + C + B + A and so on.[1]

Furthermore, in most songs of stanzaic type, the number of stanzas and the variations accruing from each additional stanza depends on the fancy of the singer. A typical example is Eziagụ A55. The action of each animal makes up one verse of the song, and the song can be performed virtually indefinitely if the singer resolves to mention all the animals in Igboland. But since this would bore rather than entertain the audience, the singer uses her discretion and sings only a sufficient number of stanzas to leave the audience wanting more. The implication of this performance norm is that the Song Eziagụ A55 as it appears in this study is the resultant form, pattern, and

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1. Appendix A, song 20.

duration of a particular performance of the basic Ifo from Eziagu village entitled 'Laalaashịla!. For the same reason, the story of how animals went to court Onara is sung in three verses of Akuezue (Eziagụ A61a-c), while Oyiridie Ike realised it in two verses (Eziagụ D26a-b). Another singer might be constrained by the context to add more verses by increasing the number of suitors, and in addition alter the order of the verses by changing the order in which the suitors contest. Similarly, Eziagụ A33, "Nwaanara", can be lengthened by increasing the number of suitors.

Another crucial factor that influences the form of Ifo songs is its 'Oralness'. Because Ifo is orally transmitted, there is no 'standard' form for any of its songs in the sense of a 'fixed' version which every singer must adhere to. But this state of affairs does not suggest the existence and tolerance of random and chaotic varied forms of any one Ifo song by the people. On the contrary, every song has recognisable basic features of story content, melody, rhythmic-patterns and chorus-refrain on which its identity and form depends, and which the culture requires any singer to maintain in spite of the singer's freedom to vary the performance. Hence the relevance of Nketia's dictum:

> In African musical practice therefore, one has always to distinguish between basic forms, basic patterns, basic length on the one hand, and on the other resultant forms, resultant patterns and the duration of a particular performance at a particular time. The verses

> that are sung on a particular occasion may not be repeated in exactly the same form or in precisely the same order, except where other sanctions make this absolutely essential. Yet there are always recognisable features, essential lines, essential rhythms, etc., in the renditions of songs which mark off one song from another. In dealing with form in songs, therefore, it is these basic features that we must emphasise.[1]

6.5. Formal structure

An examination of the structural components and overall forms of all the songs analysed,[2] indicates that in general the nucleus of the formal structure of Ifo songs and some songs of Egwu a na-agụ sọ ọgụgụ ("Music that is sung", i.e. unaccompanied songs[3]) is a 'Solo-Chorus' pattern, otherwise designated A-B form. But as will be shown shortly, each song type has a peculiar method of exploiting and organising this basic pattern, and this is where the uniqueness of Ifo formal structure differs from all other forms of its kindred genres, as will be demonstrated later in this section.

Egwu ọṅụ nwa ("Songs announcing and songs rejoicing in the birth of a child") supply typical illustrations of this A-B form in its basic pattern, and their appreciation

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1. Nketia, 1963, p. 27.
2. Supra, pp. 309-368.
3. Vide "Traditional Vocal Music", Chapter Three.

will help in understanding how Ifo songs exploit this basic pattern in creating complex forms.

In the song announcing the birth of a child,[1] the form consists of two separate but related sentences sung alternately by a soloist and a chorus, and which may be repeated over and over again at the cantor's discretion. It is important to note that it is the same idea and words that is repeated each time: "Pick the ebenebe leaves" by the soloist; and "O yes! O yes!" by the chorus. Some children's game songs exhibit this pattern also.[2]

In the song rejoicing in the birth of a child,[3] each line consists of a sentence of two balancing phrases (A-B), and each of the sentences contributes to the unity of the theme of the song. No matter how complex the overall resultant formal structure of this song might be if analysed, its nucleus is an A-B form.

The same organic principle applies to Ifo songs. Examples can be taken at random, as in Eziagụ A12 for instance. A glance at the structural components which give rise to the overall form portrays the basic A-B form well established in the first four bars: A (bars 1-2), and B (bars 3-4); and this is maintained throughout the entire song; a fact which confirms that the overall formal structure is simply an extension and elaboration of the basic A-B pattern.

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1. Supra, p. 136.

2. Supra, pp. 150-154.

3. Supra, p. 137.

It has been pointed out earlier[1] that the chorus refrain of Ifo songs is invariable, and as such it is the solo phrases that should be the focus of attention. The most basic structural force employed by a singer to extend and elaborate the basic A-B form is repetition. The repetition may be iterative, i.e. an immediate repetition, albeit with some slight variations, of the solo phrase. The repetition may be exact both in text, rhythm and melody as in Eziagụ A2a or with slight variations achieved by altering words at the beginning of the phrase (Eziagụ A2b bars 1, 3 and 5); or by a simple insertion of an intrusive vowel or consonant at the beginning of the solo phrase (Eziagụ A12 bars 1 and 5); or by repeating the whole solo phrase at a different pitch level (Eziagụ A12 bars 1-2, and 5-6). The iterative repetition results in various forms of which Eziagụ A33 contains the following:

Verse 1 A A A A A A
Verse 2 A A A A A A etc.

The repetition may also be reverting, i.e. the re-introduction of a pattern already introduced earlier in the song. The A-B form may be extended by introducing totally new material (Eziagụ A15 and A23). Every Ifo song shows its own preferences and various combinations

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1. Supra, p. 296.

will be found in varying degrees in some songs. On the whole Eziagụ A12, A33 and especially all the songs in E mode (A15, A16, A23 in particular) reward study.

6.6. Unifying elements

Having examined the songs in terms of Music-text relationships, vocal modes, singing style, tonal features, melodic organisation, rhythmic materials and structural forms and devices, as a means of determining style in general, the survey will be concluded with a brief outline of significant means through which unity and variety are achieved in the songs in general.

(1) The use of a uniform metrical unit throughout a song unifies the various phrases of varying lengths; while the exploitation of notes of varying durational proportions in different rhythmic groupings add variety and interest within this uniform metrical entity. The integrating force of rhythmic refrains in Eziagụ A33 and A16 is impressive.

(2) Present in all the songs is a well defined sense of tonality.

(3) Isolated but effective utilization of transposition of melodic motifs to different pitch levels are also recorded, and Eziagụ A11 is instructive in this respect.

(4) Imitation as a unifying device is also encountered as can be seen in Eziagụ A53 where two voices, the solo and the chorus, perform the same melody both in words and

rhythm at different times.

(5) The most elaborately utilized unifying factor is repetition, instances of which abound in every song. Iterative repetition throws into relief the melodic phrase in question and expands the organic structure of the song; so also is the reversive repetition which in addition echoes what has been sung before and thereby links the previous phrases with successive ones. And special mention should be made of the employment of repetition and reversion techniques in all types of cumulative songs (Eziagụ A38, A59, A63 and D33).

CHAPTER EIGHT

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Throughout the present study, conclusions on the nature of Ifo have been arrived at, and these must now be drawn together and summarised.

The cultural background of Igbo traditional society has been delineated and related to the subject-matter of Ifo in general. From this it will be perceived that the continuing existence of Ifo does not rest so much on its aesthetic value as on its enculturative function. The unique function of Ifo is to instil the cultural and moral ethos of the community in Igbo children because Ifo, to a large extent, epitomizes Igbo culture and dramatizes its ideas, philosophy and cosmology.

The complicated Igbo concepts of music have been explained, thereby demonstrating, at least partially, that although Igbo ideas of music differ greatly from those of the west, in the final analysis Igbo music is not incomprehensible; its 'oralness' notwithstanding, the main aspect of its uniqueness derives from its nature as a living and dynamic cultural phenomenon.

There are at least three meaningful approaches to categorization of Igbo music: according to the Igbo concepts of music, according to the life cycle, and according to social organisation. This categorization brings to focus the range of groups and types of music which in

turn indicates the depth to which music is entrenched in Igbo cultural activities. And when the studies already done in the field of Igbo music are related to the categories and types of music in existence, it becomes evident that the surface of Igbo musicology has hardly been scratched. Hence the conceptual framework sketched provides a useful guide for further investigation.

Furthermore, it was demonstrated that although music maintained (and still maintains) a considerable stability and continuity in Igbo culture, it is receptive to change. These changes have been generated by culture contacts with other African cultures and with the western forces of Christianity, education, urbanization, and technology. Consequently, the present spectrum of Igbo music consists of music and musical instruments which were indigenous together with those that were borrowed from outside the culture and have been integrated into the Igbo musical system. There are also musical borrowings, variations and adaptations within the society itself. Musical practices that are traditionally bound co-exist with those that are free from the shackles of traditional conventions and therefore overlap in their association with various social functions. There are thus three types of musicians in the society today: academic musicians with hybrid interests, 'pop' musicians who promote music in urban areas, and traditional musicians who maintain the continuity of traditional music in the rural areas.

Ifo has been located within the generality of

Igbo music. Its broad features - types, performance norms, subject matter, textual components, linguistic and stylistic elements have all been examined. This with the musical analysis provide supporting evidence that Ifo is a distinct stylistic genre, and its characteristics may be summarized as follows: Ifo melody is principally logogenic; the generation of tune independently of words is not practicable in Ifo. However, occasions arise when melody exercises a considerable control over linguistic tone and tonal canons are violated in the interest of music and tonal rhyme. Ifo is generally monophonic in texture; sporadic polyphony occurs as a result of temporary overlapping of solo and chorus phrases either at phrase junctions or at the end of songs. Melody is limited in range, about an octave, and core intervals (i.e. the most commonly exploited intervals) range between 200 and 700 Cents. Melodic movement is predominantly pendular, in the process of which many intervallic combinations appear, the most outstanding being 3rds, 4ths, and 5ths. A 6 quaver unit metre with a duple aspect, and an 8 quaver unit metre with a single aspect, are the two main metric units encountered in the songs. In spite of occasional triplet and hemiola rhythms found, the rhythm of Ifo is on the whole simple, but syncopations abound.

All the songs have well defined tonality and derived 'scales' are heptatonic, hexatonic and pentatonic. All the songs are constructed on a solo-chorus pattern from which various sectional structures are composed by the

use of such devices as repetition, transposition, and melodic ornamentations. Performance techniques also influence the broad structural form of each song. Complete songs are rendered in a characteristic 'good' Ifo singing voice, i.e. high, open, calm, relaxed and well projected, tinged with an element of vibrato. The relative average tempo ranges between moderate and moderately fast.

The above generalizations do not pretend to be a complete analysis of Ifo. Further research on Igbo prosody will throw more light on music-text relationship; further investigation will also illuminate the usages of some of the archaic and untranslatable Igbo words encountered in the texts of the songs; and the problem of song-variants is a complete study on its own. Some of the musicological approach as adopted in this study, such as systems of classification of melodies, will need re-evaluation.

However, the strength and significance of this study is that it has provided a locus standi for further investigations, and for comparative studies of Igbo traditional vocal genres.

A few observations are pertinent. If one is aware of the various categories of music that are encompassed in the generic term 'Egwu' then one will appreciate how dangerous and misleading the tendency is to inflate a simple conclusion in one musical culture to pan-African proportions. This tendency is even less defensible when a generalization based on say, vocal music, is extended

without delimitation to cover all types of music: vocal, instrumental, and even dance. Comparisons must be focused to be meaningful, and must compare comparables: similar genres, or similar musical forms or types. There is no basis for asserting that "the Igbo has a more diverse scales than that of the Europeans",[1] nor is there any evidence from this study to corroborate the assertion that the Igbo use "quarter tones".[2]

Igbo vocal and instrumental expressions may have some features in common, nevertheless they differ basically in idiom and style. Hence a statement that: "All West African songs are mainly in two parts, the soprano, and alto, but there are lots of stray notes from the tenor or the bass, coming in and jumping out at random",[3] should be rejected. Furthermore, the preponderance of hexatonic scales in the songs studied is a valid basis for questioning the rather frequent statement that the pentatonic scale is the pan-African scale par excellence.

Caution should also be exercised in the use of conventional western terminology. For example, in the context of Igbo performing arts, such borrowed labels as 'Dance', 'Drama', 'Theatre', 'Theatre art', and so on, should be re-defined in order to reflect their native concepts.

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1. Basden, op.cit., p. 363.
2. Ibid.
3. Whyte, 1953, p. 186.

One final point must be noted. As long ago as 1921, the problem of the future of Igbo music had started to agitate people's minds. For example, Basden concluded the chapter on 'Music' in his monumental book the Niger Ibos by posing the question: "What is the future for Ibo music whether instrumental or vocal?"[1] A half century later a brief comment on at least the vocal music is in order.

Worried by the devastation which Christianity exerted on traditional music and musical instruments, Basden prophesied doom for the instruments: "there seems to be little doubt but that the instruments, with the exception of some of the drums, will disappear."[2] It is hoped that sooner or later musicologists, especially organologists in cooperation with archaeologists, will investigate the fate of musical instruments before any categorical statement on Basden's verdict. As for instrumental music in general, one positive statement is that today its practice has neither dwindled in popularity nor in importance; if anything, the wave of cultural renascence mentioned earlier has intensified it.

The future was thought to be not so gloomy for vocal music because "the chants, songs and chorus may fare better".[3] Basden hastened to warn: "It is just as well

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1. Basden, op.cit., p. 363.
2. Loc. cit.
3. Loc. cit.

that some description of the instruments and the singing customs of the primitive Ibos should be placed on record before they are entirely overwhelmed by the inrush of new conceptions of music."[1] This study is in part a positive endeavour in response to this call for action, and to some extent it has shown that Basden cannot be totally dismissed as a scaremonger, because changes in social and economic conditions have necessitated innovations in Igbo musical practices in general. To mention one vital effect, Egwu is now commercialized. Performance groups are paid heavy fees to perform during Ọfala and funeral ceremonies, as well as during National Days.

Ifo is equally affected. The forum for its performance has now more or less shifted from the family huts and village squares to classrooms and radio and television studios. In the schools, children sing Ifo in the day, and more often than not, they find it impossible not to introduce part singing. Furthermore, because they lack the experience of traditional children's pastimes, hobbies and games, and are less acquainted with traditional foods and utensils, etc. they tend to substitute names and ideas borrowed from contemporary situations. Hence in Ifo performances in schools one hears the interpolation of foreign words in the texts: "ball, bread, kitchen, rice, pigeons, or 'papa' for nna (father), and 'mama' or 'mummy' for nne (mother). For the same reason

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1. Basden, op.cit., p. 364.

also, most of the scenes, plots and the preoccupations of the characters are non-traditional. Loss of memory and a lack of proper teaching are reflected in distortions and abridgement of the plots and in confusions in the names and roles of the dramatis personae.

Ifo is now sung accompanied with the guitar in radio and television performances; and occasionally danced to introduce variety to the performance. "Akụkọ na egwu" ("Stories in songs") is a favourite programme on Anambra Broadcasting Corporation programmes, and on these Ifo is performed in this style. In this way Ifo is now a marketable commodity sold to a wider audience in a new form.

Finally, if Ifo is to be fully appreciated, its potential influence on Igbo studies in the fields of arts, humanities, and social sciences cannot be overestimated.

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APPENDIX

This Appendix contains the texts of the songs used in this study, excluding those already quoted in the body of the thesis.

In the vernacular texts the dialects of the singers have been preserved, as they not only constitute essential features of the identity and spirit of the songs, but also substantiate the authenticity of the individual songs.

The English translations are governed by the following principles:

(i) translations are kept as literal as possible for the sake of non-Igbo readers;

(ii) some idiophones and other dramatic or descriptive language forms which the singers refer to as "okwu Ihwo" ("words of Ifo", i.e. esoteric and archaic words and phrases peculiar to Ifo) which defy translation are retained in the vernacular.

APPENDIX

IFO TEXTS

1. Gbata m, gbata m (Eziagụ A15)

This is one of a number of formulae used for opening an Ifo session, and is commonly called Ịkụ ana Ifo ("Beating the ground of Ifo"). Other variations of Ịkụ ana Ifo are discussed under the section on "Preludes to Ifo performances".[1]

Structurally this song falls into four sections, each of which represents a specific form of traditional oral poetry. The first begins with "Gbata m, gbata m!",[2] an invocational prelude in the form:

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1. Supra p.

2. Gbata m, literally "I divine", is unusual in that for poetic reasons the personal pronoun m is transformed into a suffix. Gbata itself is a verb compounded of gba "to run" or "to foretell", and ta "towards speaker", "to one's advantage", "properly, well". In sport, gbata means "to win a race", as in A gbata m ọsọ, "I have won a race". In the context of divination, as is the case in this song, gbata derives from igba afa (divination); hence gbata m, "I divine", implies getting the correct answer or solution to a puzzle through the power of Agwụnshị (the god of medicine and divination), who endows one with the ability to foretell the future or to unfathom a puzzle. Thus his praises are sung at the end of the song:

   Agwụ nna ya,
   Agwụ diolo,
   Agwụnshị ya.

Gbata m, gbata m!
Gbata m, gbata m!
Gbata m ishi ji!
Gbata m ishi ede!

In this prelude the singer calls on his Chi (the divine element in each individual) in collaboration with Ikenga, the god of good fortune, to bring success in the riddle contest that follows. This riddle contest forms the second section.

The third section is satirical. Ololoolo personifies sadism. While Ololoolo gave his or her hungry children yams to cook and eat, he or she gave adụ (Dioscorea bulbifera) to another child. To give a starving person adụ to cook and eat is virtually the same as saying "I want you to die of hunger", because before eating adụ it has to be cooked for hours on end.

The fourth part is, as has been pointed out, a thanksgiving to Agwụ either for helping the contestant to win the riddle contest, or in homage to Agwụ by all the participants for allowing them to encroach on his domain.

The complete text follows:

Gbata m, gbata m;
Shara![1]
Gbata m, gbata m;
Shara!
Gbata m ishi[2] ji;
Shara!
Gbata m ishi ede;
Shara!
Ọkụkọ nna y a ochie;
Shara!
Yiri akwa loole?
Shara!

Akwa nasatọ;
Shara!
Egbe nnaa;
Shara!
Ugo nnaa;
Shara!
Nnaa dụghụdụ;
Shara!
Nnaa yaghaya;
Shara!
M gbafụga l'ịkpa,
Shara!
M kụrụ ahịara;
Shara!
Gbalata l'ulo,
Shara!
M kụrụ ebenebe;
Shara!
Bende be!
Shara!
Mkpume -oo?
Shara!
Nwata tịrị akị;
Shara!
Azụza -oo?
Shara!
Nwata zaka obodo;
Shara!
Ololoolo,
Shara!
Nyere ụmụ ya ji;
Shara!
Nyenu ya adụ;
Shara!
E ghubhe eghubhe,
Shara!
Adụ eghehụ;
Shara!

A hụbha ahụbha,
Shara!
Adụ eghehụ.
Shara!
Agwụ nna ya!
Shara!
Agwụ diolo!
Shara!
Njamụnja!
Shara!
Nja-mpoto!
Shara!

I divine, I divine!
I divine, I divine!
I divine for prosperity in yams!
I divine for prosperity in cocoyams!

His grandfather's[3] hen
Laid how many eggs?
Eight eggs.
The kite on the one hand,)
The eagle on the other?)[4]
One is sluggish,
The other is lively.[5]
I ran out of the village[6]
I picked ahịara[7] leaves;
I ran back to the house
Ipicked ebenebe[8] leaves.

In the land of Bende,[9]
What is a stone?
The child that cracks nuts.
What is a broom?
A child that sweeps out the village square.

Ololoolo - the sadist,
Gave his[10] own children yams

And gave another child adụ.
When cooked,
Adụ is never done;
When roasted,
Adu is never done.

Agwụ of one's father!
Agwụ of 'X'!
Agwụ that makes medicine effective!
Njamụnja.[12]
Nja-mpoto![13]

Notes to 1. Gbata m, gbata m

1. Shara, the refrain which has been omitted from the English translation, is onomatopoeic, describing 'rapid motion' - the speed at which the riddles are posed in rapid succession.

2. Ishi, "head", is a dialectal variant of isi; [s] and [ʃ] being allophones of the phoneme /s/.

3. Nna ya ochie has two meanings: the brother of one's mother (see the section on "Political and social structure", supra, p.), or one's grandfather, as in this text.

4. Literally: "The kite- one, The eagle- one?"

5. Dụghụdụ is an ideophone conveying the notion of 'heavy, ponderous and sluggish movement', in this case of the kite in contrast to yaghaya, its antithesis, which portrays the "swiftness" of the eagle.

6. Ịkpa is a communal farm land, usually situated between two neighbouring towns. It can also refer to an extensive area of land where no one lives.

7. Ahịara is a type of elephant grass that grows in ịkpa. Because of the sharp edges of its long and narrow leaves, it symbolises mma (the matchet) in Ifo. Hence the following reference to it in Ifo, infra, p.

Ya hụ kwo ahịara, He tugged at an ahịara leaf,
Ọ ghọrị ya mma. It became a matchet.

8. Ebenebe also grows in ịkpa. As a plant with broad leaves, ebenebe leaves carefully arranged on the ground serve as a mat during birth; hence the words "kpara akwụkwọ ebenebe!" ("Pluck ebenebe leaves!"), which occur in Egwu ọnụ nwa (Songs connected with the announcement of childbirth) are an idiomatic way of saying or announcing that a child has been born.

9. Bende be: Bende is a town in the Umuahia area of Imo State, but in this case the word is borrowed and used as catachresis or "word-joke". According to my informant, Bende be is a poetic way of saying "the scene is now transferred to Bende". Bende in Ifo is a fictitious town; the Igbo expression "Na Bende ka nwoke dị ime" ("Only in Bende can man be pregnant") is a way of saying that any impossibility can happen in a fictitious world. Bende be, therefore, divides the riddles into two sections: those that are real, and those that happen in the world of fiction where inanimate objects are personified and the impossible happens; hence a stone is called "the child that cracks nuts"; the broom, "the child that sweeps out the village square"; and sadism is the order of the day. Also the sound effect created by the alliteration of "ebenebe" and "Bende be" is an effective unifying device linking the two sub-sections.

10. Ya is a personal pronoun without specific reference to gender. Nyere ụmụ ya ji therefore, is "gave his or her children yams".

11. Diolo is a fictitious person, perhaps best translated as 'X'.

12. Njamụnja is a kind of ritual mat designed from the young palm frond which is used as a plate for serving the spirits of the ancestors during sacrifical feasts such as Aja ana, the worship of the Goddess of Earth.

13. Nja-mpoto consists of the word mpoto 'any large leaf' (e.g. of cocoyam), preceded by the meaningless element nja, taken from njamụnja in the preceding line.

2. Gbata m, gbata m (Ogbunka A2)

This is the Ogbunka version of Gbata m, gbata m (Ẹz'iagụ A15). Its three sections, which are clearly demarcated, consist of an invocational prelude, followed by a series of riddles, and finally a concluding formula. For its refrain, it uses "Shọrọ" where the Eziagu version used "Shara"; however, "shara" and "shọrọ" are musically and semantically identical, being in free variation with each other. In contrast to the Eziagu version, the satirical section is omitted, and no homage is paid to the god of divination before the concluding formula. However, like the Eziagụ version, the opening and concluding sections are similar, and the riddles are similar in form but different in content.

Gbata m, gbata m!	Shọrọ
Gbata m, gbata m!	"
Gbata m ishi ji!	"
Gbata m ishi ede!	"
Ọkụkọ nna ya ochie	"
Yiri akwa one?	"
Asaa, asatọ!	"
Egbe vuru nnaa	"
Ugo vuru nnaa	"
Gbafuga l'ịkpa	"
Kụrụ ebenebe	"
Ebe nna ya	"
Ala tuo ugo	"
A kpọọ ya ero	"
Ala daa ibi	"

A kpọọ ya mkpu	Shọrọ
Ọkpụkpụ fụta ihe	"
A kpọọ ya eze	"
Mmadụ gbaa ngalaba	"
A kpọọ ya aka,	"
A kpọọ ya ọkpa.	"
Akwụ gbaa mmee	"
A kpọọ ya manụ	"
Ngwọ gbaa avụ,	"
A kpọọ ya mmịị.	"
Njamụnja!	"
Nja-mpoto!	"

I divine, I divine!
I divine, I divine!
I divine for prosperity in yams!
I divine for prosperity in cocoyams!

His grandfather's hen
Laid how many eggs?
Seven or eight?
The kite carried one,
The eagle carried the other.
I ran out of the village
I picked ebenebe[1] leaves.
Ebe[2] of 'X', the father,
If soil puts on the feathers of an eagle,[3]
It is called a mushroom.
If soil develops ibi[4]
It is called an ant-hill.
If bone is exposed,
It is called a tooth.
If human beings grow branches,
They (the branches) are called arms;
They (the branches) are called limbs.
If palm nuts bleed,
It is called oil.

If raffia palm exudes pus,
It is called palm-wine.

Njamụnja!)
Nja-mpoto!)[5]

Notes to Gbata m, gbata m (Ogbunka A2)

1. Supra, p. note 8.

2. "Ebe of 'X' the father", literally, "the village of 'X' the father", is a way of indicating the indeterminate setting of the second set of riddles. "Ebe" is a linguistic element borrowed from Ebenebe in the preceding line, and is used for alliterative purposes. The whole line also serves as an effective unifying device linking the two subsections.

3. Ala tuo ugo ("If soil puts on the feathers of an eagle") is allusive. The mushroom is compared to "the feathers of an eagle" because, in colour and structure, both are somewhat similar: both are white, the quill of the eagle's feather and the feather itself correspond to the stem and the cap of a mushroom.

4. Ibi: Hydrocele.

5. Supra, p. notes 12 and 13.

3. Nna ya Igwe (Eziagụ A34)

Ana, the Earth Goddess, challenged the seniority and authority of Igwe, the Sky God. To demonstrate his power, the latter refused to bring down rain. Consequently the rivers and streams dried up; trees, animals and men died in large numbers; the land became unproductive. Thus humiliated, Ana surrendered and accepted the overlordship of Igwe. In this song the delegates sent to Igwe speak on behalf of Ana.

Ọ kwadụ nna ya Igwe, kpambele, nna ya Igwe
kpambele mbele!
Kpambele mbele, kpambele mbele![1]
Ọ kwadụ nna ya Igwe, kpambele, nna ya Igwe
kpambele mbele!
Kpambele mbele, kpambele mbele!
Ọ kwanụ ozhi Ana zhiri shịshị zhie, ghụ,
kpambele mbele!
Kpambele mbele, kpambele mbele!
O nyere ji naasatọ, kpambele, oke ọkpa,
kpambele mbele!
Kpambele mbele, kpambele mbele!
O nyere mkpụrụ ọjị, kpambele, ogu nzu,
kpambele mbele.
Kpambele mbele, kpambele mbele!
Gụ hụ nekwe ikpere ana, hụ dụ asatọ, kpambele
mbele!
Kpambele mbele, kpambele mbele!
Gụ hụ jikete miri ma gụ hụ hanatabha,
kpambele mbele!
Kpambele mbele, kpambele mbele!

Ma gụ hụ tọrọ ya, gụ hụ ghụ Ọkpara,
kpambele mbele!
Kpambele mbele, kpambele mbele!
Ma gụ hụ ghụ Ọkpara, ma gụ hụ jidobhe,
kpambele mbele!
Kpambele mbele, kpambele mbele!
Oshishi anwụchaa, ma madụ nwụchaa,kpambele mbele!
Kpambele mbele, kpambele mbele!
Oshimiri atachaa, na ngene tachaa, kpambele mbele!
Kpambele mbele, kpambele mbele!
Gụ hụ jikete miri, gụ hụ hanatabha,
kpambele mbele!
Kpambele mbele, kpambele mbele!
Ọ dụ ishi naasaa ihe nwụrụ be ya, kpambele mbele!
Kpambele mbele, kpambele mbele!
Ishi a naasaa hụ nwụrụ be ya, kpambele mbele!
Kpambele mbele, kpambele mbele!
Ọnụ ọgụ naasaa ihe e jiri ni ha, kpambele mbele!
Kpambele mbele, kpambele mbele!
Ọnụ ọgụ a naasaa e jiri ni ha, kpambele mbele!
Kpambele mbele, kpambele mbele!
Ojiji-ojiji ma ọrụrọ-ọrụrọ, kpambele mbele!
Kpambele mbele, kpambele mbele!
Mgbaji-mgbaji ma omịmị-omịmị, kpambele mbele!
Kpambele mbele, kpambele mbele!
Ma gụ hụ tọrọ ya, ma gụ hụ ghụ Ọkpara,
kpambele mbele!
Kpambele mbele, kpambele mbele!
Nan ya Igwe kpambele, nna ya Igwe kpambele mbele!
Kpambele mbele, kpambele mbele!

Hail! My Lord Sky God, kpambele! My Lord Sky
God, kpambele mbele!
Hail! My Lord Sky God, kpambele! My Lord Sky
God, kpambele mbele!
This is a message from the Earth Goddess,
kpambele mbele!
She gave eight yams, kpambele, a cock,
kpambele mbele!

She gave kola nuts, kpambele, one stick of chalk,[2]
kpambele mbele!
She genuflected eight times, kpambele mbele,
Pleading that you change your mind and allow rain
to fall, kpambele mbele!
You are her senior and the firstborn,
kpambele mbele!
You are the firstborn, she accords you that honour,
kpambele mbele!
Trees have all died, men have all died,
kpambele mbele!
Rivers have dried up, streams have dried up,
kpambele mbele!
Change your mind very soon and end the drought,
kpambele mbele!
Seven people died in her family, kpambele mbele!
Those seven people who died, kpambele mbele,
Seven hoes were used in digging their graves,
kpambele mbele!
Those seven hoes used in digging their graves,
kpambele mbele,
Some were broken, some were bent, kpambele mbele,
Some were broken, others were greatly dented,
kpambele mbele!
You are her senior, you are the firstborn,
kpambele mbele!
Hail! My Lord Sky God, kpambele! My Lord Sky
God, kpambele mbele!

Note to Nna ya Igwe (Eziagụ A34)

1. Kpambele mbele: The words of the refrain which are also introduced in the solo part to complete the rhythm and melody, consist of two different words: "Kpa", an element taken from the verb "ikpa" (to search for), and "mbele" (snail). Ikpa mbele means "searching for snails". Searching for snails is generally the pastime of children, and snails are eaten by very poor

poeple who cannot afford meat. Idiomatically, ịkpa mbele means to indulge in frivolous or childish actions, or to joke, hence Kpa mbele means "to joke". The refrain implies that Ana's challenge to Igwe was a big joke, and therefore can be translated as "You are joking, you are joking". The repetition of kpa mbele is for emphasis of the statements and euphony of the song line.

2. Kola nuts and sticks of chalk are ritual objects which symbolize amity and peace among other things.

4. Olee anụ je nhahụ-o? (Eziagụ A57)

Mgbọọjị Nwaanyanwụ, an animal, fell into a deep ditch and cried for help from Cutting Grass who was passing by. Cutting Grass refused to help, reminding Mgbooji about her arrogance one day when he, Cutting Grass, had asked her to make love to him. "Ask your lover, Oloolo, to come to your rescue", Cutting Grass concluded.

Olee anụ je nhahụ-o?	Gba mpọ.[1]
Olee anụ je nhahụ-o?	"
Nchioke je nhahụ-o	"
A, nchi gụ biko bịa kufute ye	"
Olee anụ narị akpọ ya?	"
O hụ ghụ Mgbọọjị Nwaanyanwụ.	"
E kufute ghụ, e me ghụ aṅaa?	"
Biko ihe nta ọ na-ananụ ya, ya ja-enyekwenụ ghụ	"
Ọduhụ! Eshinta ọ rụrụ nwa ishi ka arụrụ nwa agba,	"
Eshinta ọ na-egwenụ nwa elu ehu l'akụ ghu	"
O, gụ were aja ghụ dọgobhe n'elu,	"
O, gụ wa ya ọchị "kwụkwa nkwarị";	"
"Kwụkwa nkwarị!"	"
E, eze chịrị ọchị, ọ chịgburu onye?	"
Ọ chịgburu Mgbọọjị Nwaanyanwụ.	"
Ọduhụ! Kpọbha Oloolo.	"
O gụ shị Oloolo ohu bịa kufute ghụ	"
Ya na oke ọkpa di anyarị agbọghọ	"
Anyarị agbọghọ, ya bịa kufute ghụ	"
Ero la-akpọ ghụ, ọzọ la-akpọ ghụ	"

Please, which animal is passing by?
Please, which animal is passing by?
Cutting Grass is passing by.
A,[2] Cutting Grass, please, come and rescue me.
By the way, which animal is calling me?
It is me, Mgbọọji Nwaanyanwụ.
If one brings you out from the ditch, what will one do with you?
Please, that 'thing' you requested, I will give it to you.
No! (Have you forgotten) that day you plaited your hair and it stood up
like the sticks used for staking yams;
that day you were rubbing your pubic hairs with elu,[3]
you exposed your aja[4] very provocatively;
you laughed at me: 'kwụkwa nkwarị';[5]
'Kwụkwa nkwarị!' (That's right!)[6]
E,[7] teeth that laughed, to whose undoing?[8]
It is to the ruin of Mgbọọji Nwaanyanwụ.
No! Call 'Oloolo',[9]
Tell 'Oloolo' to come and rescue you.
(Tell) also the 'Cock that courts young maidens',[10]
'The one that courts young maidens', let him come and rescue you,
Let Ero[11] continue calling you, Gorilla continue calling you.

Notes to Olee anụ jẹ nhahụ-o? (Eziagụ A57)

1. Gba mpọ, the refrain which is omitted from the English translation, is a meaningless phrase used for euphony and to complete the rhythm of the melody.

2. 'A' is an intrusive vowel - a very common feature in Ifo songs.

3. Elu is oil extracted from fried palm kernels and is used as cosmetic.

4. Aja a euphemistic word for ọtụ - the female sexual organ.

5. Ideophones imitating the sound of Mgbọọjị's laughter.

6. Besides describing the sound of Mgbooji's laughter as in note 5, kwụkwa nkwarị has a satirical overtone which implies 'Go on laughing'.

7. 'E' is an intrusive vowel; cf. note 2 above.

8. You will suffer for your arrogance.

9. Oloolo, i.e. "Mr So and So".

10. The nickname of that "Mr So and So".

11. Ero, literally "comb (of a cock)" but meaningless in this context, is probably used to serve as a rhyme in the parallel phrase:

Ero la-akpọ ghụ,	Cock's comb continue calling you,
Ọzọ la-akpọ ghụ.	Gorilla continue calling you.

5. Nwaanara, Nwaanara (Eziagụ A33)

A beautiful girl, Nwaanara, was very fastidious in her choice of a husband. Kite, Eagle, and Hawk all approached her but were all ridiculed and rejected because they were suitors with a clumsy gait. Vulture asked and was accepted - he was stalwart and soldier-like; had a long neck and "when he strides, his whole body shakes". It was after the marriage that Nwaanara realised her mistake in choosing Vulture, a scavenger with a revolting way of life.

Nwaanara, Nwaanara;	Ịyọrọ ọma![1]
Nwaanara, Nwaanara;	"
Egbe abịara ghụ di.	"
Ọdụhụ, ọdụhụ,	"
Ọdụhụ, ajụ ya;	"
Egbe gbeghere egbeghe,	"
Ije ye ugbeghe ugbeghe.	"
Nwaanara, Nwaanara;	"
Nwaanara, Nwaanara;	"
Ugo abịara ghụ di.	"
Ọdụhụ, ọdụhụ,	"
Ọdụhụ, ajụ ya;	"
Ugo goghoro egogho,	"
Ije ye ugogho ugogho.	"
Nwaanara, Nwaanara;	"
Nwaanara, Nwaanara;	"
Nkwo abịara ghụ di.	"
Ọdụhụ, odụhụ,	"
Ọdụhụ, ajụ ya;	"
Nkwọ kwọghọrọ akwọghọ,	"
Ije ye ụkwọghọ ụkwọghọ.	"

Nwaanara, Nwaanara; Ịyọrọ ọma!
Nwaanara, Nwaanara; "
Udene abịara ghụ di. "
Ịhịa, ịhịa, "
Ịhịa, ekwe ye. "
Oke Udene nwoke ye, "
Nwoke akpa mgbọ la-ekwe; "
Nwoke ube onu la-ekwe; "
Mbụ ọ zịị, ọ magwọrịa. "

O, ha lụbha, ha lụbha; "
Ha lụbha, ha jebhe. "
Ha jebhe, ha jebhe; "
Jefuta l'obodo ahụ; "
Oke Udene nwoke ye, "
Ka one ghụdụ kanụ nwa? "
Ọ shị hụ ghụ obodo ụra ha, "
Ọ dụ ghụ mma, gụhụ rabha, "
Ha aduhụ ghụ mma, gụhụ ghara. "

O, ha rabha, ha rabha, "
Ha rabha, la-eje. "
Ha jebhe, ha jebhe, "
Jefuge l'obodo ahụ; "
Oke Udene nwoke ye, "
Ka one ghụdụ kanụ nwa? "

Ọ shị hụ ghụ obodo ọchị ha, "
Ọ dụ ghụ mma, gụhụ chịbha, "
Ha aduhụ ghụ mma, gụhụ ghara. "

O, ha chịbha, ha chịbha, "
Ịkwụkwarị, ịkwụkwarị, "
O, ha chịrị la-eje; "
O, ha jebhe, ha jebhe; "
Oke Udene nwoke ye, "
Oke Udene, o shokiikwe na nshị! "

Oke Udene nwoke ye, Iyọrọ ọma!
Ndịị nke ị la la-eme? "
Ọ shị ọ ghụ aha nke ha la-
eri, "
Ọ dụ ghụ mma, gụhụ bịabha, "
Ha aduhụ ghụ mma, gụhụ labha. "

Ihịe! ihịe! "
Ihịe! Ajụ ya, "
Oke Udene nwoke ye, "
Oke Udene, o rafụta ya tọgbọ; "
Ndịị ere ya la shi eme? "
Ndịị ụzọ ya la ja-eshi? "
O, ha labha, di vụọ "

Nwaanara, Nwaanara;[2]
Nwaanara, Nwaanara;
Kite has come to marry you!
No, no,
No, I refuse!
Kite gbeghere egbeghe,[3]
His gait ugbeghe ugbeghe.

Nwaanara, Nwaanara;
Nwaanara, Nwaanara;
Eagle has come to marry you!
No, no,
No, I refuse!
Eagle goghoro egogho,[4]
His gait, ugogho ugogho.

Nwaanara, Nwaanara;
Nwaanara, Nwaanara;
Hawk has come to marry you!
No, no,
No, I refuse!
Hawk kwọghọrọ akwọghọ,[5]
His gait, ụkwọghọ ụkwọghọ.

Nwaanara, Nwaanara;
Nwaanara, Nwaanara;
Vulture has come to marry you!
That's right, that's right,
That's right, I agree!
Great Vulture, my man,
A man whom a bag of bullets suits,
A man whom a long neck suits;
If he strides, the whole body shakes.

O they marry, they marry,
They marry, they set out;
They go on, they go on,
They arrive at a town;
"Great Vulture, my man,
What town is this?"
He says: "It's the square where they play,
If you like it, then play,
If not, then stop."

O, they play, they play,
They play as they go on;
They go on, they go on,
They arrive at a town;
"Great Vulture, my man,
What town is this?"
He says: "It's a place where they laugh,
If you like it, then laugh,
If you don't, then stop."

O, they laugh, and laugh,
Ịkwụkwarị, ịkwụkwarị[6]
O, they laugh as they go on;
O, they go on, they go on;
"Great Vulture, my man,
Great Vulture, you shikiikwe[7] into sewage;
Great Vulture, my man,
What is it you do?"

He says: "It's what we eat,
If you are pleased with it, come;
If not, then go back."

"What, what!
What! I refuse;
Great Vulture, my man;
Great Vulture, you have betrayed me and let me down;
How will I manage?
Through which road will I pass?"
O, they go back, the marriage has failed.

Notes to Nwaanara, Nwaanara (Eziagụ A33)

1. Ịyọrọ ọma: ịyọrọ means a flock of small birds; ọma means beautiful, good. The refrain, therefore, literally means "a flock of beautiful talking birds"; possibly referring to the gossip that arose from Nwaanara's marriage.

2. Nwaanara is a proper name used for any girl who is very fastidious in choosing a husband.

3. Gbeghere egbeghe is an adverbial phrase of manner derived from the word egbe (the kite), creating a sound that caricatures the clumsy gait of Egbe, which is ugbeghe ugbeghe.

4. Similarly, goghoro egogho is a pun on the word Ugo whose clumsy gait is projected by the imagery created by the onomatopoeic words - ugogho ugogho.

5. Kwọghọrọ akwọghọ is a pun woven from the word nkwọ (the hawk) which also supplies the root of the onomatopoeic words, ụkwọghọ ụkwọghọ that describe the gait of Nkwọ.

6. Ịkwụkwarị ịkwụkwarị, again onomatopoeic words describing the romantic laughter of Vulture and Nwaanara.

7. Shikiikwe is a verb that depicts the way one walks in filth such as sewage.

6. Ụzụnṭị, Ụzụnṭị (Eziagụ A78)

When Tortoise went to fetch fire in Yam beetle's house, Yam beetle gave him a portion of the delicious food he, Yam beetle, was about to take to his brother-in-law's house. Greedy Tortoise volunteered to escort Yam beetle on his journey. Yam beetle did not like the idea, but did not reject it directly. He asked Tortoise to go home and get ready, and to rejoin him in his house. As soon as Tortoise had left, Yam beetle set out on his journey. Yam beetle implored all the animals he met on the way not to tell Tortoise that he, Yam beetle, had passed that way. The first animal that Tortoise interrogated pretended that his hearing was defective: hence the name Ụzụnṭị ("Buzzing of the ear-drum").

Ụzụnṭị, Ụzụnṭị!
Ndo righọma![1]
Ụzụnṭị, Ụzụnṭị!
Ndo righọma!
Ị hwụrọị ya rị Ebe?
Ndo righọma!
Ebe gara mbe ọgọ?
Ndo righọma!
Nhe o jiri ga:
Ndo righọma!
Nnu, ụtọ;
Ndo righọma!
Mmanụ, merere;
Ndo righọma!
Ogiri, ụpọ.
Ndo righọma!
Ụzụnṭị, Ụzụnṭị!
Ndo righọma!

Ụzụntị, Ụzụntị![2]
Ụzụntị, Ụzụntị!
Did you see Yam beetle,
Yam beetle who went to his brother-in-law?
And what he went with?
Salt so flavoursome;
Palm oil so merere;[3]
Spice so ụpọ.[4]
Ụzụntị, Ụzụntị!

Notes to Ụzụntị, Ụzụntị (Eziagụ A78)

1. Ndo righọma! The refrain which has been omitted from the English translation, is a phrase compounded of the ideophones ndo ("pity") and righọma (derived from erighi ọma or erighi ngo, i.e. "without payment", "as a bribe"). Hence Ringworm is called Ọkpụ-isi-eri-ngo, i.e. a barber who never asks for a fee, either for the 'favour' of dressing one's hair, or for the actual cutting of the hair. The refrain as a whole therefore, reads: "What a pity; an unpaid job" (i.e. It is a pity you are confused but I am doing an unpaid job and you cannot bribe me.)

2. Ụzụntị: here used as a proper noun, personifying 'deafness'.

3. Merere: an ideophonic word for the shimmering effect which palm oil gives the food.

4. Ụpọ from Ogiri ụpọ, literally: "There is sufficient spice"; but ụpọ itself is an ideophonic word describing the sound which the spice makes when it is put on the food. Merere and ụpọ are used to describe the extreme palatability of the food.

7. Ejebhenu ye de akọlị anyị (Eziagụ A12)

This is a song which gives humorous explanations for striking features in the behaviour and appearance of different animals.

Ejebhenu ye de akọlị anyị Hịị ịị, hịị ịghịị[1]
Jebhenu ye de akọlị anyị "
Ya na odu ezukọrọkwa "
"Odu, gụnụ la-eme ghụ ka ị kpara imo?" "
Ọ shị, "Onye la-evu ụzọ, shị ọ kpagwo imo". "

Jebhe ahubha de akọlị anyị "
Jebhe ahubha de akọlị anyị "
Ya na ọwị ezukọrọkwa "
"Ọwị, gụnụdụ la-eme ghụ ka ị gbara ọsọ?" "
Ọ shị, "Onye ghụ dinkpa, la ọ gbagwo ọsọ". "

Je ahubha de akọlị anyị "
Je ahubha de akọlị anyị "
Ya na nkapị ezukọrọkwa "
Nkapị, "Gụnụdụ la-eme ghụ ka ị gburu ọdụ?"
Ọ shị, "Onye la-ahwụ ọja, shị o gbugwo ọdụ." "
"O, biko gụ gbuoro ye ya hụ gere ụdụ." "
Ọ shị, "Ịtịtị hwụrịhwụ ịtịtị nwa ịtị hwọrọrọọ" "
Ọ shị, "Itịtị hwụrịhwụ ịtịtị nwa ịtị m hwọrọ!" "

As I was roaming about in a nearby bush,
As I was roaming about in a nearby bush,
I met the odu[2] unexpectedly.
"Odu, why do you look like ị kpara imo?"[3]
It replied, "The first early riser, is very likely to kpaa imo."

I continued romaing about in a nearby bush,
I continued roaming about in a nearby bush,
I met the qwị[4] unexpectedly.
"Qwị, why are you behaving as if you ran a race?"
It commented, "He who is a dinkpa,[5] should
equally be able to run."

I continued roaming in a nearby bush,
I continued roaming in a nearby bush,
I met the shrew unexpectedly.
"Shrew, why do you look as if you blew the horn?"
It replied, "A flautist is equally a horn player."
"Please, entertain me with some tunes."
It played: "Ịtịtị hwụrịhwụ ịtịtị nwa ịtị hwọrọrọọ!"
And again: "Ịtịtị hwụrịhwụ ịtịtị nwa ịtị m hwọrọ!"

Notes to Ejebhenu ye de akọlị anyị (Eziagụ A12)

1. A nonsense phrase used to complete the rhythm and melody of the song.

2. A member of the Rodentia.

3. Ị kpa ("to remove; to brush aside with a stick", i.e. to prevent an object from touching one's body by brushing it aside with a stick). Footpaths in the bush are generally very narrow and in the night the leaves of plants and grasses that project into the pathway are covered with moisture and cobwebs thus creating what is generally called 'imo'. The body of any early-riser who is the first to walk through such a pathway is usually covered with cobwebs and moisture. In other words, the person has removed the imo with his body and clothes, an exercise commonly called ịkpa imo.

4. Another species of the Rodentia.

5. A physically healthy and strong man.

6. An imitation of the flute melody.

8. Onye nọ n'ụzọ ndụ mmụọ? (Eziagụ A54)

A boy went to a tooth-filer (Ọpị eze) who, as a result of his findings during the preliminary tooth-filing cum divination ritual, advised the boy not to take "owere" (a certain by-path) on his way home otherwise he, the boy, would meet spirits. The boy did not heed the advice. A medicine man who saw the boy approaching on the path shouted a warning, but the boy explained that he had intentionally taken that path so as to see his dead mother's spirit, if possible. In the song section that follows the introduction, the boy sings the praises of his mother by calling her praise names and commenting on her physical beauty, while interjecting at intervals on the callous nature of 'death'.

> Ha ... yị! Onye nọ n'ụzọ ndụ mmụọ? Fụọ! Ihe ukwu kpekwe azụ. Hụ shị o hụ ghụ ya. Ya gara mbe ọwa eze, wa ya eze enu "kọmkọm", wa ya eze ana "kọmkọm", shị ya shikwe ezhi, ya eshile owere. Ya shi owere ya ahwụ ndụ mmụọ. Ya shi ya ja-eshi owere ma ya hwụ ya nne ya Nwaga Ezeugo nwa Mgbịrịgba. Ọkpa nwa eze ụkpara, na egbe evunara ya nwa.
>
> Nne ye nwaanyị ọcha!
> Mịrịzọ mmịzọ![1]
> Nwaanyị ọcha!
> Mịrịzọ mmịzọ!
> Nne ye onye ije ọma!
> Mịrịzọ mmịzọ!
> Eje atụkwa!
> Mịrịzọ mmịzọ!

Nne ye ọnwụ di iwe!
Mịrịzọ mmịzọ!
Ọnwụ egbubhe.
Mịrịzọ mmịzọ!
Nne ye ọnwụ emeri.
Mịrịzọ mmịzọ!
Ọnwụ dị iwe.
Mịrịzọ mmịzọ!
Nne ye onye ije ọma!
Mịrịzọ mmịzọ!
Eje atụkwa!
Mịrịzọ mmịzọ!
Ọnwụ dị iwe.
Mịrịzọ mmịzọ!

Ha ... yị![2] Who obstructs the path of the spirits? Clear off! Something big is behind. He says it is he. He went to a tooth-filer who filed his upper teeth "kọmkọm",[3] filed his lower teeth "kọmkọm", and advised him to take the main path and not owere,[4] for if he took owere he would see spirits. He says he will go through owere so that he may see his dead mother Nwaga Ezeugo, the daughter of "Mgbịrịgba".[5] "Ọkpa nwaeze ụkpara",[6] a kite has carried away my child.

His mother, the fair-complexioned woman!
The fair-complexioned woman!
His mother, who goes on a good journey!
Eje atụkwa![7]
His mother, death was angry,.
Death has killed;
His mother, alas, death,
Death was angry!
His mother, who goes on a good journey!
Eje atụkwa!
Death was angry.

Notes to Onye nọ n'ụzọ ndụ mmụọ? (Eziagụ A54)

1. Mịrịzọ mmịzọ, the refrain, consitst of ideophones used for completing the line of the song, and for their euphony.

2. Hayị!, an interjection or warning cry meaning "Look out!"

3. Kọmkọm is an onomatopoeic imitation of the sound of teeth being filed.

4. Owere, or more commonly ezi-owere: a common term used for by-paths in general. By-paths are generally narrow, and avoided because of their lonely nature. As such they are the favourite paths for spirits.

5. Mgbịrịgba ("The bell"), is a praise name for one of the parents of Nwaga Ezeugo.

6. Ọkpa nwaeze ụkpara ("The leg of the king of the grass-hoppers") like Mgbịrịgba, is a praise name for one of the parents of Nwaga Ezeugo.

7. Eje atụkwa (descriptive of pompous movement) is one of the praise names of the boy's mother derived from her majestic gait.

9. Ọle anụ bịa wụrụ ogwe (Eziagụ A55)

Because no one admitted responsibility for a certain crime committed in the land of the animals, it was agreed that every animal should jump over ogwe (a wooden obstacle - one of the means of trial by ordeal in the past), and whoever failed in the attempt would be the culprit. Many animals jumped over the obstacle with varying degrees of difficulty. Tortoise tried but could not succeed because of his small stature and short legs. He cleverly prepared an excuse: "My parents did not jump over ogwe, so why should I?" As the "Aka ji ọfọ" ("The custodian of the ancestral staff of office") of the animal world, it was humiliating to Tortoise to subject himself to such an ordeal. Tortoise, therefore, invoked his authority as the Aka ji ọfọ and declared a general pardon for every animal.

Ọle anụ bịa wụrụ ogwe	Laalaashịla[1]
Ọle anụ bịa wụrụ ogwe	"
Ọle anụ bịa wụrụ ogwe	"
Nchioke bịa wụrụ ogwe	"
Nchioke echite echite, chinge	"
O nhenụ, nchirigidi, ya chihe ye	"
O nhenụ ya chiri kanụ, onye ekwune okwu;	"
Onye eghene ọnụ.	"
Ọle anụ bịa wụrụ ogwe	"
Ọle anụ bịa wụrụ ogwe	"
Mgbadaoke bịa wụrụ ogwe	"

Mgbadaoke agbata agbata, gbange	Laalaashịla!
O nhenụ, mgbaragada, ya gbahe ye	"
Nhenụ ya gbara kanụ, onye ekwune okwu,	"
Onye eghene ọnụ.	"
Ole anụ bịa wụrụ ogwe	"
Ole anụ bịa wụrụ ogwe	"
Mvụrụoke bịa wụrụ ogwe	"
Nwa Mvụrụoke avụta avụta, vụnge	"
O nhenụ nvụrụgụdụ, ya avụhe ye	"
O nhenụ ya vụrụ kanụ, onye ekwune okwu,	"
Onye eghene ọnụ.	"
Ole anụ bịa wụrụ ogwe	"
Eleoke bịa wụrụ ogwe	"
Eleoke lete elete, lenge	"
O nhenụ, mleregede, ya lehe ye	"
O, nhenụ ya lere kanụ, onye ekwune okwu,	"
Onye eghene ọnụ.	"
Ole anụ bịa wụrụ ogwe	"
Mbeoke bịa wụrụ ogwe	"
Nwa Mbeoke mee aka n'enu, aka eruhu ye;	"
Nwa Mbeoke mee ọkpa n'enụ ọkpa eruhu ye;	"
Nwa Mbeoke mee aka n'akpa mere ọfọ ya:	"
"Nne ye ha awụhụ ogwe ya awụbha ogwe,	"
Nna ya ha awụhụ ogwe ya awụbha ogwe,	"
Ọ shị: "Anụmanụ wụrụ ogwe, unu lọbha azụ!"	"

Which animal will come and jump over the obstacle:
Which animal will come and jump over the obstacle?
Which animal will come and jump over the obstacle?
Cutting Grass come and jump over the obstacle!
Cutting Grass waddled[2] along and waddled over.
What, Nchirigidi![3] It has waddled over!
Oh, let no one say anything about how it waddled,
Let no one utter a word.

Which animal will come and jump over the obstacle?
Which animal will come and jump over the obstacle?
Mgbadaoke[4] come and jump over the obstacle!
Bushbuck ran swiftly and leapt over,
What, Mgbaragada![5] It has leapt over!
Oh, let no one say anything about how it leapt,
Let no one utter a word.

Which animal will come and jump over the obstacle?
Which animal will come and jump over the obstacle?
Mvụrụoke,[6] come and jump over the obstacle!
Duiker dived along and dived over.
What, Mvụrụgụdụ![7] It has dived over!
Oh, let no one say anything about how it dived,
Let no one utter a word.

Which animal will come and jump over the obstacle?
Which animal will come and jump over the obstacle?
Eleoke,[8] come and jump over the obstacle!
Antelope loped along and loped over.
What, Nleregede![9] It has loped over!
Oh, let no one say anything about how it loped,
Let no one utter a word.

Which animal will come and jump over the obstacle?
Tortoise, come and jump over the obstacle!
Poor Tortoise stretched up his hands, but his
hands did not reach!
Poor Tortoise stretched up his legs, but his
legs did not reach!
Poor Tortoise put his hand in his bag and
brought out the Ọfọ[10]
"My mother did not jump the obstacle, why must I?[11]
My father did not jump the obstacle, why must I?
All the animals that have jumped the obstacle,
come back."

Notes to Ọlẹ anụ bịa wụrụ ogwe (Eziagụ A55)

1. Laalaashịla, the refrain of the song, which is omitted from the English translation, is a meaningless word sung to complete the rhythm of the melody.

2. Waddled: in each verse there is a pun on the Igbo name of the animal and the word used to describe its motion. In this verse it is between Nchi (The Cutting Grass) and 'chite, chinge', etc. ("waddle, waddled over").

3. Nchirigidi is onomatopoeic and is derived from the word Nchi (The Cutting Grass) describing the sound which nchi made as it waddled over the obstacle and landed on the other side.

4. -oke, a suffix very commonly used in Ifọ. See the section on "Use of special language", supra, p.
Mgbadaọke (The bushbuck) is a compound of Mgbada (The bushbuck) and -oke, a suffix.

5. Mgbaragada: as in the first verse, there is here a pun between Mgbada (The bushbuck) and gbata, gbange, etc. (run); and like nchirigidi in footnote 3, Mgbaragada is onomatopoeic and is derived from mgbada, suggesting the sound which Mgbada made as it ran over the obstacle and landed.

6. Mvụrụọke: The duiker. Like Mgbadaọke, it is a compound of Mvụrụ (The duiker) and -oke, a suffix.

7. Mvụrụgụdụ is an idiophone coined from Mvụrụ (The duiker) and it describes the sound made by Mvụrụ as it lands on the ground.

8. Eleọke: The antelope. Like Mgbadaọke, it is a compound of Ele (The antelope) and -oke, a suffix.

9. Mleregede, derived from Ele (The antelope), like other idiophones (Nvụrụgụdụ, Mgbaragada) describes the sound made by Ele as it lands on the ground.

10. Ọfọ is the ancestral staff of office. It is believed to embody the spirits of the ancestors and serves as a means of communication with them. For a detailed description of ọfọ refer to Ilọgụ, 1974, pp. 18-19.

11. This statement affirms that 'tradition' is the touchstone for validating moral ethos in an Igbo community.

10. Akpụ ya gbaghere tụchie (Eziagụ A2a-f)

A certain girl disregarded her parents' advice to be cautious in accepting as a husband a man whose identity was unknown. Without telling her parents, she eloped with the man. On their way the so-called husband changed his form and became a spirit with one leg, one hand, one eye, one ear and one nostril. The girl was dejected and flabbergasted but helpless. When they finally arrived at the home of the husband, the girl saw one of her dead relatives who not only warned her of the impending danger, and advised her to escape at the least opportunity, but also taught her the song: Akpụ ya gbaghere tụchie, as a magic formula for passing through the massive cotton tree which served as the gate to and from the world of spirits. On the following day the girl told her husband that she would go to fetch firewood, but on her way she escaped. When the husband realised her trick, he picked up his sword and pursued her. When the girl arrived at her father's compound, she appealed to her mother to let her in (Song 2b), but the mother refused. The same appeal for refuge was made to the father (Song 2c) but without success. She finally took refuge in her girl friend's house. In the song Ọgọ ya ọgọ ya the spirit asked the mother of the girl whether she was harbouring Onumara. A similar inquiry was also made to the father of the girl (Song 2e), and to her friend (Song 2f). No sooner had the spirit finished the inquiry, than the girl's friend threw a head of hot-baked coco-yam on him and he instantly disappeared.

2a. The magic formula:

Akpụ ya gbaghere tụchie	Gbaghere tụchie!
Akpụ ya gbaghere tụchie	"
Akpụ nrata okoro na unere	"
Akpụ nrata agbọghọ na unere	"
My silk cotton tree, open and close!	Open and close!
My silk cotton tree, open and close!	"
Silk cotton tree that entices the men with bananas!	"
Silk cotton tree that entices the girls with bananas!	"

2b. Appeal to the mother

Nne ye, nne ye tụghe	Ndorilọma tụghe ndorilọma
Nne ye, nne ye tụghe	"
Nne ye, nne ye tụghe	"
Ọ ghụdụ onye la-ajụ	"
Ohu ghụ ya Ọnụmara	"
Ọnụmara Uzoigwe	"
Ọgazị ube onu	"
Hm .. hụ ghụ ya la-agụ	"
Nne ye, nne ye tụghe	"
"My mother, my mother, open (the door)!	Please, open, please!
My mother, my mother open (the door)!	"
My mother, my mother, open (the door)!"	"
"Who is speaking?"	"
"It is me Ọnụmara,	"
Ọnụmara Ụzọigwe.	"
The long-necked partridge."[1]	"
"Hm ... it is she that is speaking."	"
"My mother, my mother, open (the door)!"	"

2c. Appeal to the father:

The same as that to the mother, but the first three lines read:
"My father, my father, open (the door)!"

2d. The spirit inquires from the mother of the girl:

Ọgọ ya, ọgọ ya	Hịọrọ hịọrọ![2]
Ọgọ ya, ọgọ ya,	"
Ọgọ ya, ọgọ ya,	"
Ọnụmara batara kanụ?	"
Shị ọ tọrọ la ndụ ụzọ?	"

"My mother-in-law, my mother-in-law!
My mother-in-law, my mother-in-law!
My mother-in-law, my mother-in-law!
Did Onumara come into this house?
Or did she stop on the way?"

2e and 2f contain the same idea but the first line in each case is altered to:

"My father-in-law, my father-in-law"
and "The friend of my wife, the friend of my wife."

Notes to Akpụ ya gbaghere tụchie (Eziagụ A2a-f)

1. The praise name of Ọnụmara; it was given to her because of her beauty.
2. Hịọrọ hịọrọ! is an ideophone describing the nasalized sound of the talking voice of the half-nosed spirit.

11. O di ye ya alaghụ onwere? (Eziagụ A56)

This is a lamentation of a recalcitrant woman who was beaten up by her irascible husband.

O di ye ịị, O di ye ya alaghụ, onwere?	Nneele[1]
O di ye ịị, O di ye ya alaghụ, onwere?	"
O di ye, di ajara ishi nkpụrụ ya alaghụ, onwere?	"
O nwa otume nja nwa obere nwa ya alaghụ, onwere?	"
O di ye, di akpụrụ otume nwe okwu ya alaghụ, onwere?	"
E nwunye di nyụrụ nshị n'ọha nwe ekwuhu ụka	"
E nwunye di chịrị akwa n'igbe nwe ekwuhu ụka	"
I makwa nne ye shị ya ekwune ụka ọchịcha ja-avụ	"
I makwa nna ya shi ya ekwune ụka ọchịcha ja-avụ	"
O di ye, di ajara ishi nkpụrụ ya alaghụ, onwere?	"
O nwa otume nja nwa obere nwa ya alaghụ, onwere?	"
O kwa di ye, di akpụrụ otụme nwe okwu ya alaghụ, onwere?	"
O di ye ịị, O di ye ya alaghụ, onwere?	"

Solo & Chorus: Nneele, ịị, O di ye ya alaghụ, onwere? Nneele!

O![2] My husband, ịị.[3] O! My husband, if I don't leave you, what else?[4]

O! My husband, ịị. O! My husband, if I don't leave you, what else?

O! My husband, a husband with a head like a coconut, if I don't leave you, what else?

O! Poor me, a weak, inexperienced child, if I don't leave (my husband) what else?

O! My husband, 'akpụrụ otume nwe okwu',[5] if I don't leave you, what else?

E![6] My co-wife defaecated in public,[7] and nobody reprimanded her;

E! My co-wife stole clothes from somebody's box and nobody reprimanded her.[8]

My mother warned me to mind my words, otherwise that would be the end of hot-headedness;[9]
My father warned me to mind my words, otherwise that would be the end of hot-headedness.
O! My husband, a husband with a head like a coconut, if I don't leave you, what else?
O! Poor me, a weak and inexperienced child, if I don't leave (my husband), what else?
O! My husband, 'akpụrụ otume nwe okwu', if I don't leave you, what else?
O! My husband, ịị. O! My husband, if I don't leave you, what else? Nneele!

Notes on O diye ya alaghụ onwere? (Eziagụ A56)

1. Nneele is a compound of two words: Nne ele ("Mother does not look after", i.e. a child whose mother does not care about or is disinterested in her because of her obstinacy).

2. Intrusive vowel that expresses pity; it also makes up the rhythm of the melody.

3. ịị, a hummed hesitatory utterance which makes up the rhythm of the melody, and reflects the pensive mood in which the woman is engrossed.

4. What else? i.e. the only course of action open to a woman in that circumstance is to leave her husband; fully expressed, it is "what else can I do, if I do not leave you?". (O nwere ihe ọzọ m ga-eme?).

5. My informant could not give the real meaning of this quaint expression. Akpụrụ otume means navel, also conveys the idea of fragility or delicacy; nwe ("To own"); okwu ("Talk", or "Case"). Nwe okwu ("To possess the case") refers to the person who has the final say in a dispute, in this case the husband.

6. Another intrusive vowel. In this context it implies: "It should be noted that ..."

7. A very shameful action.

8. Another disgraceful action. These two expressions may be a hyperbole. The woman simply wants to say that her

co-wives had committed more serious offences for which they were not punished.

9. That is, if I continue with my careless talk and provocative behaviour, my husband will cure it (the illness of hot-headedness) by beating it out of me.

12. Ndu be Ijere Oru (Eziagụ A32)

An orphan girl was rejected by the family of her foster parents, Ijere Oru, because she was afflicted by yaws. A bird called Ọkịrị found her in a bush where she had been deposited by a flood, took her home and nursed her until she grew up into a beautiful girl. When Ọkà, a member of Ijere Oru's family came to ask her hand in marriage, not realising she was the oprhan they had cast away, the girl, in the words of the song, recounted the ill treatment given to her by them.

Ndu be Ijere Oru, Ijom, ijoroko ijom![1]
Ndu be Ijere Oru, "
Labha i laha alụ. "
Ishi ihe Ọka mere ye, "
Eshi ụma tụrụ ya, "
A, nne shị "Tụfụga", "
Nna shị, "Tụfụga"; "
Unu gbakọ aka, tụfụga, "
Unu tụfụga ya l'ezhi; "
A, idoro huru ghara, "
Were huhee ye la mpio, "
Were hurunu ye, la-aga, "
N, je hukende l'ọka. "
A Ọkịrị gbuje ọka, "
Were gbukịị ya l'ọka; "
Were ihe koro ye, "
Wereni ye la-ala, "
Je kokonde l'ube. "
Gbara uhwe la-aghụ, "
Kwọrọ edo la-aghụ; "
Were gbara eshishi la-aghụ; "

Miri doo, ọ la-ama, Ijom, ijoroko ijom!
Anwụ mụọ, ọ la-ama; "
Ube la-eto, ye eto "
Ube la-ama, ya ama; "
Labha i laha alụ. "

Kinsmen of Ijere Oru,[2]
Kinsmen of Ijere Oru
Go home! You will not marry me
Because of what Oka did to me
When I was afflicted by yaws;
Ah, the mother said, "Throw her out!"
The father said: "Throw her out!"

You all joined hands and threw me out,
You threw me outside;
Ah, the flood swept me away,
And swept me through mpio,[3]
Kept on sweeping me along,
And lodged me in an ọka[4] tree!
While Ọkiri was cutting stakes,
He cut me along with oka stakes
And hooked me up like a piece of thread,[5]
And went home with me,
Hung me on a pear tree!
(I) bought red camwood and rubbed it on,
Ground yellow dye and rubbed it on,
Bought eshishi[6] and rubbed it on,
When it rains, it beats down on me,
When the sun shines, it beats down on me,
As the pear tree grow, so I grow,
As the pear tree flourishes, so I flourish;
Go home! You will not marry me.

Notes to Ndu be Ijere Oru (Eziagu A32)

1. Ijom, ijoroko ijom! the refrain which has been omitted from the English translation, is an adverbial phrase meaning literally, "staggering or jumping about hither and thither", in which ijom is the main adverb, and ijoroko ijom is an intensified form ehancing both the euphony and the poetic metre. The refrain portrays the different ways in which the orphan was tossed about: by the foster parents; by the entire family; and by the flood as it swept her along.

2. Ijere Oru is the family name of the foster parents of the firl, the heroine of the story. Ijere is one of the most gorgeously dressed, and therefore one of the most expensive and dignified, masquerades in Igboland. It is only seen on very important and special festive occasions, and represents an elegantly and lavishly dressed lady. Oru is a generic term used to designate almost all the riverine towns along the Niger and its basin. As we have seen, supra p. the people are renowned singers and dancers, and are very lavish in their masquerades. However, from the context of its use, and from the treatment given to the orphan girl, Ijere Oru is here used ironically to insinuate contempt rather than praise.

3. Mpio is the opening in the wall of a compound through which flood water passes or through which water used for domestic purposes flows away.

4. The stems and branches of Oka, or Ahaba (Acio bateri), are used for staking yams on a farm.

5. Koro, a verb, "to hook up something", especially string-like objects such as worms, and snakes. The imagery invoked is that of a very emaciated person.

6. Eshishi is a body cosmetic.

13. Eke nne ye, Eke nne ye (Eziagụ All)

A beautiful girl, Nwaọbịọzụbha, mistakenly hired the services of a spirit who had disguised himself as a medicine man, to restore the sight of her blind mother, and revive the crippled limbs of her father. She promised to give the medicine man whatever he fancied. When the medicine man was offered money, fowls, goats, and even a cow, he refused saying that he wanted only Nwaọbịọzụbha, and having said this, he disappeared with her. In this song, Nwaọbịọzụbha's sister reports the disastrous episode.

Eke nne ye, Eke nne ye!
Ndo ndo rima, ndo rima, ndo ndo![1]
Kpọ ya Eke nne ye!
Ndo ndo rima, ndo rima, ndo ndo!
Ọ kwanụ dibe Ụmụ Ịtakwụ,
Ndo ndo rima, ndo rima, ndo ndo!
Ọ bụrụ dibie Ọkpa-ebele,
Ndo ndo rima, ndo rima, ndo ndo!
Nwa dibie la ọ gwọrọ nne ye ishi,
Ndo ndo rima, ndo rima, ndo ndo!
Gwọ nna ya ngwọrọ,
Ndo ndo rima, ndo rima, ndo ndo!
Ị makwa e nye ye ego yaa jụ!
Ndo ndo rima, ndo rima, ndo ndo!
O, dibie nye ye ọkụkọ, yaa jụ!
Ndo ndo rima, ndo rima, ndo ndo!
O, dibie nye ye eghu, yaa jụ!
Ndo ndo rima, ndo rima, ndo ndo!
Ị makwa e nye ye ehi, yaa jụ!
Ndo ndo rima, ndo rima, ndo ndo!
Ọ shị kịtịkwa nta Nwaọbịọzụbha!
Ndo ndo rima, ndo rima, ndo ndo!

Oke nkụta ugo Nwaọbiaọzụbha!
Ndo ndo rima, ndo rima, ndo ndo!
Mbuba a la-amara okwa, Nwaọbiaọzụbha!
Ndo ndo rima, ndo rima, ndo ndo!
Anta ọ la ọha mmụọ!
Ndo ndo rima, ndo rima, ndo ndo!

Eke my mother! Eke my mother!
Call her, Eke my mother!
It was a medicine man from Ụmụ Ịtakwụ,[2]
Or it may have been a medicine man from Ọkpaebele,
Because the medicine man cured my mother of blindness,
Cured my father's crippled limbs;
Do you know that was why he was given money - he refused!
The medicine man, he was given a fowl - he refused!
The medicine man, he was given goats - he refused!
Do you know he was given a cow - he refused!
He said only Nwaobiaozubha[3] will do.
The hound, the eagle, Nwaobiaozubha![4]
The bull of whose arrival one is warned,[5]
Nwaọbiaọzụbha!
Alas! she is gone to the land of spirits![6]

Notes to Eke nne ye, Eke nne ye (Eziagụ A11)

1. Ndo ndo rima, ndo rima, ndo ndo! the refrain which has been omitted from the English translation, is a phrase compounded of the ideophones ndo ("pity") and rima. My informant says that although rima has no definite meaning in isolation, when thus used, it suggests "take it easy", or "try to endure it". The refrain as a whole, therefore, means "What has happened is a pity, but try to endure it". The repetition of the word 'ndo' serves a metrical purpose while rendering the expression more dramatic.

2. Ịtakwụ and Ọkpaebele are imaginary towns.

3. Nwaọbiaọzụbha, literally: "She, who when she comes, there is an uproar".

4. "The hound, the eagle ..." are epithets which describe the assiduity and swiftness with which Nwaọbịaọzụ̀bha applies herself in almost all she does, especially in things like village contents.

5. Mbụ̀ba is used metaphorically to describe a bull. The phrase thus means: "The heroine whose arrival in any village contest one is warned". The metaphors used in (4) and (5), depict Nwaọbịaọzụ̀bha as an Amazon, an uncomplimentary attribute for a woman in traditional society.

6. By refusing the offer of a cow and insisting on taking Nwaọbịaọzụ̀bha, the disguised spirit revealed his identity, for it would have been unusual for a real medicine man to ask for a cow, let alone a human being. The consequence of a spirit taking a person is described in the Igbo saying: Ndị mmụọ jeje ọgụ hụ ozue vu n'ịshị, shị: "Anyị na-ejivu na ndụ" ("The spirits, on their way to invade the land of the living, saw men carrying a corpse and said: 'We do not take people alive to our country'.").

14. Ha jere gabha (Eziagụ A16)

Ha hụ jere gabha	Kparanama[1]
Ha hụ jere gabha	"
Ha hụ fụta ikpa	"
Ya hụ kpọ nne ye	"
Anya ahwụ ya nkụ	"
Nkụ kpọrọ akpọ	"
Ọ shị mụ: "Nwa ya,	"
Mgbe mụ la hwụrụ nkụ	"
Egbele ekpala akpa."	"
Ya hụ rịrị gabha	"
Ya hụ rịrị gabha	"
Ya hụ rịrị ruo	"
Ya hụ gbuo nnaa	
Nne pịajie ye	"
Ya hụ gbuo ịbọ	"
Nne pịajie ye	"
Ya hụ gbuo ịtọ	"
Nne pịajie ye	"
Ya hụ kpọtụ nne:	"
"Nkụ agwụ l'elu,	"
Nkụ kpọrọ akpọ."	"
Ọ shị mụ: "Nwa ya,	"
Mgbe nkụ lagwụrụ,	"
Egbele alda alọ	"
Ya hụ rịrị lọbha	"
Ya hụ rịrị lọbha	"
Ya hụ riadrue	"
Ha hụ jere gabha	"
Ha hụ jere gabha	"
Ya kpọ nne ye	"
"Anya ahwụ ya ụtụ	"
Ụtụ chara acha."	"
Ọ shị mụ: "Nwa ya,	"

Mgbe mụ la hwụrụ ụtụ,	Kparanama
Egbele aghọla aghọ."	"
Ya hụ rịrị gabha	"
Ya hụ rịrị gabha	"
Ya hụ rịrị ruo	"
Ya hụ ghọọ nnaa	"
Nne rachaa ya	"
Ya hụ ghọọ ịbọ,	"
Nne rachaa ya;	"
Ya hụ ghọọ ịtọ,	"
Nne rachaa ya.	"
Ya hụ kpọtụ nne:	"
"Ụtụ agwụ lelu,	"
Ụtụ chara acha."	"
Ọ shị mụ: "Nwa ya,	"
Mgbe ụtụ lagwụrụ	"
Egbela alọla alọ."	"
Ya hụ rịrị lọbha	"
Ya hụ rịrị lọbha	"
Ya hụ rida ruo.	"
Ha hụ jere gabha	"
Ha hụ jere gabha	"
Ya hụ kpọtụ nne:	"
"Anya ahwụ ya Anya,	"
Anya echere eche."	"
Ọ shị mụ: "Nwa ya,	"
Mgbe mụ lahwụrụ Anya	"
Egbele egbule egbu."	"
Ya hụ kwo ahịara,	"
Ọ ghọrọ ya mma;	"
Ya hụ kwo okpoto,	"
Ọ ghọrọ ya egbe.	"
Ya hụ gbu nnaa	"
Ana arara mmee	"
Ya hụ gbu ibo,	"
Ana arara mmee	"

Ya hụ gbu ịtọ,	Kparanama
Ana arara mmee.	"
Ya hụ kpọtụ nne:	"
"Onye hierihe mmụọ,	"
Adụ onye nwa ya gburu Anya,	"
Ogbele eti aziri?"	"
Ọ turafụ ya:	"
"Ujeri! Ujeri!	"
Ujeri! Ujeri!"	"
Ya hụ kpọ nna ya:	"
"Onye hierihie mmụọ,	"
Adụ onye nwa ya gburu Anya	"
Ogbele agbala egbe?"	"
Ọ turafụ ya:	"
"Dụm dụm dụm dụm!	"
Dụm dụm dụm dụm!"	"
Ya hụ kpọ nwa nne ye,	"
"Ye hierihie mmụọ,	"
Ọdụ onye nwa nne ye gburu Anya,	"
O gbele ahwụla ọja?"	"
Ọ turafụ ya:	"
"Hwụtọri! Hwụtọri!	"
Hwụtọri! Hwụtọri!"	"
Ekwe akpọ ya:	"
"Idighiri dighiridi!"	"
Ikoro akpọ ya:	"
"Nwoke teghete,	"
Egbu egbukwakwa,	"
Ọkaja-egbu ọdọ."	"

They (the lad and his mother) were walking along,
They were walking along,
They arrived at an ịkpa.[2]
He called his mother:
"I have seen firewood,
Firewood that is well dried."
She said to me: "My son,
Since you have seen dried wood,

Why don't you fetch it?"
I started climbing,;
I continued climbing,
I got to the top,
I cut off one dried branch,
My mother broke it into pieces and arranged
them in order.
I cut down another dried branch,
My mother broke it into pieces and arranged
them in order.
I cut down the third dried branch,
My mother broke it into pieces and arranged
them in order.
He called the mother:
"Wood is finished,
Wood that is dried."
She said to me, "My son,
Since there is no more dried wood,
Why not climb down?"
I began to climb down,
I continued climbing down,
I finally touched the ground.

They continued walking along,
They continued walking along,
He called his mother:
"I have seen wild fruits,
Wild fruits that are well ripe."
She said to me: "My son,
Since you have seen wild fruits,
Why don't you pluck them?"
I started climbing,
I continued climbing,
I climbed to the top,
I plucked one fruit,
My mother ate it.
I plucked another fruit,
My mother ate it.

I plucked the third fruit,
My mother ate it.
I called my mother:
"Wild fruits are finished,
Wild fruits that are well ripe."
She told me: "My son,
Since ripe wild fruits are finished,
Why not climb down?"
I began climbing down,
I continued climbing down,
I finally touched the ground.

They continued walking along,
They continued walking along,
He called the mother:
"I have seen Anya,[3]
Anya lying in wait."
She told me: "My son,
Since you have seen Anya,
Why don't you kill it?"
I plucked ahịara[4] leaf,
And it turned into a sword;
I plucked okpoto[5] stem,
And it turned into a gun.
I dealt the first blow,
The soil licked blood;[6]
I dealt the second blow,
The soil licked blood;
I dealt the third blow,
The soil licked blood.
I called my mother:
"You stupid woman,
Since your son killed Anya,
Is it not proper that you should dance?"
And she danced proudly:
"Ujeri! Ujeri![7]
Ujeri! Ujeri!"
I called my father:
"You stupid man,

Since your son killed Anya,
Is it not expected of you to fire gun shots?"
He started firing:
"Dụm dụm dụm dụm![8]
Dụm dụm dụm dụm!"
I called my brother:
"You foolish lad,
Since your brother killed Anya,
Is it not expected of you to play the flute?"
He blew vigorously:
"Hwụtọrị! Hwụtọrị![9]
Hwụtọrị! Hwụtọrị!"
The slit-drum calls me:
"Idighiri dighiridi!"[10]
The ikoro[11] praises me:
"Man, nine,[12]
He who kills very often,
He will soon kill again!"

Notes to Ha jere gabha (Eziagụ A16)

1. Kparanama is one of the favourite meaningless Ifo refrains used to fill up the rhythm and rhyme of melodies. It serves as a refrain to 13 of the 228 songs used in this study.

2. Ikpa is communal farmland, usually situated between neighbouring towns. It can also refer to an uncultivated and extensive area of land where no one lives.

3. Anya - a monstrous creature.

4. Ahịara a type of elephant grass that grows in ịkpa. Because of the sharp edges of its narrow and long leaves, it symbolizes mma (The matchet or sword) in Ifo.

5. Okpoto: a plant like sugar cane.

6. An idiomatic way of saying that blood gushed out and poured on the ground.

7. Ideophonic words describing the dance steps called Itụ ọna, see figure , supra, p. , which illustrates the concept of Egwu.

8. Ideophonic words describing the sounds of gun shots.

9. Ideophonic words describing the flute 'stock phrases' played in praise of heroes.

10. A drum language phrase which means 'a mighty man of valour'.

11. The largest slit-drum in Igboland.

12. A man with the strength of nine people.

15. Kpoo, kpoo, kpoo! (Eziagụ A23)

Tortoise gave Dung beetle a fierce blow during a quarrel that occurred while they were having a meal. Dung beetle pretended to be dead, and Tortoise, afraid of the law, ran away and hid in a bush. Dung beetle, determined to harass Tortoise, took an axe and a basket into the bush where Tortoise was hiding, and started to chop wood. Tortoise, who impersonated Duiker, inquired who was pecking the wood. Dung beetle, also unwilling to reveal his identity, impersonated Antelope and told Tortoise the disturbing news from home and the people's reaction. Tortoise continued to run for his life, and Dung beetle continued to dog his steps.

Kpoo! kpoo! kpoo!
Anatara kporogidi kporokporo, anatara![1]
Kpoo! kpoo! kpoo!
Anatara kporogidi kporokporo, anatara!
Olee anụ la-egbu?
Anatara kporogidi kporokporo, anatara!
A, Eleoke la-egbu.
Anatara kporogidi kporokporo, anatara!
A, Ele arịa ọhụ dụ anaa?
Anatara kporogidi kporokporo, anatara!
Ị, olee anụ la-ajadụ?
Anatara kporogidi kporokporo, anatara!
A, Mmorooke la-ajụ.
Anatara kporogidi kporokporo, anatara!
Ị, arịa ọhụ la ọ duhụ mma.
Anatara kporogidi kporokporo, anatara!
N, hawụ! ọ wụdụ gụnụ la-ahịọ?
Anatara kporogidi kporokporo, anatara!

A shị mbe gburu ada l'ọkụ nrị.
Anatara kporogidi kporokporo, anatara!
Hawụ! E shi aṅaa akọ ya?
Anatara kporogidi kporokporo, anatara!
Ọ hwụrụ mbe ya jido.
Anatara kporogidi kporokporo, anatara!
O gburu onye na onye ja-akwịrị!
Anatara kporogidi kporokporo, anatara!
Kpoo! kpoo! kpoo!
Anatara kporogidi kporokporo, anatara!

Kpoo! kpoo! kpoo![2]
Kpoo! kpoo! kpoo!
"Which animal is chopping the wood?"
"Antelope is chopping!"
"Antelope, how is your home?"
"Which animal asks?"
"Duiker aska!"
"All is not well at home."
"Oh! What is the news?"
"It is said that Tortoise killed Dung beetle
in the food pot."
"Alas! What are people saying?"
"Anybody who sees Tortoise should arrest him,
For the killer must accompany the killed!"[3]
Kpoo! kpoo! kpoo!

Notes to Kpoo, kpoo, kpoo! (Eziagụ A23)

1. Anatara kporogidi kporokporo, anatara! the refrain, which has been omitted in the English translation, comprises onomatopoeic words representing the sound of the pieces of wood that fell off while Dung beetle was chopping.

2. Kpoo! an onomatopoeic word representing the sound of the chopping of wood.

3. i.e. The killer must likewise be killed.

16. Kpọbha ndị ọma (Eziagụ A24).

A mysterious pepper turned into a beautiful girl and was adopted by a certain couple. The girl promised to stay with her adopted parents under one condition: that nobody should reveal her original identity. She was loved and was called by different pet names: by her parents, her friend, her spouse. Jealous of the love and care lavished on this girl, a slave, in the absence of the parents, called the girl: "Ịgbọ e ji eshi ite" ("Pepper used in cooking food"), thus disclosing her origin. The girl vanished and was on her way back to the vegetable world when she met her parents. In the song she narrates what the slave had done.

Nne ya akpoole ye,
Kpọbha ndị ọma-o![1]
Nne ya akpoole ye,
Kpọbha ndị ọma-o!
Nne ya la-akpọ ya "ọmụ na-eto orogo",
Kpọbha ndị ọma-o!
Nna ya la-akpọ ya "Mpu la-aṅụ mmịị",
Kpọbha ndị ọma-o!
Di ye la-akpọ ya "Ajị gbara l'obu ye",
Kpọbha ndị ọma-o!
Enyi ye la-akpọ ya "Ọnwa la-eti nga ya",
Kpọbha ndị ọma-o!
Nwa ohu la-akpọ "Igba e ji eshi ite",
Kpọbha ndị ọma-o!
Ọnwa etie Igbo leelegh-o!
Kpọbha ndị ọma-o!

Igbo gbara mmanwụ ndị Orie Ijere,
Kpọbha ndị ọma-o!

Mother do not call me,
Mother do not call me,
Mother calls me "The young palm frond that grows erect";
Father calls me "Mpu[2] that drinks wine";
My husband calls me "Hairs that grow on his chest";
My friend calls me "The moon that shines in his compound";
The slave calls me "Pepper that is used in cooking food".
The moon shines, Igbo leelegh-o![3]
The Igbo display the masquerade from Orie Ijere.

Notes to Kpọbha ndị ọma (Eziagụ A24)

1. Kpọbha ndị ọma-o ("Call the beautiful ones").
2. Mpu is a wine cup made either from the horn of an animal such as the cow, the buck, or deer, or else from a gourd.
3. Leelegh-o is an interjectional phrase expressing admiration for the moon.

17. Ọmarịngwọ ka mma (Eziagụ A53)

Ọmarịngwọ's material success and fame generated jealousy and hatred among some of his peers who conspired to kill him by poisoning on one of the festive days. They took an oath of secrecy not to divulge the plan, but before the appointed day, one of the conspirators repented. Since the terms of the oath stated that no one should say what was to occur, he decided to circumvent the oath by playing the information on the une - musical bow: "saying" being different from "playing"!

Ọmarịngwọ, Ọmarịngwọ ka mma!
Ọmarịngwọ ka mma!
Ọmarịngwọ, nwa Dim werere,
Ọmarịngwọ ka mma!
Ị gedo ntị, ị nụrụ ihe une la-akọrọ ghụ,
Ọmarịngwọ ka mma!
Ị gedo ntị, ị nụrụ ihe une la-akọrọ ghụ,
Ọmarịngwọ ka mma!
Ọnụzọ mgbo kwanụ "agbahụ aja a nwụlaghụ";
Ọmarịngwọ ka mma!
Ọjị e nyere enye kwanụ "agbahụ aja a nwụla ghụ";
Ọmarịngwọ ka mma!
Ọkpọkọ ọnụ kwanụ "agbahụ aja a nwụlaghụ";
Ọmarịngwọ ka mma!
Ute a tọrọ atọ kwanụ "agbahụ aja a nwụlaghụ".
Ọmarịngwọ ka mma!
Ihe e ghuru eghu kwanụ "agbahụ aja a nwụlaghụ".
Ọmarịngwọ ka mma!
Ị nado ntị ị nụrụ ihe une la-akọrọ ghụ.
Ọmarịngwọ ka mma!
Ọmarịngwọ, nwa Dim werere,
Ọmarịngwọ ka mma!

Ọmaringwọ ka mma, ịị nwa Dim werere,
Ọmaringwọ ka mma!

Ọmaringwọ![1] Ọmaringwọ is the best!
Ọmaringwọ, son of Dim werere,[2]
If you listen attentively, you'll understand what the musical bow is telling you!
If you listen attentively, you'll understand what the musical bow is telling you!
The entrance is such that: "If you do not consult a diviner, you must die!"[3]
The kola nut to be offered is such that: "If you do not consult a diviner, you must die!"
The smoking pipe is such that: "If you do not consult a diviner, you must die!"
The mat spread on the floor is such that: "If you do not consult a diviner, you must die!"
The food to be served is such that: "If you do not consult a diviner, you must die!"
If you listen attentively, you'll understand what the musical bow is telling you!
Ọmaringwọ, son of Dim werere,
Ọramingwọ is the best, mm[4] ..., son of Dim werere!
Ọmaringwọ is the best!

Notes to Ọmaringwọ ka mma (Eziagụ A53)

1. Ọmaringwọ - a proper noun and the praise name of the hero.

2. Werere is an adverb of manner meaning "smoothly, without any obstacle or delay". For example, if a woman has a normal delivery the informant tells her people that "Ọ mụrụ nwa werere", or "Ịmụ nwa gara ya werere" (i.e. the delivery went werere - smoothly). But in this context, werere is meaningless, being used simply to complete the rhythm and melody.

3. "If you do not consult a diviner, you must die". Because of the plot, it is imperative that a diviner be consulted to perform what is called "Ịvọ aja", that is, to find out

by mystical powers the actual places where the deadly charms are concealed, and thus neutralize them: the entrance or the particular kola nut, the smoking pipe, or the mat, are among some of the things that must be avoided.

4. "Mm ..." is an intrusive consonant which has no linguistic meaning but which is introduced to complete the rhythm and melody of the line.

18. Egbe di ugo di nne (Eziagụ A13)

A girl, without investigating the family and social standing of a handsome man who proposed to her, and heedless of the caution which her parents suggested, eloped with her suitor. They travelled day and night and, on the following morning, she realised that they were in the land of spirits and that her 'husband' had changed into an ugly monster with only one leg, one arm, one eye, one ear, and so on. Totally flabbergasted, she planned her escape. "Let me fetch firewood?", she begged the 'husband', and as soon as she had left the compound, she made for the land of the living. When the 'husband' learnt of the trick, he took his sword, and in the company of other relatives they pursued the girl. When they were within reach of her, she pleaded to Kite, who was flying by:

Egbe di ugo di nne
Ịyọrọrọ mma mma, mma mma jegude-o, ịyọrọrọ mma mma!
Egbe di ugo di nne
Ịyọrọrọ mma mma, mma mma jegude-o, ịyọrọrọ mma mma!
Egbe gụ tụọ l'ala vuru ya!
Ịyọrọrọ mma mma, mma mma jegude-o, ịyọrọrọ mma mma!
Abịa shịkwa ije di egbukwee ya!
Ịyọrọrọ mma mma, mma mma jegude-o, ịyọrọrọ mma mma!
Abịa shịkwa ije di ewerenụ ya!
Ịyọrọrọ mma mma, mma mma jegude-o, ịyọrọrọ mma mma!

Etu ya jata eme?
Ịyọrọrọ mma mma, mma mma jegude-o, ịyọrọrọ mma mma!
Egbe di ugo di nne!
Ịyọrọrọ mma mma, mma mma jegude-o, ịyọrọrọ mma mma!

Kite, the kinsman of Eagle, my husband!
Kite, the kinsman of Eagle, my husband!
Kite, please sweep down and carry me away!
I am in trouble because of my marriage!
I am lost because of my marriage!
Oh! What am I to do?
Kite, the ḳinsman of Eagle, my husband!

As Kite flew to the compound of the girl, it sang:[1]

Tịị rọrọrọrọ ... ọ!
Tịị rọrọrọrọ ... ọ!
Onye mu nwata ya vutere n'obodo ndu mmuo welie olu!

Tịị rọrọrọrọ ... ọ![2]
Tịị rọrọrọrọ ... ọ!
Who are the parents of the girl I carried from the land of spirits? Speak up!

Notes to Egbe di ugo di nne (Eziagụ A13)

1. Eziagụ A13b.

2. In imitation of the cry of Kite.

19. Mbe m la-akpụ ahwọ (Eziagu A30)

One morning, as Mbe's wife was shaving Mbe's beard, an alarm was raised signalling the approach of invaders. Mbe was unconcerned while his wife panicked. The song represents the dialogue that ensued:

Mbe m la-akpụ ahwọ!
Ana m anụ, zhịan zhịan zhịan zhịan zhịan,
ana m anụ![1]
Mbe m la-akpụ ahwọ!
Ana m anụ, zhịan zhịan zhịan zhịan zhịan,
ana m anụ!
Lekwe ọgụ n'ishi ụlọ!
Ana m anụ, zhịan zhịan zhịan zhịan zhịan,
ana m anụ!
Lekwe ọgụ n'azụ owere!
Ana m anụ, zhịan zhịan zhịan zhịan zhịan,
ana m anụ!
"Gụ kpụbhakeneri ya ri ahwọ!
Ana m anụ, zhịan zhịan zhịan zhịan zhịan,
ana m anụ!
"M, mgbe dike ja-eme ọgụ,
Ana m anụ, zhịan zhịan zhịan zhịan zhịan,
ana m anụ!
"A, mkpọmkpọ ite ana-afụ ezhi
Ana m anụ, zhịan zhịan zhịan zhịan zhịan,
ana m anụ!
Mma-ekwu ana-afụ owere!
Ana m anụ, zhịan zhịan zhịan zhịan zhịan,
ana m anụ!
"A, mgbe dike ja-eme ọgụ!
Ana m anụ, zhịan zhịan zhịan zhịan zhịan,
ana m anụ!

Mma-ekwu ana-aba owere.
Ana m anụ, zhịan zhịan zhịan zhịan zhịan,
ana m anụ!
Mbe m la-akpụ ahwọ!
Ana m anụ, zhịan zhịan zhịan zhịan zhịan,
ana m anụ!

"Mbe[2] whom I'm shaving!
Mbe whom I'm shaving!
Look! Enemies are approaching from the gate!
Look! Enemies are approaching from the backyard!"
"Please, continue shaving my beard,
Hm! When the warrior shall go into action,
Cooking pots will scatter all over the compound,
Kitchen knives will fly over the compound walls.
Hm. When the warrior shall go into action,
Kitchen knives will fly over the compound walls."
"Mbe, whom I'm shaving!"

Notes on Mbe m la-akpụ ahwọ (Eziagụ A30)

1. The refrain which is omitted in the English translation means "I'm listening, zhịan zhịan zhịan zhịan zhịan, I'm listening." "Zhịan zhịan zhịan zhịan zhịan" are ideophones imitating the sound of the razor blade as it shaves and complete the rhythm and the melody.

2. Mbe is the smallest species of the rodent family.

20. Nwaakalụkpọrọ (Eziagụ C13)

This cumulative song dramatizes the fact that every living thing is vulnerable in some way. Also in this Ifo (the sole example in this corpus in which humans, spirits, animals, and plants, the cross-section of the universe , interacts) Chukwu is not portrayed as a protagonist but his supreme authority in the cosmic hierarchy is demonstrated. Eziagụ A63, another version of the song, is more emphatic in its assertion:

"Ọnwụ kobhe uko, "If death boasts,
Chukwu akwụshị ọnwụ." God will stop death."

Gịnị ja-emere m Ụkwa nụnwa-o? O iyo nneele!
Gịnị ja-emere m Ụkwa nụnwa-o? O iyo nneele!
Ụkwa mere gịnị?
Ụkwa dagburu Nwaakalụkpọrọ
Ka ọ gara ngụtara m ọkụ. O iyo nneele!

Gịnị ja-emere m Obi nụnwa-o? O iyo nneele!
Gịnị ja-emere m Obi nụnwa-o? O iyo nneele!
Obi mere gịnị?
Obi mawara Ụkwa,
Ụkwa mere gịnị?
Ụkwa dagburu Nwaakalụkpọrọ
Ka ọ gara ngụtara m ọkụ. O iyo nneele!

Gịnị ja-emere m Mkpụ nụnwa-o? O iyo nneele!
Gịnị ja-emere m Mkpụ nụnwa-o? O iyo nneele!
Mkpụ mere gịnị?
Mkpụ tajịrị Obi-
Obi mere gịnị?
Obi mawara Ụkwa;
Ụkwa mere gịnị?
Ụkwa dagburu Nwaakalụkpọrọ
Ka ọ gara ngụtara m ọkụ. O iyo nneele!

Gini ja-emere m Ọkụkọ nụnwa-o? O iyo nneele!
Gini ja-emere m Ọkụkọ nụnwa-o? O iyo nneele!
Ọkụkọ mere gini?
Ọkụkọ tụgburu Mkpu;
Mkpu mere gini?
Mkpu tajiri Obi;
Obi mere gini?
Obi mawara Ụkwa;
Ụkwa mere gini?
Ụkwa dagburu Nwaakalụkpọrọ
Ka ọ gara ngụtara m ọkụ. O iyo nneele!

Gini ja-emere m Egbe nụnwa-o? O iyo nneele!
Gini ja-emere m Egbe nụnwa-o? O iyo nneele!
Egbe mere gini?
Egbe vuru Ọkụkọ-
Ọkụkọ mere gini?
Ọkụkọ tụgburu Mkpu;
Mkpu mere gini?
Mkpu tajiri Obi;
Obi mere gini?
Obi mawara Ụkwa;
Ụkwa mere gini?
Ụkwa dagburu Nwaakalụkpọrọ
Ka ọ gara ngụtara m ọkụ. O iyo nneele!

Gini ja-emere m Egbe nụnwa-o? O iyo nneele!
Gini ja-emere m Egbe nụnwa-o? O iyo nneele!
Egbe mere gini?
Egbe gbagburu Egbe;
Egbe mere gini?
Egbe vuru Ọkụkọ;
Ọkụkọ mere gini?
Ọkụkọ tụgburu Mkpu;
Mkpu mere gini?
Mkpu tajiri Obi;
Obi mere gini?
Obi mawara Ụkwa;

Ụkwa mere gịnị?
Ụkwa dagburu Nwwakalụkpọrọ
Ka ọ gara ngụtara m ọkụ. O iyo nneele!

Gịnị ja-emere m Ụzụ nụnwa-o? O iyo nneele!
Gịnị ja-emere m Ụzụ nụnwa-o?
Ụzụ mere gịnị?
Ụzụ tịjịrị Egbe;
Egbe mere gịnị?
Egbe gbagburu Egbe;
Egbe mere gịnị?
Egbe vuru Ọkụkọ;
Ọkụkọ mere gịnị?
Ọkụkọ tụgburu Mkpu;
Mkpu mere gịnị?
Mkpu tajịrị Obi;
Obi mere gịnị?
Obi mawara Ụkwa;
Ụkwa mere gịnị?
Ụkwa dagburu Nwaakalụkpọrọ
Ka ọ gara ngụtara m ọkụ. O iyo nneele!

Gịnị ja-emere m Ọnwụ nụnwa-o? O iyo nneele!
Gịnị ja-emere m Ọnwụ nụnwa-o? O iyo nneele!
Ọnwụ mere gịnị?
Ọnwụ gburu Ụzụ;
Ụzụ mere gịnị?
Ụzụ tịjịrị Egbe;
Egbe mere gịnị?
Egbe gbagburu Egbe;
Egbe mere gịnị?
Egbe vuru Ọkụkọ;
Ọkụkọ mere gịnị?
Ọkụkọ tụgburu Mkpu;
Mkpu mere gịnị?
Mkpu tajịrị Obi;
Obi mere gịnị?
Obi mawara Ụkwa;
Ụkwa mere gịnị?

Ụkwa dagburu Nwaakalụkpọrọ
Ka ọ gara ngụtara m ọkụ. O iyo nneele!

Gịnị ja-emere m Chukwu nụnwa-o? O iyo nneele!
Gịnị ja-emere m Chukwu nụnwa-o? O iyo nneele!
Chukwu mere gịnị?
Chukwu gburu Onwu;
Ọnwụ mere gịnị?
Ọnwụ gburu Ụzụ;
Ụzụ mere gịnị?
Ụzụ tijiri Egbe;
Egbe mere gịnị?
Egbe gbagburu Egbe;
Egbe mere gịnị?
Egbe vuru Ọkụkọ;
Ọkụkọ mere gịnị?
Ọkụkọ tụgburu Mkpu;
Mkpu mere gịnị?
Mkpu tajiri Obi;
Obi mere gịnị?
Obi mawara Ụkwa;
Ụkwa mere gịnị?
Ụkwa dagburu Nwaakalụkpọrọ
Ka ọ gara ngụtara m ọkụ. O iyo nneele!

Who will punish Breadfruit for me?
Who will punish Breadfruit for me?
What is Breadfruit's offence?
Breadfruit fell on Nwaakalụkpọrọ and killed him.
While he was on his way to fetch me fire.

Who will punish Obi[1] for me?
Who will punish Obi for me?
What is Obi's offence?
Obi stabbed Breadfruit to pieces.
What is Breadfruit's offence?
Breadfruit fell on Nwaakalụkpọrọ and killed him.

Who will punish Termite for me?
Who will punish Termite for me?
What is Termite's offence?
Termite ate Obi;
What is Obi's offence?
Obi stabbed Breadfruit to pieces;
What is Breadfruit's offence?
Breadfruit fell on Nwaakalụkpọrọ and killed him
While he was on his way to fetch me fire.

Who will punish Fowl for me?
Who will punish Fowl for me?
What is Fowl's offence?
Fowl ate Termite;
What is Termite's offence?
Termite ate Obi;
What is Obi's offence?
Obi stabbed Breadfruit to pieces;
What is Breadfruit's offence?
Breadfruit fell on Nwaakalụkpọrọ and killed him
While he was on his way to fetch me fire.

Who will punish Kite for me?
Who will punish Kite for me?
What is Kite's offence?
Kite carried away Fowl;
What is Fowl's offence?
Fowl ate Termite;
What is Termite's offence?
Termite ate Obi;
What is Obi's offence?
Obi stabbed Breadfruit to pieces;
What is Breadfruit's offence?
Breadfruit fell on Nwaakalụkpọrọ and killed him
While he was on his way to fetch me fire.

Who will punish Gun for me?
Who will punish Gun for me?

What is Gun's offence?
Gun shot down Kite;
What is Kite's offence?
Kite carried away Fowl;
What is Fowl's offence?
Fowl ate Termite;
What is Termite's offence?
Termite ate Obi;
What is Obi's offence?
Obi stabbed Breadfruit to pieces;
What is Breadfruit's offence?
Breadfruit fell on Nwaakalụkpọrọ and killed him
While he was on his way to fetch me fire.

Who will punish Blacksmith for me?
Who will punish Blacksmith for me?
What is Blacksmith's offence?
Blacksmith broke Gun to pieces;
What is Gun's offence?
Gun shot down Kite;
What is Kite's offence?
Kite carried away Fowl;
What is Fowl's offence?
Fowl ate Termite;
What is Termite's offence?
Termite ate Obi;
What is Obi's offence?
Obi stabbed Breadfruit to pieces;
What is Breadfruit's offence?
Breadfruit fell on Nwaakalụkpọrọ and killed him
While he was on his way to fetch me fire.

Who will p8nish Death for me?
Who will punish Death for me?
What is Death's offence?
Death killed Blacksmith;
What is Blacksmith's offence?

Blacksmith broke Gun to pieces;
What is Gun's offence?
Gun shot down Kite;
What is Kite's offence?
Kite carried away Fowl;
What is Fowl's offence?
Fowl ate Termite;
What is Termite's offence?
Termite ate Obi;
What is Obi's offence?
Obi stabbed Breadfruit to pieces;
What is Breadfruit's offence?
Breadfruit fell on Nwaakalụkpọrọ and killed him
While he was on his way to fetch fire.

Who will punish Chukwu for me?
Who will punish Chukwu for me?
What is Chukwu's offence?
Chukwu killed Death;
What is Death's offence?
Death killed Blacksmith;
What is Blacksmith's offence?
Blacksmith broke Gun to pieces;
What is Gun's offence?
Gun shot down Kite;
What is Kite's offence?
Kite carried away Fowl;
What is Fowl's offence?
Fowl ate Termite;
What is Termite's offence?
Termite ate Obi;
What is Obi's offence?
Obi stabbed Breadfruit to pieces;
What is Breadfruit's offence?
Breadfruit fell on Nwaakalụkpọrọ and killed him
While he was on his way to fetch me fire.

Note to Nwaakalụkpọrọ (Eziagụ C13)

1. Obi: a long, heavy, pointed stake used for making holes in the ground for fencing, staking yams, etc.

21. Onye la-eme la nwa ọkụ m? (Eziagụ A63)

Another version of "Nwaakalụkpọrọ".

Onye la-eme la nwa ọkụ m? Kpịnnọm![1]
Onye la-eme la nwa ọkụ m? "
Oke la-eme la nwa ọkụ m? "
Oke, i kobhe uko ọkụ erejịe ghụ, "
Ọkụ, i kobhe uko a hụnyụọ ghụ la ji, "
O, ji, i kobhe uko eghụ atana ghụ; "
Eghụ, i kobhe uko a hwụ ishi ghụ l'obu "
Obu, i kobhe uko a nyụchie ghụ la nshị "
Nshị, i kobhe uko ọkụkọ aturịa ghụ; "
Ọkụkọ, i kobhe uko egbe e vuru ghụ; "
Egbe, i kobhe uko egbe agbagbue ghụ; "
Egbe, i kobhe uko ụzụ etijie ghụ; "
Ụzụ, i kobhe uko ọnwụ egbune ghụ; "
Ọnwụ, i kobhe uko Chukwu akwụshị ọnwụ. "
Onye la-eme la nwa ọkụ m? "

Who is tampering with my ọkụ?[2]
Who is tampering with my ọkụ?
Rat is tampering with my ọkụ.
Rat, if you boast, Fire will burn you to pieces;
Fire, if you boast we extinguish you by roasting yams;
Yam, if you boast, Goat will eat you up;
Goat, if you boast, your skull will be hung in the obu;[3]
Obu, if you boast, you will be turned into a sewage ground;
Excreta, if you boast, Fowl will eat you all up;
Fowl, if you boast, Kite will carry you away;
Kite, if you boast, Gun will shoot you down;
Gun, if you boast, Blacksmith will break you to pieces;
Blacksmith, if you boast, Death will kill you;

Death, if you boast, God will stop you.
Who is tampering with my ọkụ?

Notes to Onye la-eme la nwa ọkụ m? (Eziagụ A63)

1. Kpịnṅọm expresses the sound set off by someone interfering with the ọkụ.

2. Ọkụ is any earthenware bowl. Very large ones are used for storing things in the pantry; medium and small ones are used in serving meals.

3. Obu is a large 'all-purpose' one room but usually at the centre of a family compound. It serves as a waiting room for strangers and visitors, and particularly for customers of wine-tappers, patients of medicine men and clients of diviners. At nights, especially during the harmattan period and the rainy season, the Ifo session is held in the obu around the fireside. The obu is the customary place for hunters to display the heads of all the animals and birds they killed, as a mark of achievement. Generally it is also customary for non-hunters to display the heads of all the animals killed during different festivals in the obu, possibly as a symbol of good living and wealth.

22. Egbeoke na ọkpụụgo nne na-emere (Eziagụ A10a-c)

Ọkpụụgo, an ebullient youth, went to battle against his parents' advice. The battle raged from morning until afternoon, but in the evening Ọkpụụgo did not come back home. Worried about what might have happened, Ọkpụụgo's mother inquired from Kite, who was returning from the battle front, about her son. The first part of the song contains this inquiry. In the second part, the reply given by Kite implies that Ọkpụụgo has been killed in action. In the third section, the hen consoles Ọkpụụgo's mother. It uses the Igbo rhetoric device of comparison and inference. The hen, while not underassessing the degree of emotional disturbance Ọkpụụgo's mother is subjected to by the tragic death of her son, nevertheless, by recounting disturbing occasions which fowls generally experience, and by narrating the loss which it (the hen) suffered in one day, leaves Ọkpụụgo's mother to compare and contrast the two experiences and, by inference, to realise that she should not mourn too much because there are others who have suffered greater misfortunes.

Part 1. The Inquiry

Egbeoke, i hwụrụ ya Ọkpụụgo nne na-emere?
Kpambele mbele, kpambele mbele, kpambele mbele!
Ọkpụụgo nne na-emere?
Kpambele mbele, kpambele mbele, kpambele mbele!
Ọkpụụgo nne na-emere?
Kpambele mbele, kpambele mbele, kpambele mbele!

Ọkpụụgo agana ọgụ, Ọkpụụgo gabha
    Kpambele mbele, kpambele mbele, kpambele mbele!
Ọkpụụgo agana ọgụ, Ọkpụụgo naghaa
    Kpambele mbele, kpambele mbele, kpambele mbele!
O nwata gabha ọgụ, nne ya ebebhe
    Kpambele mbele, kpambele mbele, kpambele mbele!
O nwata gabha ọgụ, nna ye ebebhe
    Kpambele mbele, kpambele mbele, kpambele mbele!
Ọkpụụgo nne na-emere
    Kpambele mbele, kpambele mbele, kpambele mbele!

Part 2. Response by Kite

Ọgụ wara n'ụtụtụ
        Mgbe erumaa, ịị mgberuma
Ọgụ wara n'ụtụtụ
        Mgbe erumaa, ịị mgberuma
Ja-anụ nke nvụ
        Mgbe erumaa, ịị mgberuma
Ya gbue, buru ishi
        Mgbe erumaa, ịị mgberuma
Ja-anụ nke ịbọ
        Mgbe erumaa, ịị mgbe eruma
Ya gbuo, buru ishi
        Mgbe erumaa, ịị mgbe eruma
Ya rue na nke ịtọ
        Mgbe erumaa, ịị mgbe eruma
E gbue ya buru ishi, ya amahụkwa ya
        Mgbe erumaa, ịị mgbe eruma
E gbuhu ya buru ishi, ya amahụkwa ya
        Mgbe erumaa, ịị mgbe eruma.

Part 3. Hen consoles Ugo, Ọkpụụgo's mother

Ugo nwunye di ya	Kwa ntụtụ bụ n'eze
Ugo nwunye di ya	"
Ugo nwunye di ya	"
Ugo nwunye di ya	"
Kwọchaa aka rie nhe	"
Ụwa ka ọkụkọ njọ	"
Kwọchaa aka rie nhe	"
Ụwa ka ọkụkọ njọ	"
Ishi na-awa	"
E ji nwa ọkụkọ eje	"
Ahwọ na-egbu	"
E ji nwa ọkụkọ agba ya	"
Ahụ ngwa na-acha	"
E ji nwa ọkụkọ agba ya	"
Ndị ọbịa na-abịa	"
E ji nwa ọkụkọ agba ya	"
Kwọchaa aka rie nhe	"
Ụwa ka ọkụkọ njọ	"
Nkenụ ya bịa je	"
Nne na ụmụ di ise	"
Egbe fụta vuru nnaa	"
Nkwọ fụta vuru nnaa	"
Udene afụta loo ịbụọ	"
Nnaa ya na-abịa	"
Kwọchaa aka rie nhe	"
Ụwa ka ọkụkọ njọ	"

Part 1. The Inquiry

Hello Kite! Did you see Okpuugo, the mother's
darling?
Ọkpụụgo, the mother's darling?
Ọkpụụgo, the mother's darling?
Ọkpụụgo, don't go to battle, but Okpuugo went;
Ọkpụụgo, don't go to battle, but Okpuugo insisted
on going.
If a youth goes to battle, the mother cries;
If a youth goes to battle, the father cries.
Okpuugo, the mother's darling.

Part 2. Response by Kite

When the enemies invaded in the morning
When the enemies invaded in the morning
In his first attack,
He, Ọkpụụgo, killed (an enemy) and cut off his head;
In his second attack,
He killed (an enemy) and cut off his head;
When he attacked the third time,
If he, Ọkpụụgo, was killed and his head cut off,
I don't know;
If he wasn't killed and his head cut off,
I don't know.

Part 3. Hen consoles Ugo, Ọkpụụgo's mother

Eagle, my co-wife!
Eagle, my co-wife!
Eagle, my co-wife!
Eagle, my co-wife!
Wash your hands and eat food,
The world is worse for the fowl;

Wash your hands and eat food,
The world is worse for the fowl;
Whether it is a headache,
The fowl is used (in preparing medicine);
Whether it is stomach trouble,
The fowl is used in divining the cause;
Be it fever,
The fowl is used in divining the cause;
When visitors come,
The fowl is killed to entertain them;
Wash your hands and eat food,
The world is worse for the fowl.

Just as I was coming,
The mother and the chickens numbered five;
Kite sooped and carried off one (chicken),
Hawk swooped and carried off one (chicken),
Vulture pounced and swallowed two (Chickens),
I was coming alone.
Wash your hands and eat food,
The world is worse for the fowl.

23. Udele bu l'ama Orie (Eziagụ C41a-b)

A girl went to a notorious stream to mash breadfruit (in order to extract the seeds). The spirit that inhabited the stream, and also occasionally came out in the form of a vulture and roamed the Orie market square, swallowed the girl. In the first song the sister asks the vulture about the girl. In the second, the vulture admits that the girl has been swallowed.

(a) Udele bu l'ama Orie,[1]
Udele bu l'ama Orie!
L'ama Orie-o, la ama Orie!
Udele bu l'ama Orie,
Udele bu l'ama Orie!
L'ama Orie-o, la ama Orie!
Nwa nne bịara amụma ụkwa
Goshi ya ebe ọ nọ!
L'ama Orie-o, la ama Orie!

Vulture that lives in Orie market square!
Vulture that lives in Orie market square!
My sister who came to mash breadfruit,
Show me where she is!

(b) Ya loro, ya loro
Chakpụrụ godongo[2]
Ya loro,
Chakpụrụ godongo!
Mgbe nta,
Chakpụrụ godongo!
Mgbe ivu,
Chakpụrụ godongo!
Ya loro!
Chakpụrụ godongo!

I swallowed, I swallowed!
I swallowed!
Whether she was small,
Whether she was big,
I swallowed.

Notes to Udele bu l'ama Orie (Eziagụ C41a-b)

1. Orie is the first of the four days that make the Igbo week, and market days as well as male children born on Orie day can be so named.

2. Chakpụrụ godongo, the refrain of the song, comprises ideophones describing the sound the vulture's throat made as the girl was being swallowed.

24. Nne egbuo m ịgọlọ (Eziagụ B16)

This is a typical example of a Chante fable, and consists of a song of triumph. Three boys from a polygamous family went a-hunting. Two, whose mothers were the favourites of their father, were well equipped with guns, spears, bows and arrows; but the third boy, whose mother was hated, went with his mother's mkpịshị ite (skewer). As luck would have it, he was the only one who came back with a kill - ịgọlọ, a big bird. Overwhelmed with joy, he burst into song:

Nne ya ele egbuo m ịgọlọ
Mgba mgba m ịgọlọ, ịgọlọ ịgọlọ, mgba mgba
m ịgọlọ![1]

Nne ya ele egbuo m ịgọlọ
Mgba mgba m ịgọlọ, ịgọlọ ịgọlọ, mgba mgba
m ịgọlọ!

Ndị e nyere mma egbuhu ịgọlọ
Mgba mgba m ịgọlọ, ịgọlọ ịgọlọ, mgba mgba
m ịgọlọ!

Ndị e nyere egbe egbuhu igolo
Mgba mgba m ịgọlọ, ịgọlọ ịgọlọ, mgba mgba
m ịgọlọ!

Ndị e nyere otu-ube egbuhu igolo
Mgba mgba m ịgọlọ, ịgọlọ ịgọlọ, mgba mgba
m ịgọlọ!

Mkpịshị ite nwaanyị e gbue ịgọlọ
Mgba mgba m ịgọlọ, ịgọlọ ịgọlọ, mgba mgba
m ịgọlọ!

My mother I have killed ịgọlọ!
My mother I have killed ịgọlọ!
Those equipped with hunting knives did not kill ịgọlọ,
Those equipped with guns did not kill ịgọlọ,
Those equipped with spears did not kill ịgọlọ,
A skewer, a woman's weapon, has killed ịgọlọ.

Note to Nne egbuo m ịgọlọ (Eziagụ B16)

1. The refrain is literally, "Shoot shoot ịgọlọ, ịgọlọ, ịgọlọ; kill I kill ịgọlọ".

25. Nwa Anụnụ, Nwa Anụnụ (Eziagụ D23)

A small bird called Nwa Anụnụ asked a boy for drinking water. It refused the water which the boy served first in his mother's, then in his father's, and finally in his brother's drinking cup, each of which were made from gourd; but it accepted water served in a cup made from the horn of a bull. After drinking, Nwa Anụnụ ran away with the cup and the boy resolved to recover the cup:

Nwa Anụnụ, Nwa Anụnụ	Nzegene
Nwa Anụnụ, Nwa Anụnụ	"
Batara kanụ nwa-o	"
Shị mụ nye ya miri	"
M were mpi nne ya-o	"
Nye Nwa Anụnụ miri	"
Anụnụ jụ	"
Were mpi nna ya-o	"
Nye Nwa Anụnụ miri	"
Anụnụ jụ-o	"
Were mpi nwa nne ya	"
Nye Nwa Anụnụ miri	"
Anụnụ jụ	"
Were mpi oke ehi-o	"
Oke ehi ị kpụsara dobhe	"
Nye Nwa Anụnụ miri	"
Anụnụ nara	"
Ṅụọ, ṅụọ, ṅụọ, ṅụọ	"
Ṅụọ, ṅụọ, ṅụọ, ṅụọ	"
Suo mpi kororo	"
Were mpi gbabhanụ-o	"
Ọ gbaa n'enu	"

Ya soje Nwa Anụnụ	Nzegene
O gbaa n'ana	"
Ya soje Nwa Anụnụ	"
Ozi igwe	"
Ndị na-agba nke dị mma	"
Ozi ọra	"
Ndị na-agba nke dị mma	"
Ho-i-ho!	"
Ho-a, hoa-a-i-ho!	"

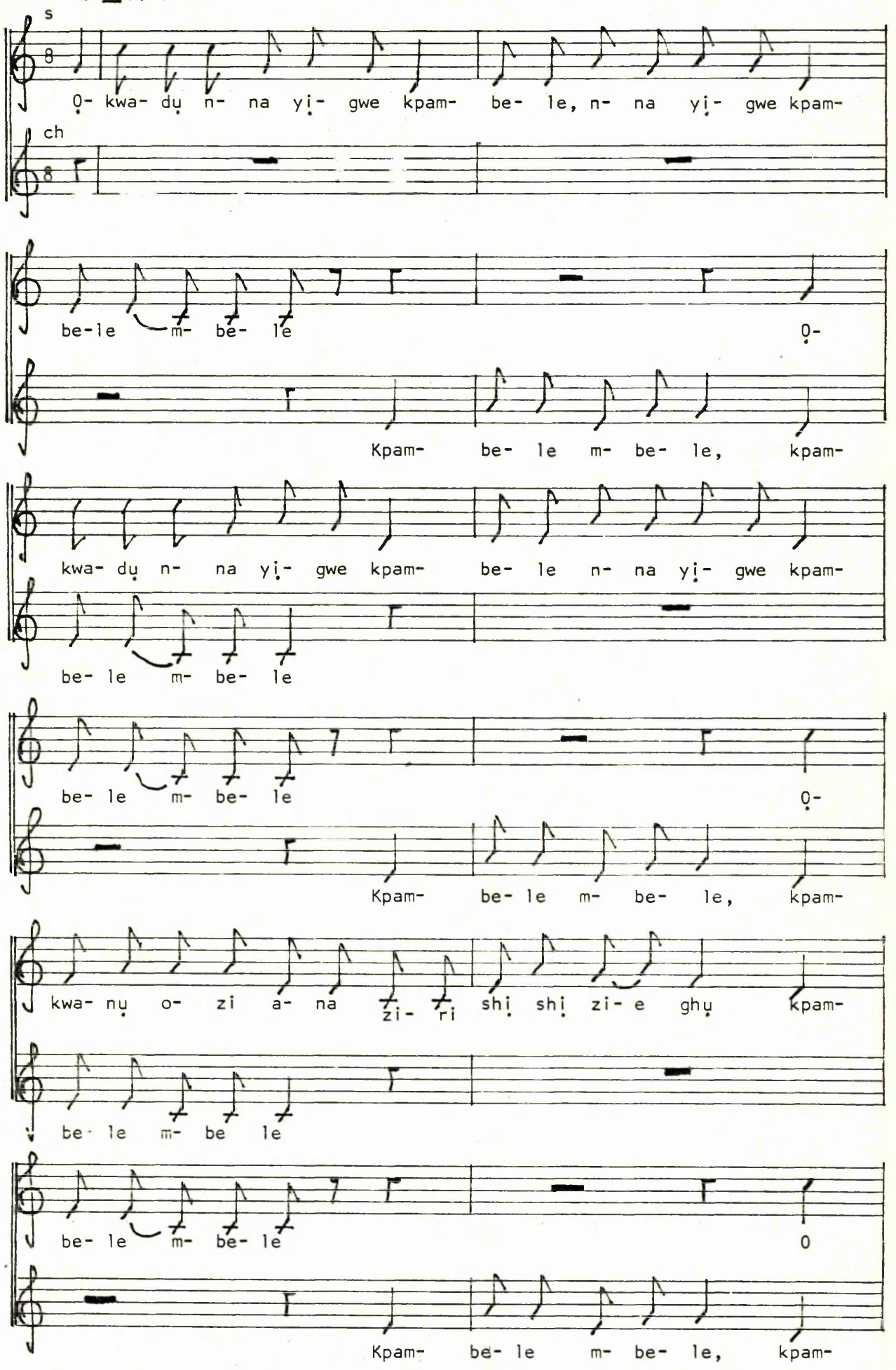
Nwa Anụnụ, Nwa Anụnụ,
Nwa Anụnụ, Nwa Anụnụ,
Came right inside here
And asked me for a drink of water;
I took my mother's drinking cup,
Gave Nwa Anụnụ water,
Anụnụ refused;
Took my father's cup,
Gave Anụnụ water,
Anụnụ refused;
Took my brother's cup,
Gave Anụnụ water,
Anụnụ still refused;
Took the cup made from the horn of the bull,
That bull you brought some time ago,
Gave Anụnụ water,
Anụnụ accepted;
Drank, drank, drank, drank,
Drank, drank, darnk, drank,
Beat the cup on the ground 'kororo',
Took the cup and ran away;
If it runs in the air
I must run after Nwa Anụnụ,
If it runs on the ground
I must run after Nwa Anụnụ,
Messengers of the people,
Those who are good runners;
Messengers of the public,
Those who are good runners;
Ho-i-ho!
Ho-a, ho-a-iho!

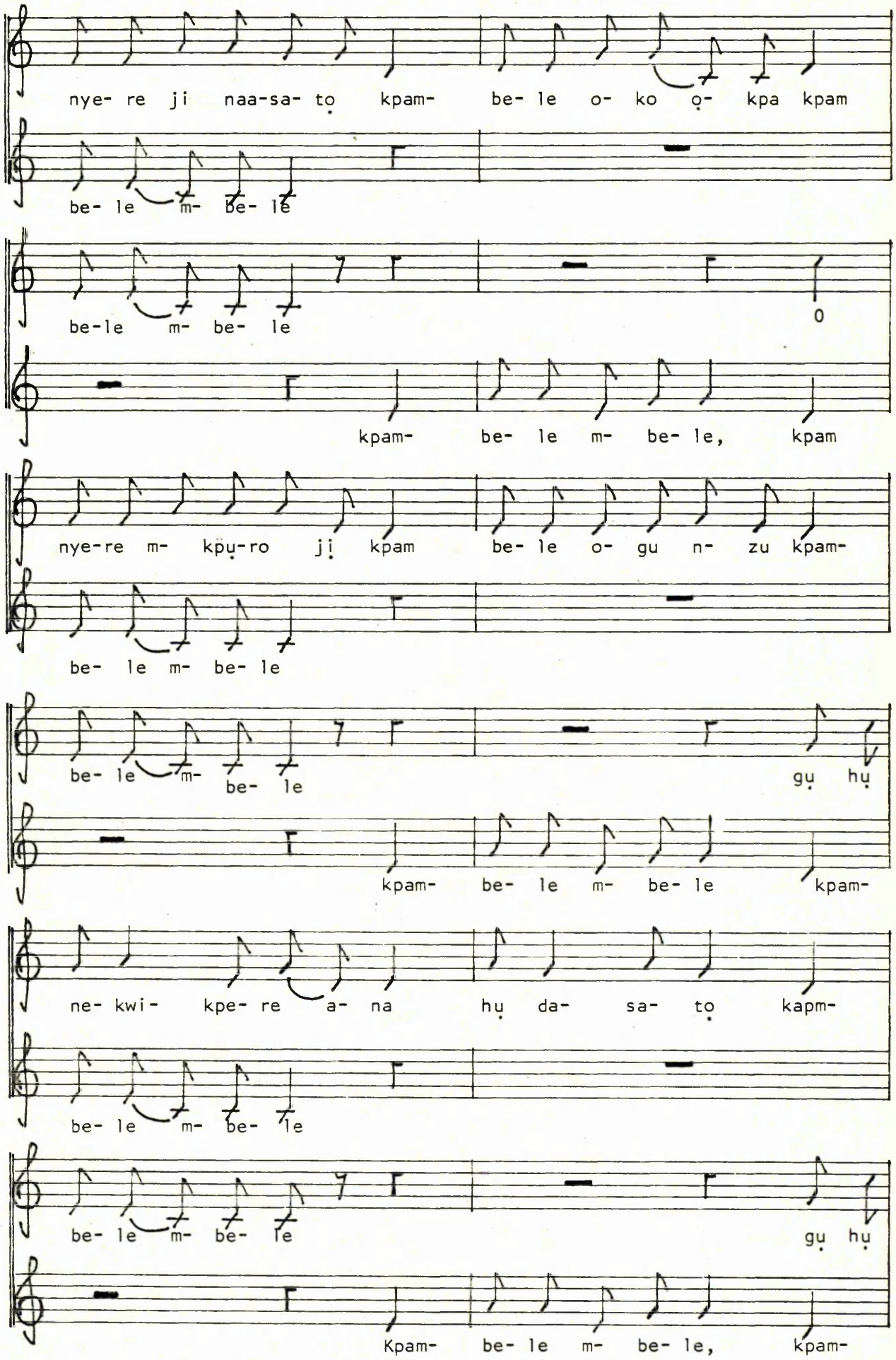
APPENDIX

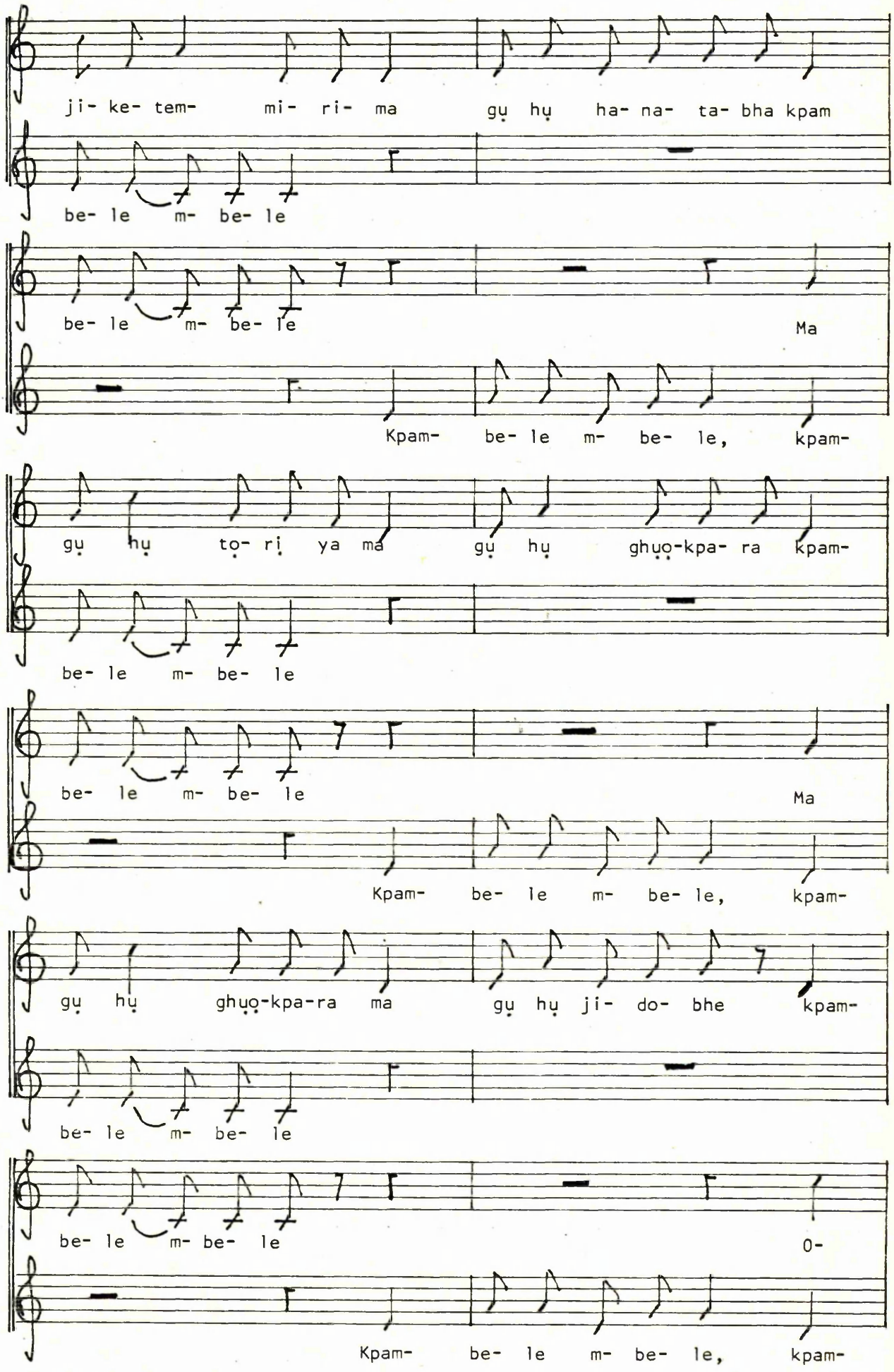
SONG TRANSCRIPTIONS

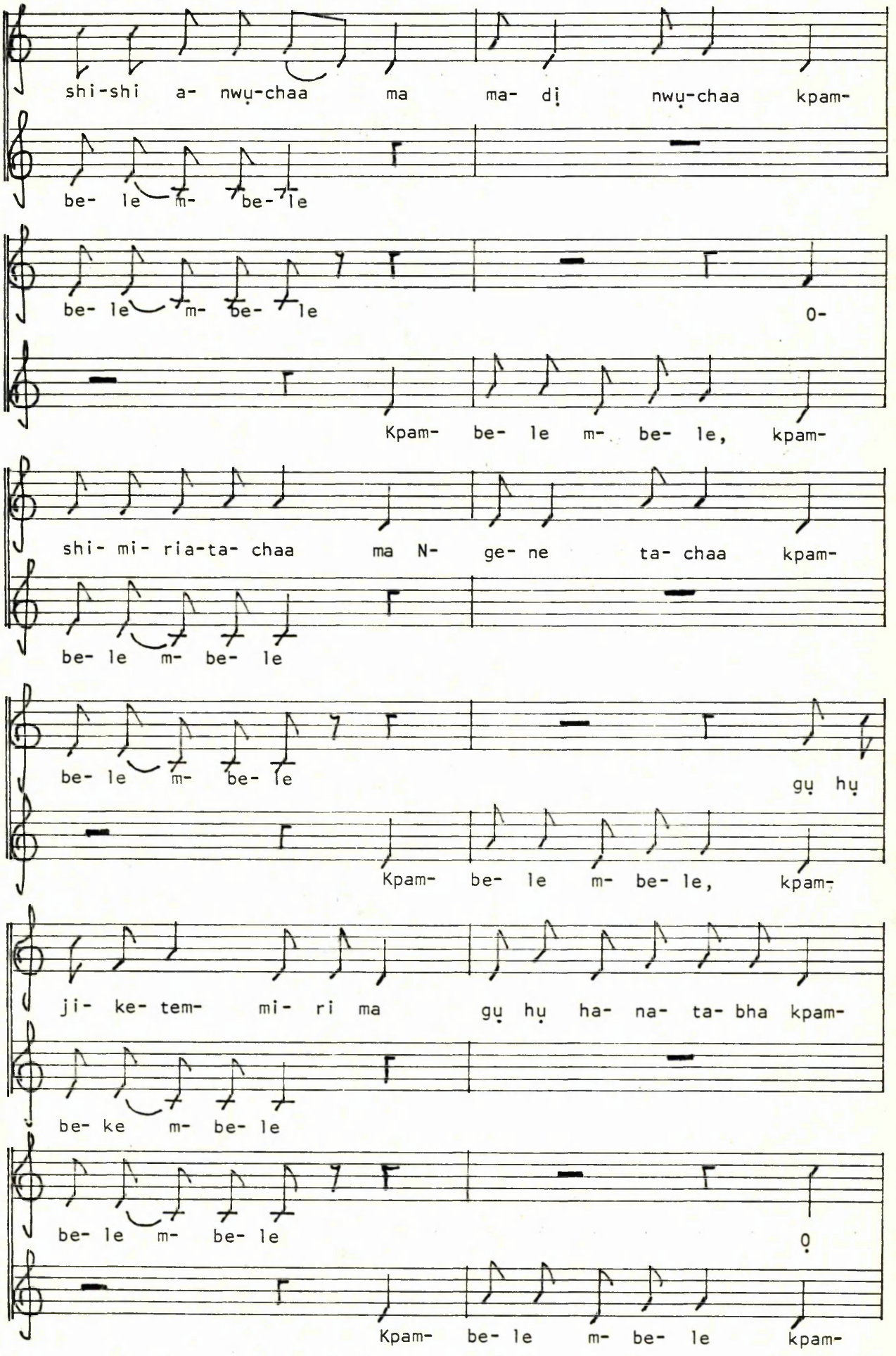
1. Nna ya lgwe (Eziagụ A34) Akụezue Onyeje

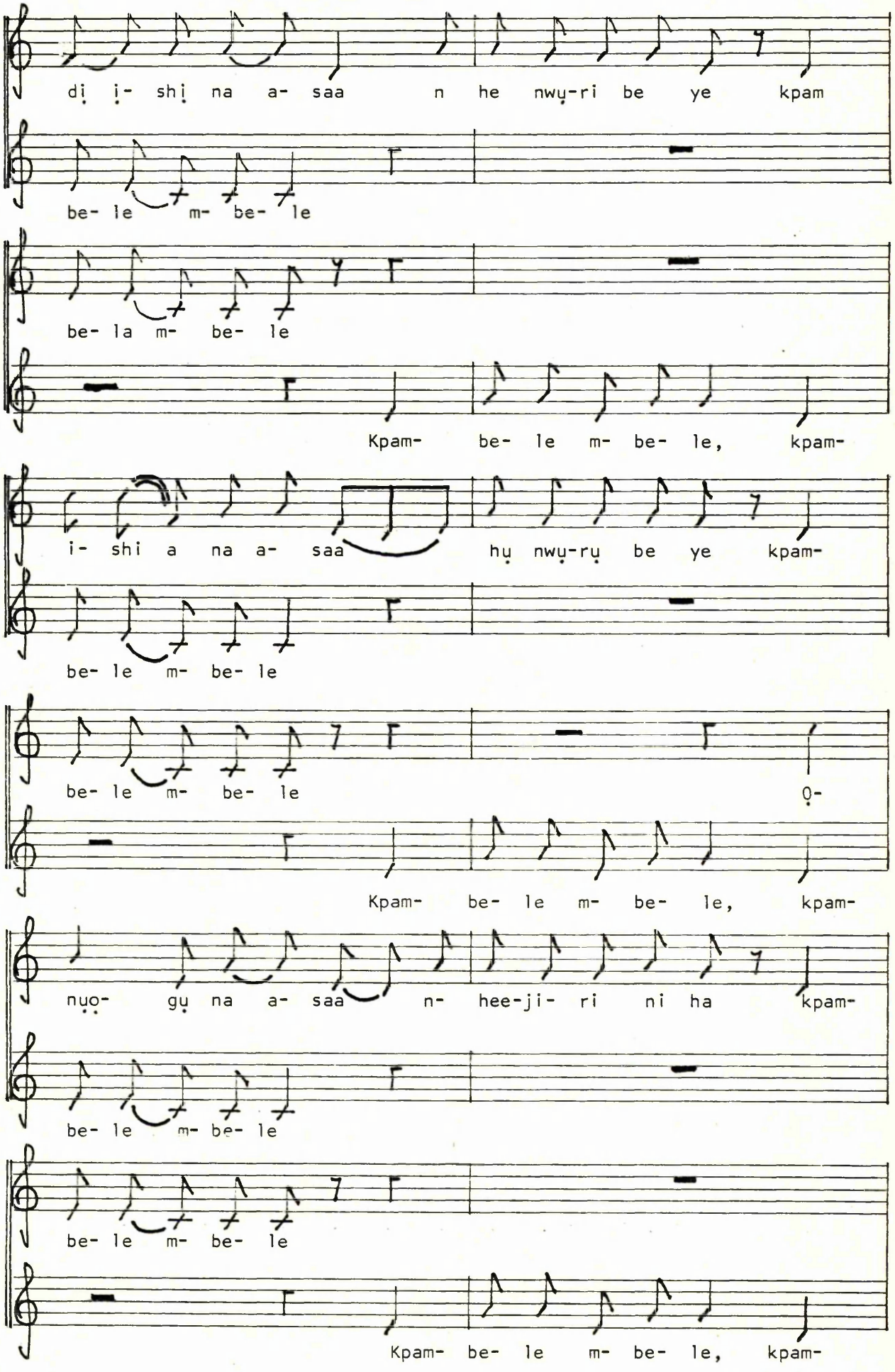
(♪ = 376)

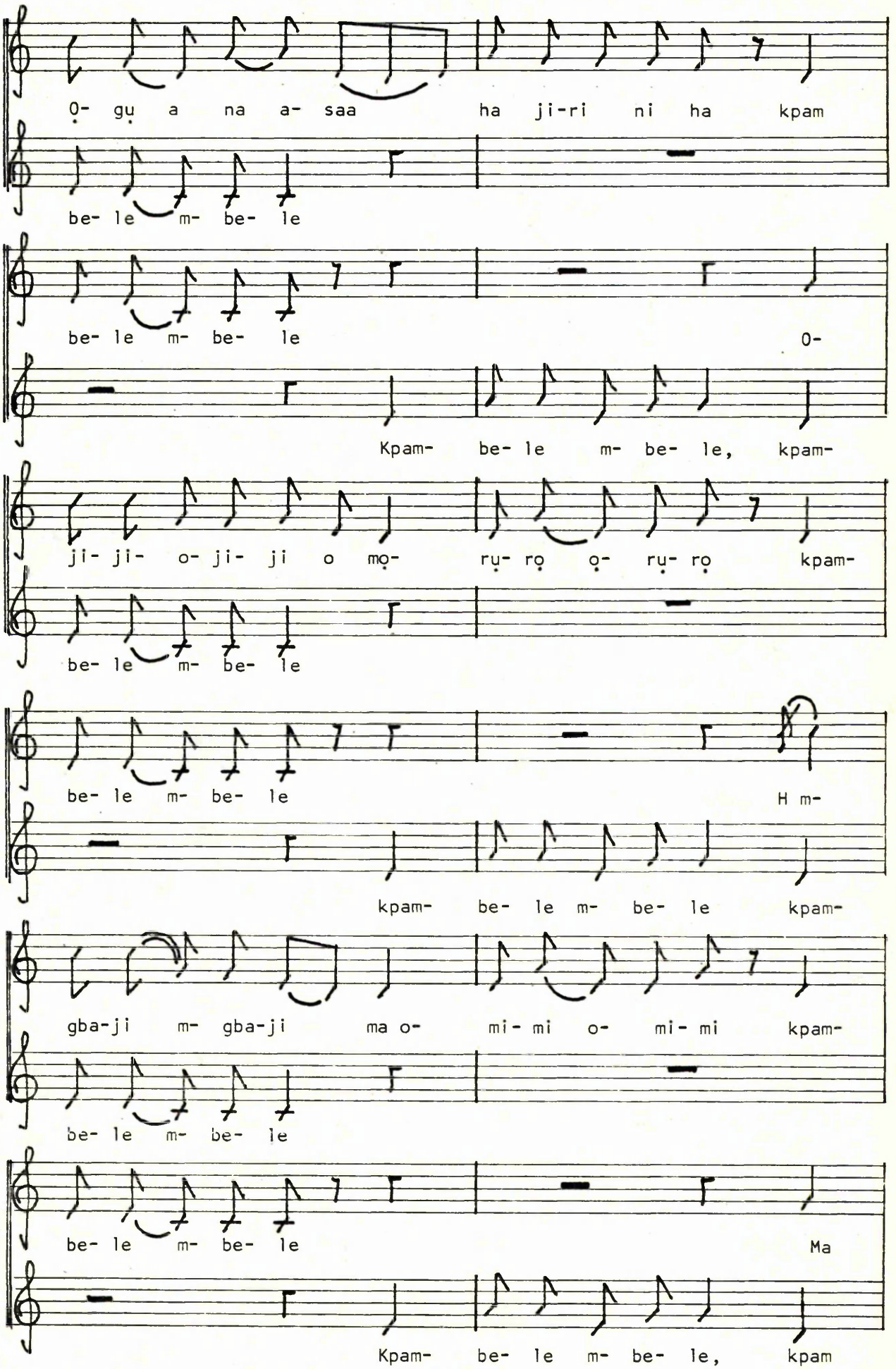


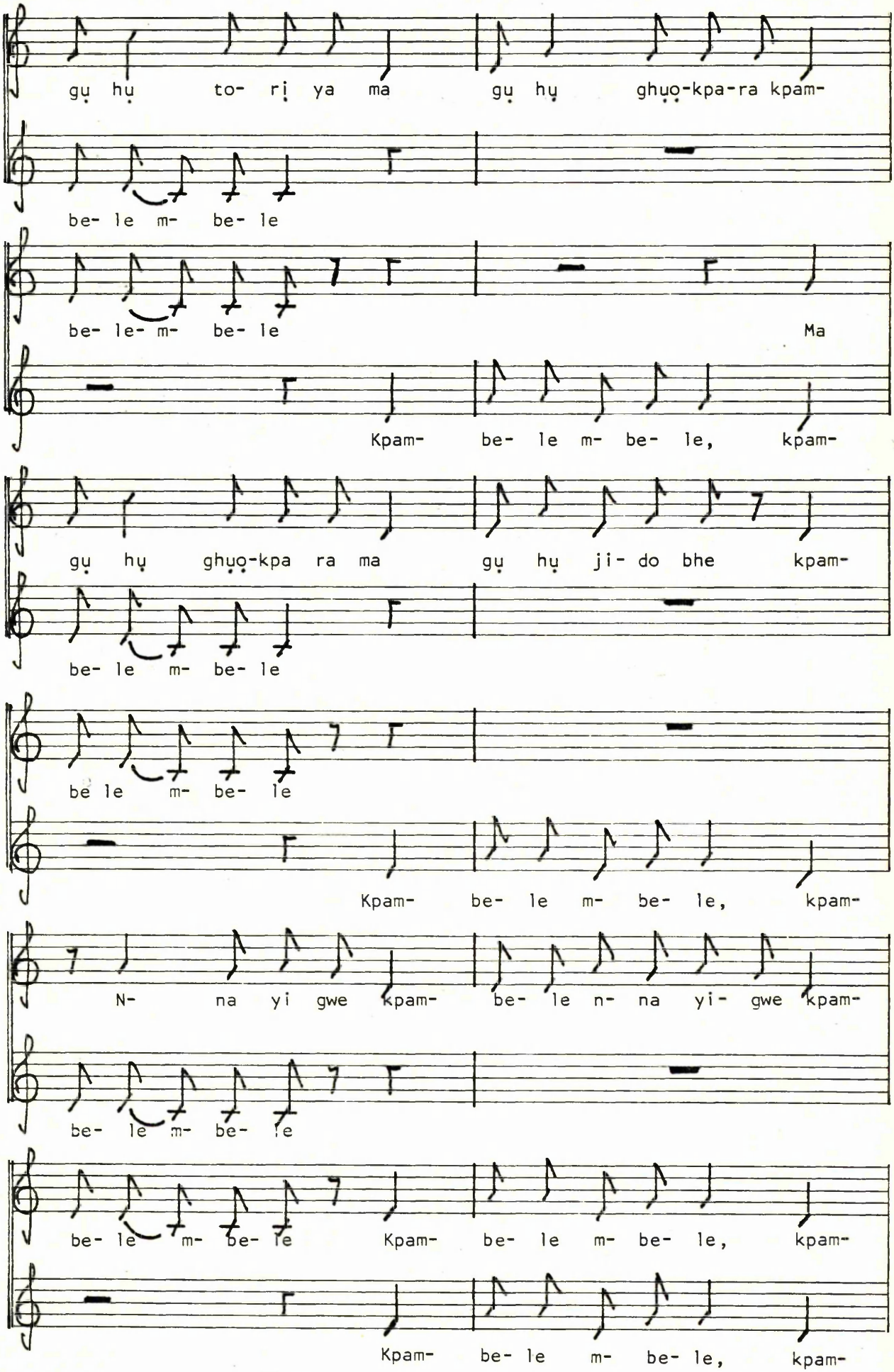

nye- re ji naa-sa- to kpam- be- le o- ko o- kpa kpam
be- le m- be- le
be-le m- be- le
0
kpam- be- le m- be- le, kpam
nye-re m- kpu-ro ji kpam be- le o- gu n- zu kpam-
be- le m- be- le
be- le m- be- le
gu hu
kpam- be- le m- be- le kpam-
ne- kwi- kpe- re a- na hu da- sa- to kapm-
be- le m- be- le
be- le m- be- le
gu hu
Kpam- be- le m- be- le, kpam-

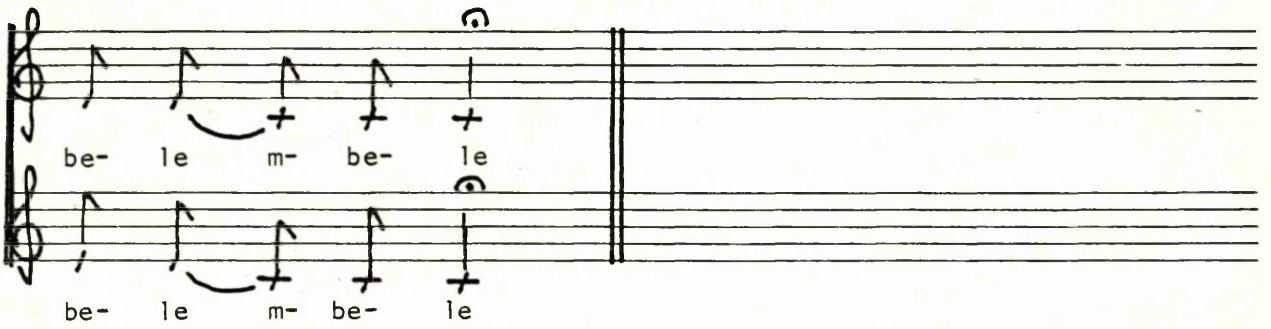

ji- ke- tem- mi- ri- ma gụ hụ ha- na- ta- bha kpam
be- le m- be- le
be- le m- be- le
Ma
Kpam- be- le m- be- le, kpam-
gụ hụ tọ- rị ya ma gụ hụ ghụọ-kpa- ra kpam-
be- le m- be- le
be- le m- be- le
Ma
Kpam- be- le m- be- le, kpam-
gụ hụ ghụọ-kpa-ra ma gụ hụ ji- do- bhe kpam-
be- le m- be- le
be- le m- be- le
O-
Kpam- be- le m- be- le, kpam-


shi-shi a- nwụ-chaa ma ma- dị nwụ-chaa kpam-
be- le m- be- le
be- le m- be- le
0-
Kpam- be- le m- be- le, kpam-
shi- mi- ria-ta- chaa ma N- ge- ne ta- chaa kpam-
be- le m- be- le
be- le m- be- le
gụ hụ
Kpam- be- le m- be- le, kpam-
ji- ke- tem- mi- ri ma gụ hụ ha- na- ta- bha kpam-
be- ke m- be- le
be- le m- be- le
0
Kpam- be- le m- be- le kpam-

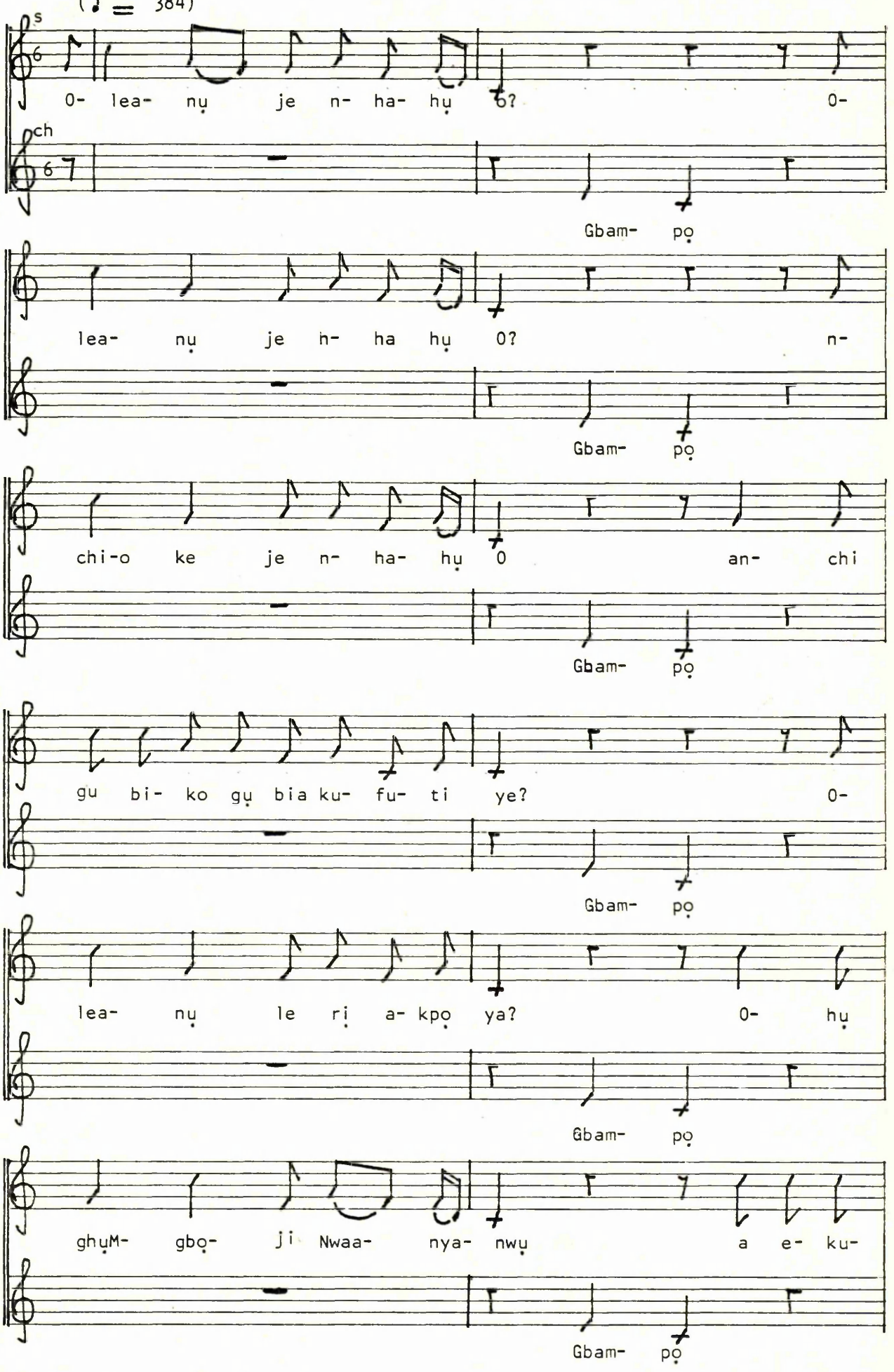

dị ị- shị na a- saa n he nwụ-ri be ye kpam
be- le m- be- le
be- la m- be- le
Kpam- be- le m- be- le, kpam-
i- shi a na a- saa hụ nwụ-rụ be ye kpam-
be- le m- be- le
be- le m- be- le
Ọ-
Kpam- be- le m- be- le, kpam-
nụọ- gụ na a- saa n- hee-ji- ri ni ha kpam-
be- le m- be- le
be- le m- be- le
Kpam- be- le m- be- le, kpam-

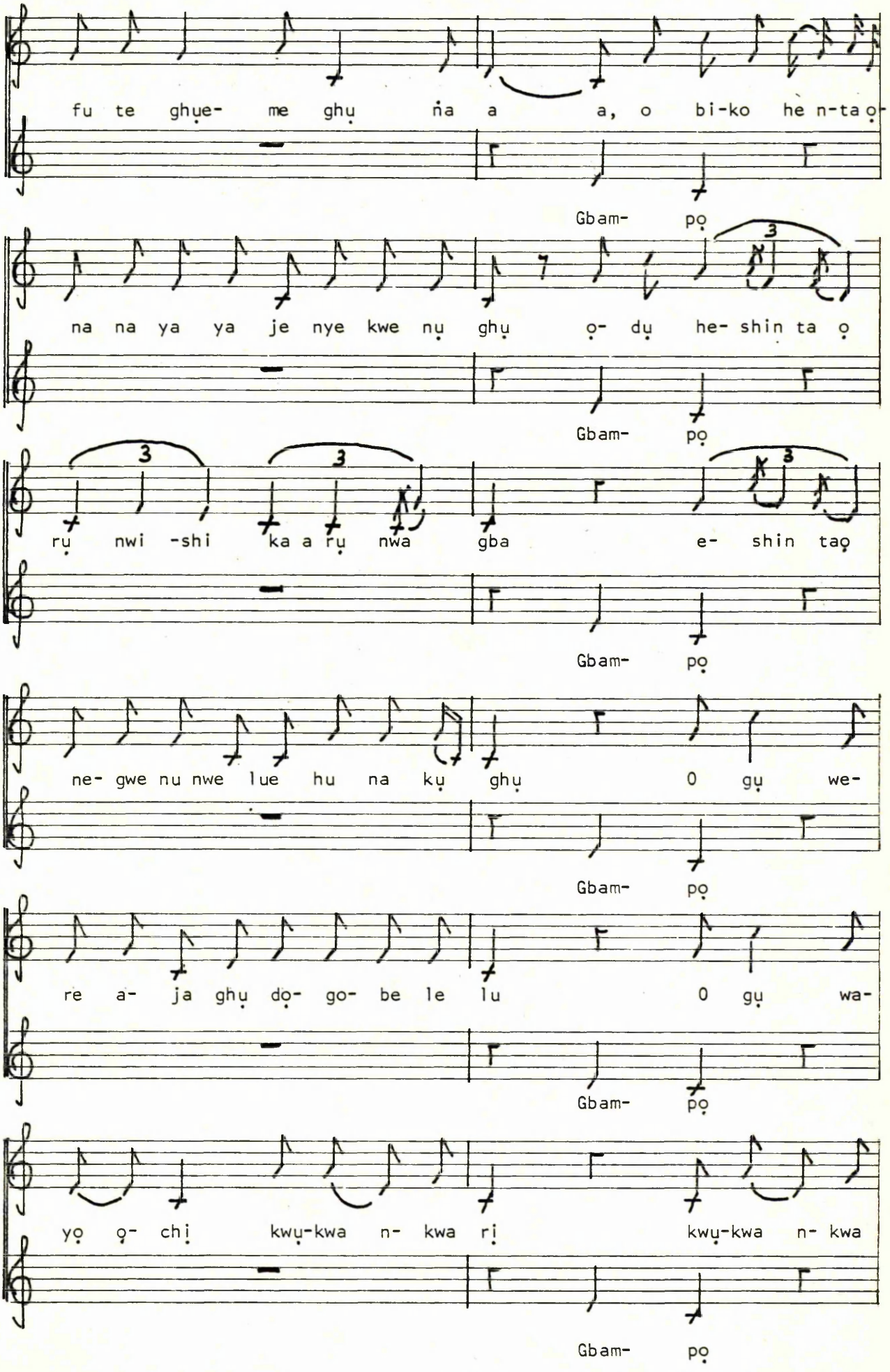

O- gụ a na a- saa ha ji-ri ni ha kpam
be- le m- be- le
be- le m- be- le O-
Kpam- be- le m- be- le, kpam-
ji- ji- o- ji- ji o mọ- rụ- rọ ọ- rụ- rọ kpam-
be- le m- be- le
be- le m- be- le H m-
kpam- be- le m- be- le kpam-
gba-ji m- gba-ji ma o- mi- mi o- mi- mi kpam-
be- le m- be- le
be- le m- be- le Ma
Kpam- be- le m- be- le, kpam

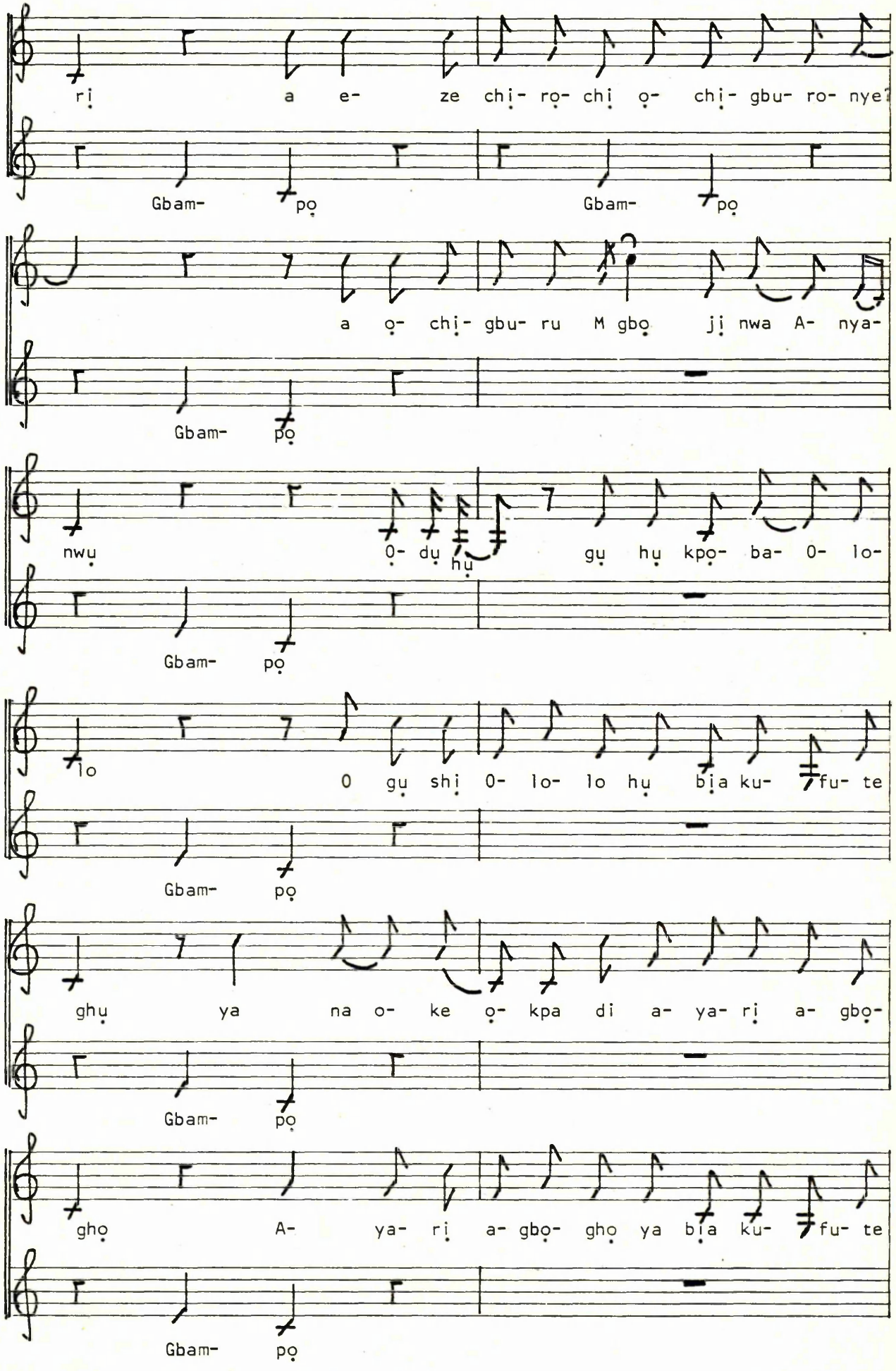

gụ hụ to- rị ya ma gụ hụ ghụọ-kpa-ra kpam-
be- le m- be- le
be- le- m- be- le Ma
Kpam- be- le m- be- le, kpam-
gụ hụ ghụọ-kpa ra ma gụ hụ ji- do bhe kpam-
be- le m- be- le
be le m- be- le
Kpam- be- le m- be- le, kpam-
N- na yi gwe kpam- be- le n- na yi- gwe kpam-
be- le m- be- le
be- le m- be- le Kpam- be- le m- be- le, kpam-
Kpam- be- le m- be- le, kpam-

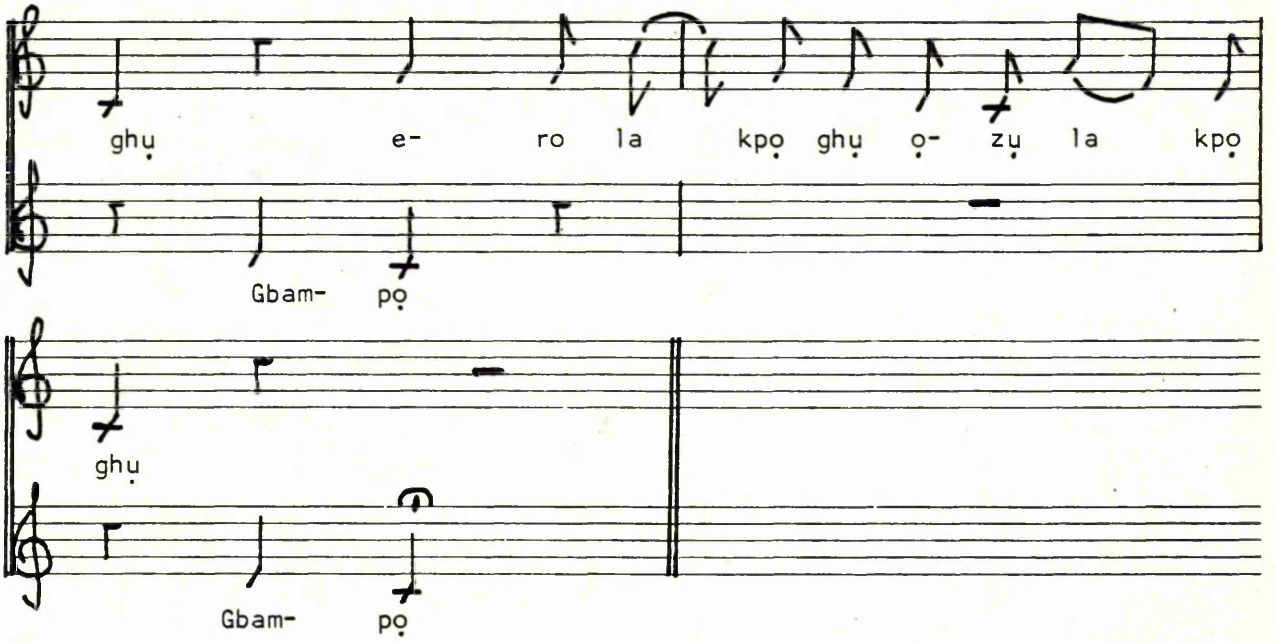

be- le m- be- le
be- le m- be- le

(♪ = 384)

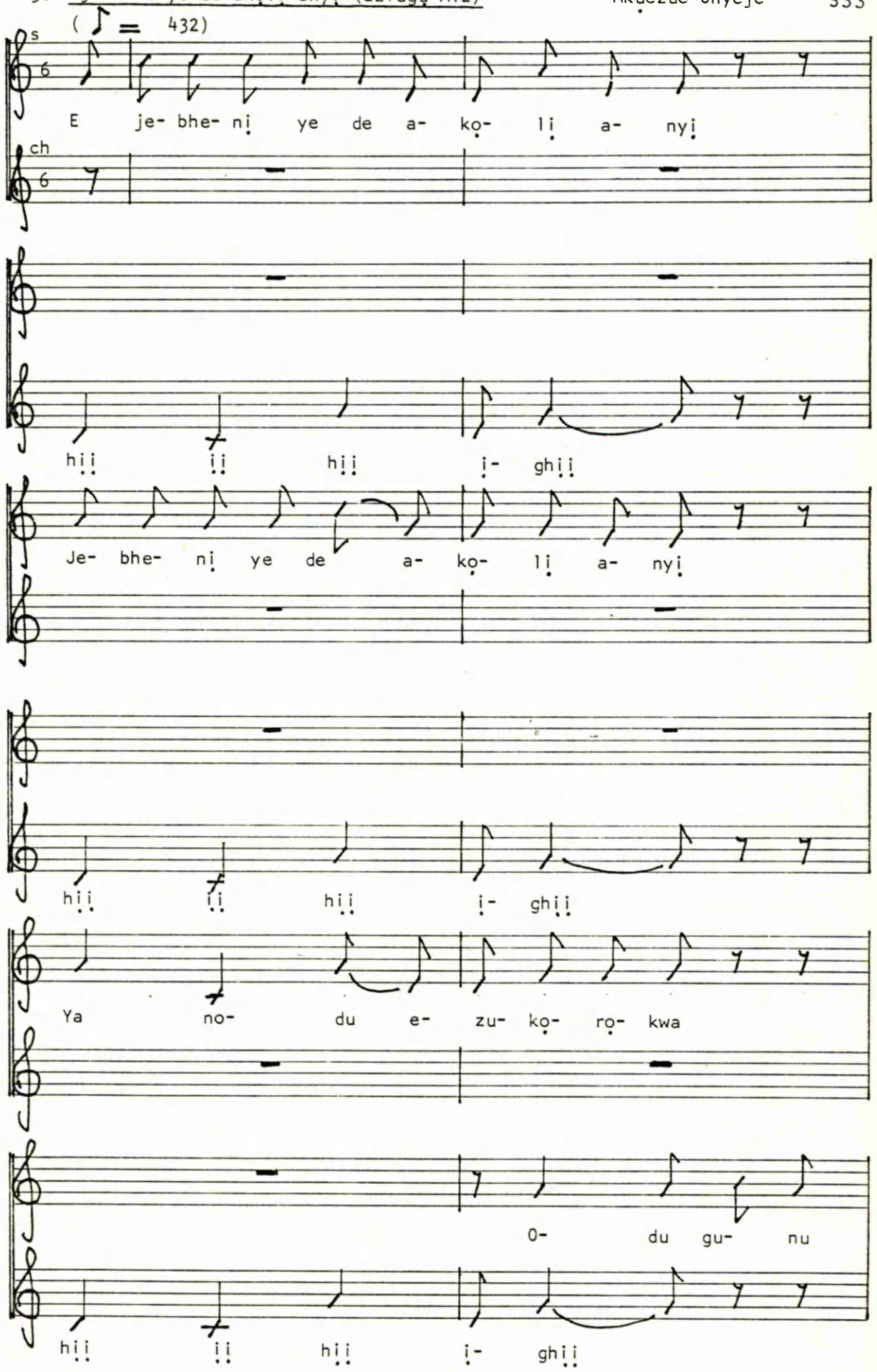

s
O- lea- nụ je n- ha- hụ o?
O-
ch
Gbam- pọ
lea- nụ je h- ha hụ O?
n-
Gbam- pọ
chi-o ke je n- ha- hụ O
an- chi
Gbam- pọ
gu bi- ko gụ bia ku- fu- ti ye?
O-
Gbam- pọ
lea- nụ le rị a- kpọ ya?
O- hụ
Gbam- pọ
ghụM- gbọ- ji Nwaa- nya- nwụ
a e- ku-
Gbam- pọ

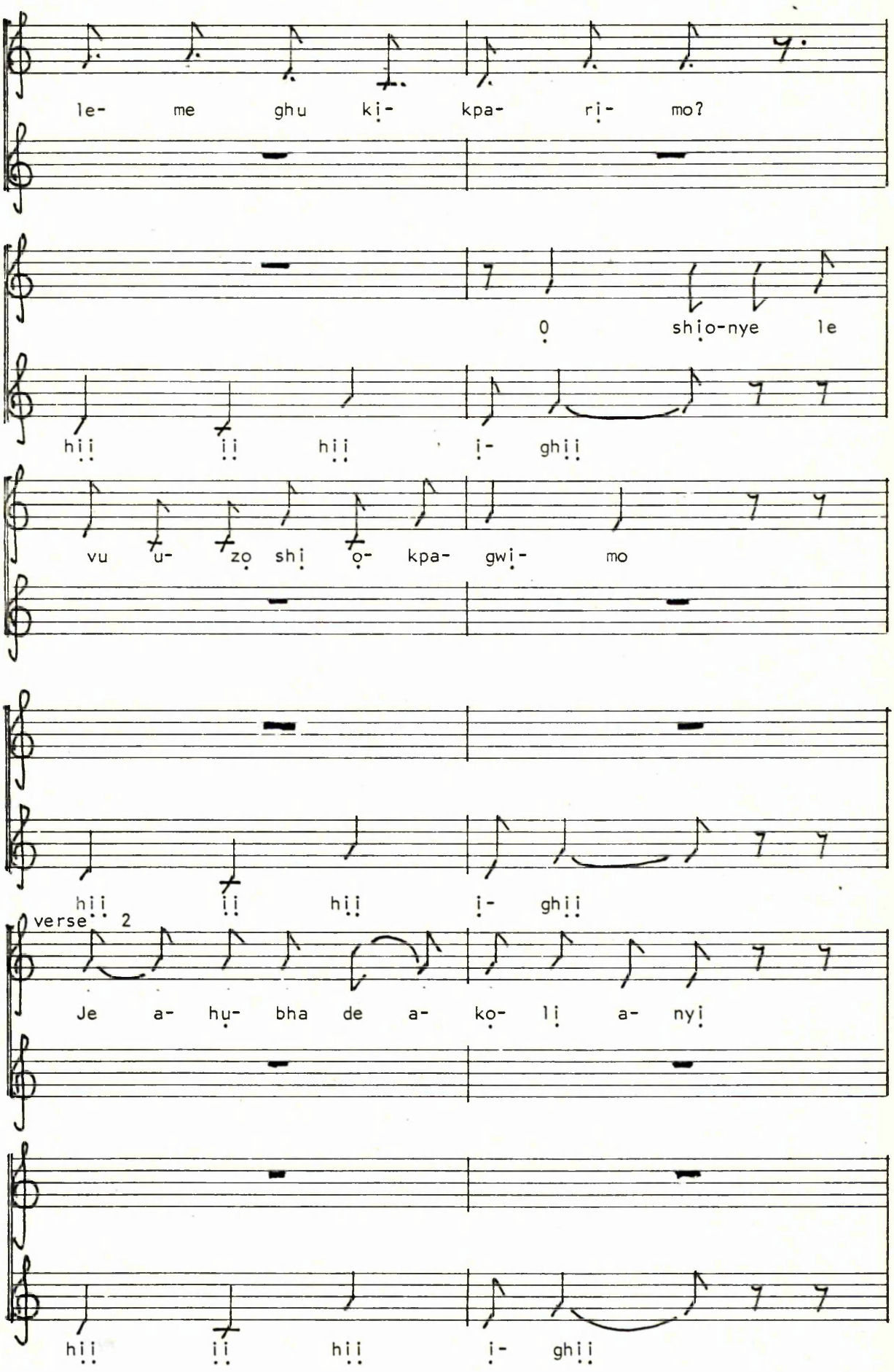

fu te ghụe- me ghụ ṅa a a, o bi-ko he n-ta ọ-
Gbam- pọ
na na ya ya je nye kwe nụ ghụ ọ- dụ he- shin ta ọ
Gbam- pọ
rụ nwi -shi ka a rụ nwa gba e- shin taọ
Gbam- pọ
ne- gwe nu nwe lue hu na kụ ghụ 0 gụ we-
Gbam- pọ
re a- ja ghụ dọ- go- be le lu 0 gụ wa-
Gbam- pọ
yọ ọ- chị kwụ-kwa n- kwa rị kwụ-kwa n- kwa
Gbam- pọ

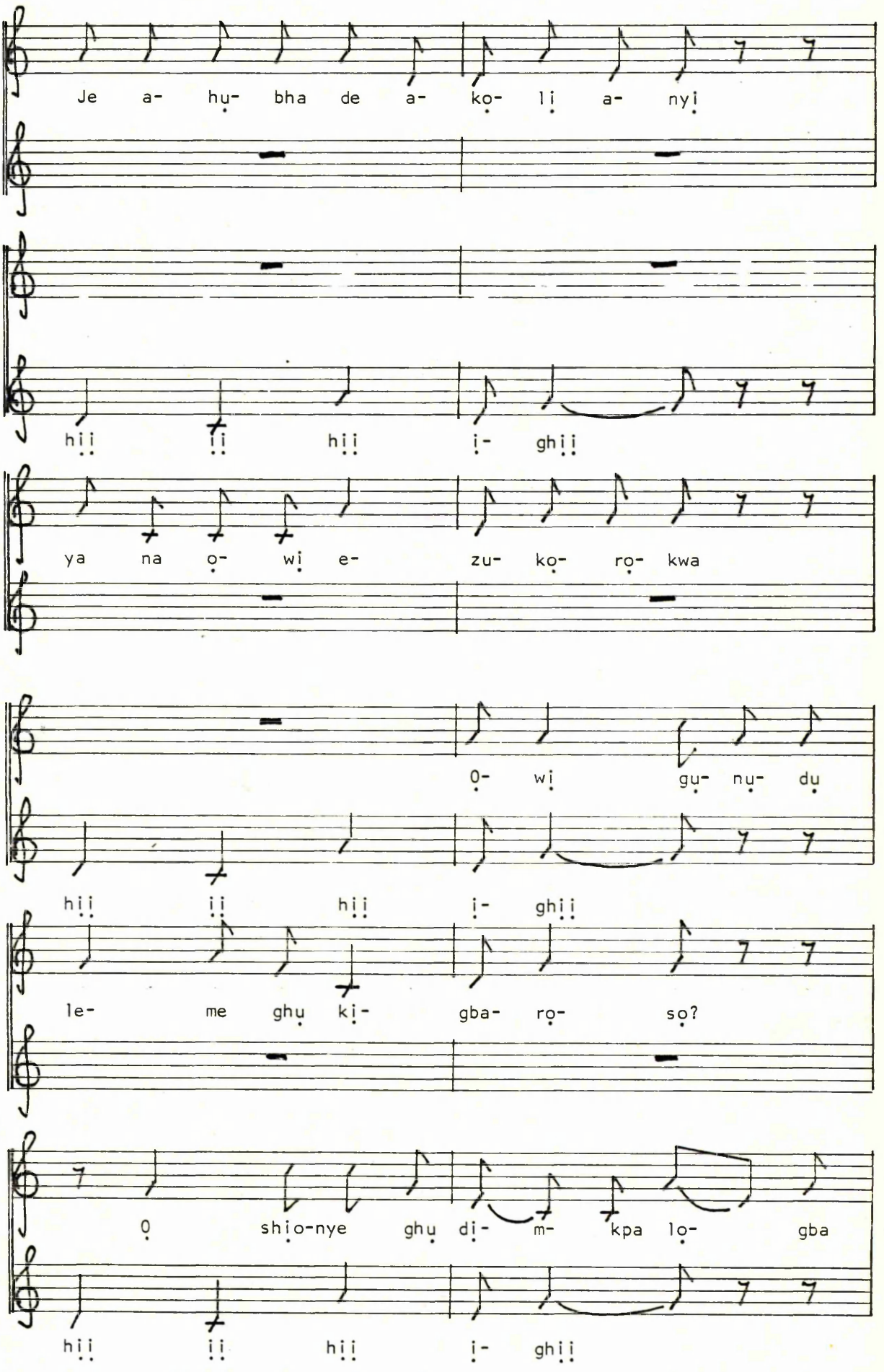

ri a e- ze chi- ro- chi o- chi- gbu- ro- nye?
Gbam- po Gbam- po
a o- chi- gbu- ru M gbo ji nwa A- nya-
Gbam- po
nwu 0- du hu gu hu kpo- ba- 0- lo-
Gbam- po
lo 0 gu shi 0- lo- lo hu bia ku- fu- te
Gbam- po
ghu ya na o- ke o- kpa di a- ya- ri a- gbo-
Gbam- po
gho A- ya- ri a- gbo- gho ya bia ku- fu- te
Gbam- po

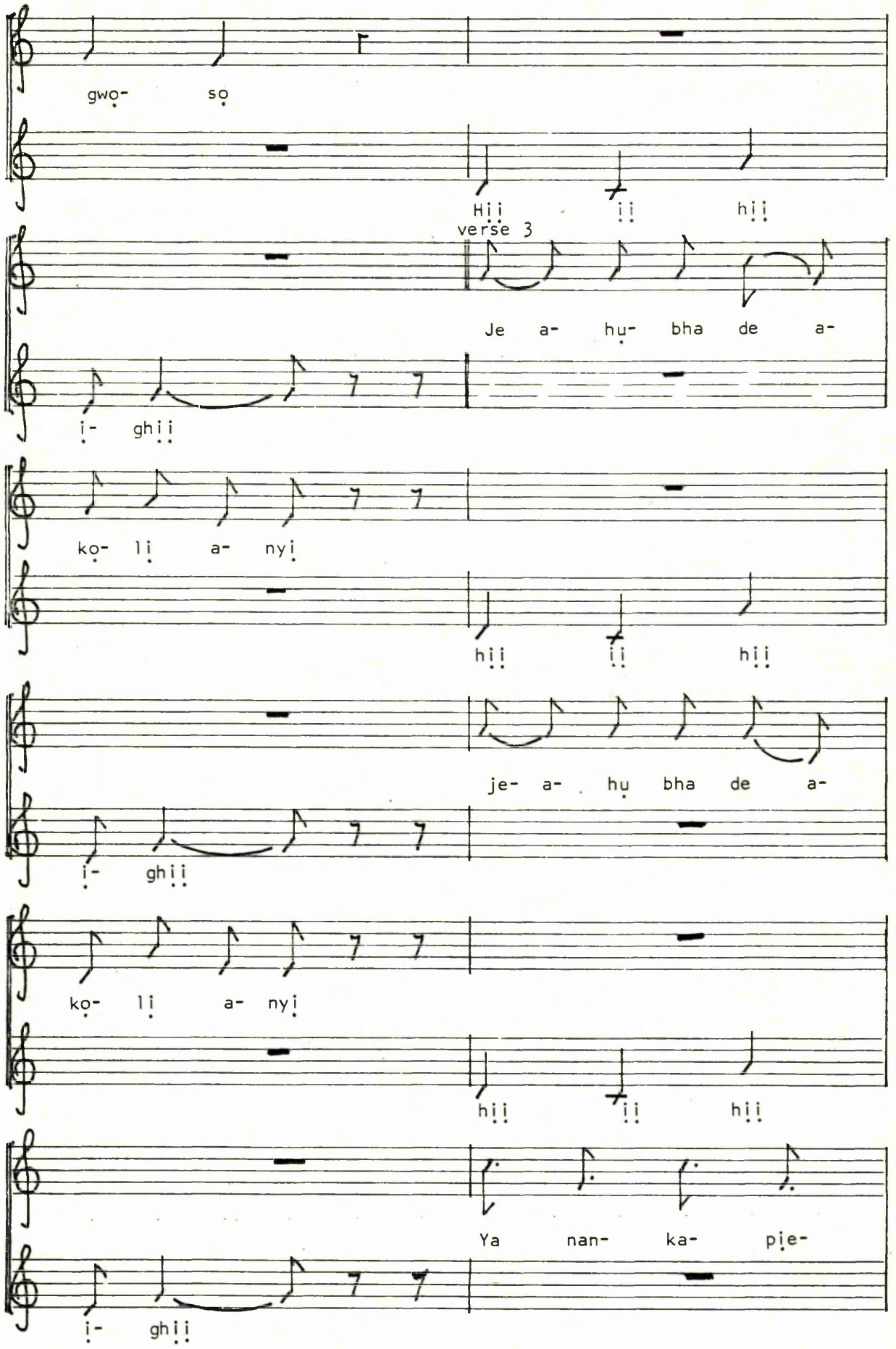

ghụ e- ro la kpọ ghụ ọ- zụ la kpọ
Gbam- pọ
ghụ
Gbam- pọ

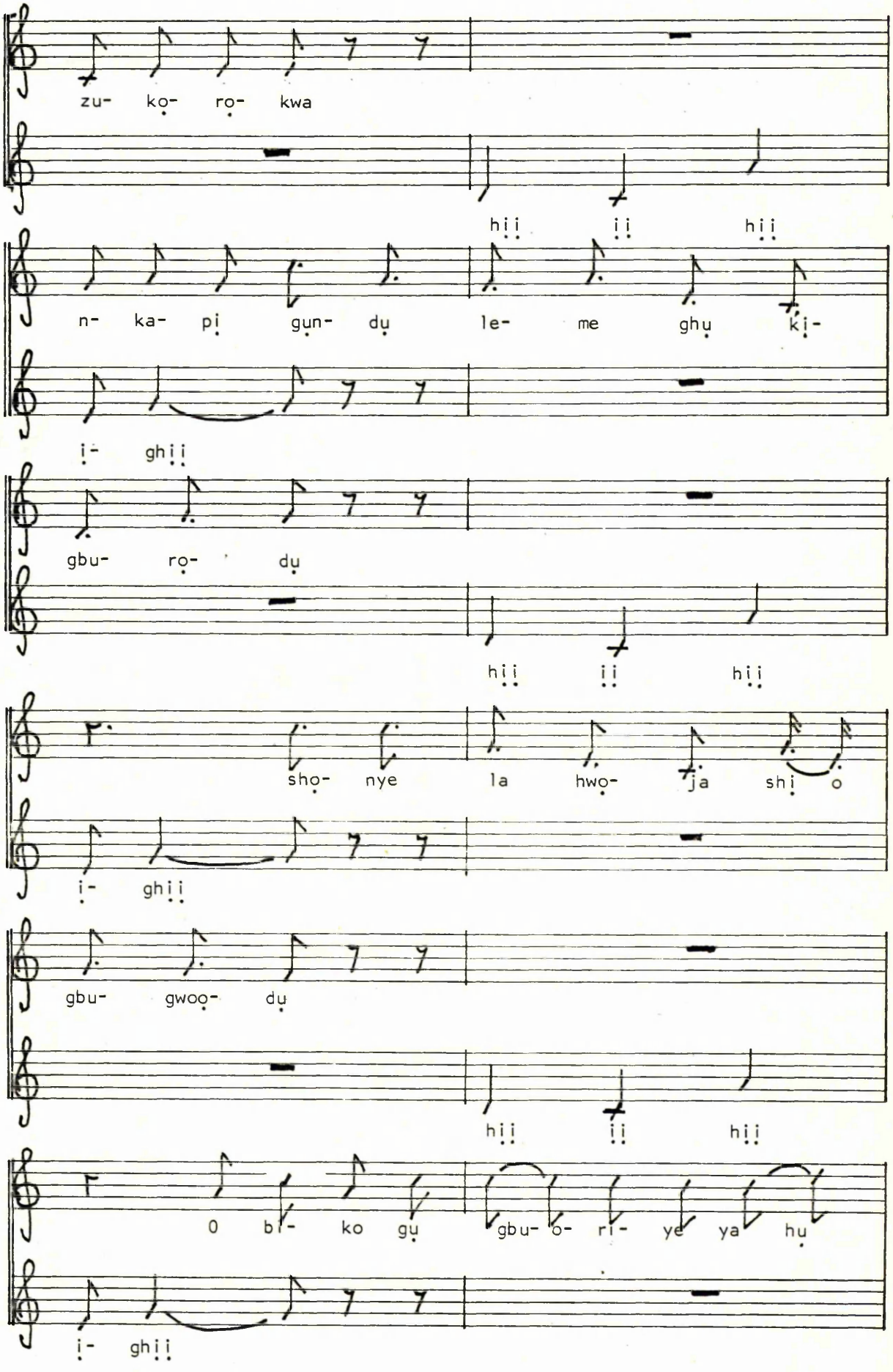
3. Ejebhenu ye de akọli anyị (Eziagụ A12)

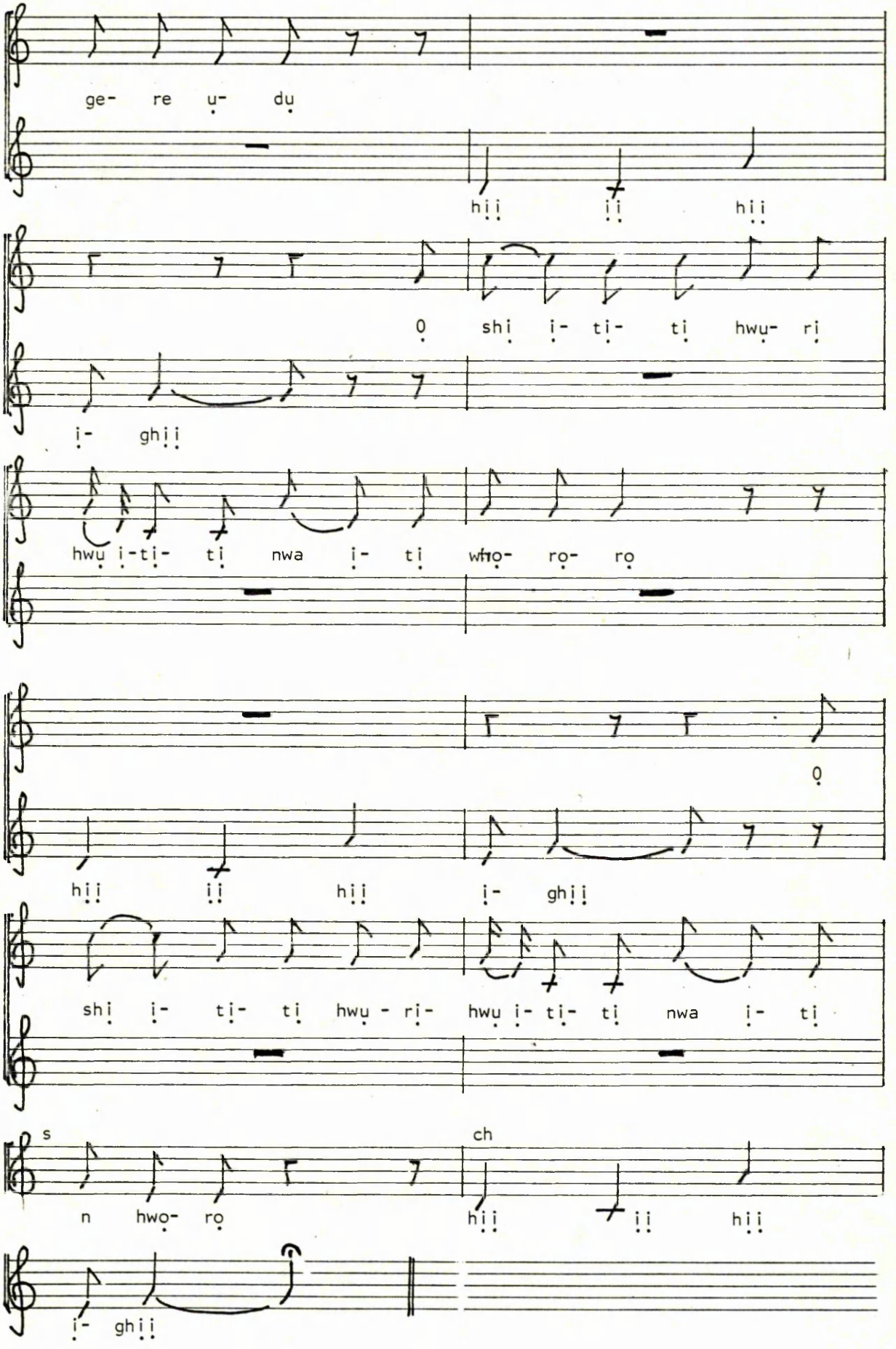


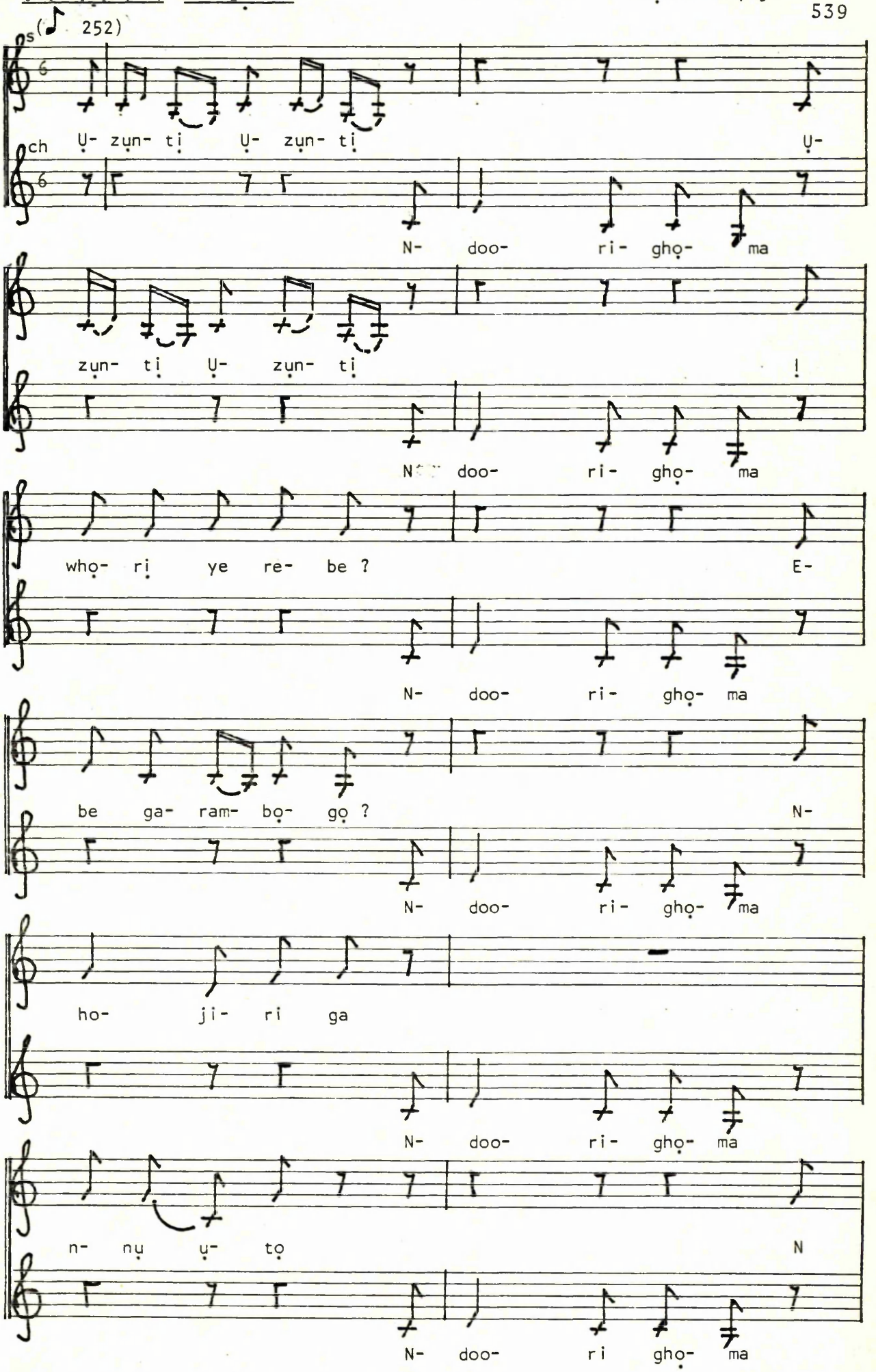

le- me ghu ki- kpa- ri- mo?
O shio-nye le
hii ii hii i- ghii
vu u- zo shi o- kpa- gwi- mo
hii ii hii i- ghii
verse 2
Je a- hu- bha de a- ko- li a- nyi
hii ii hii i- ghii

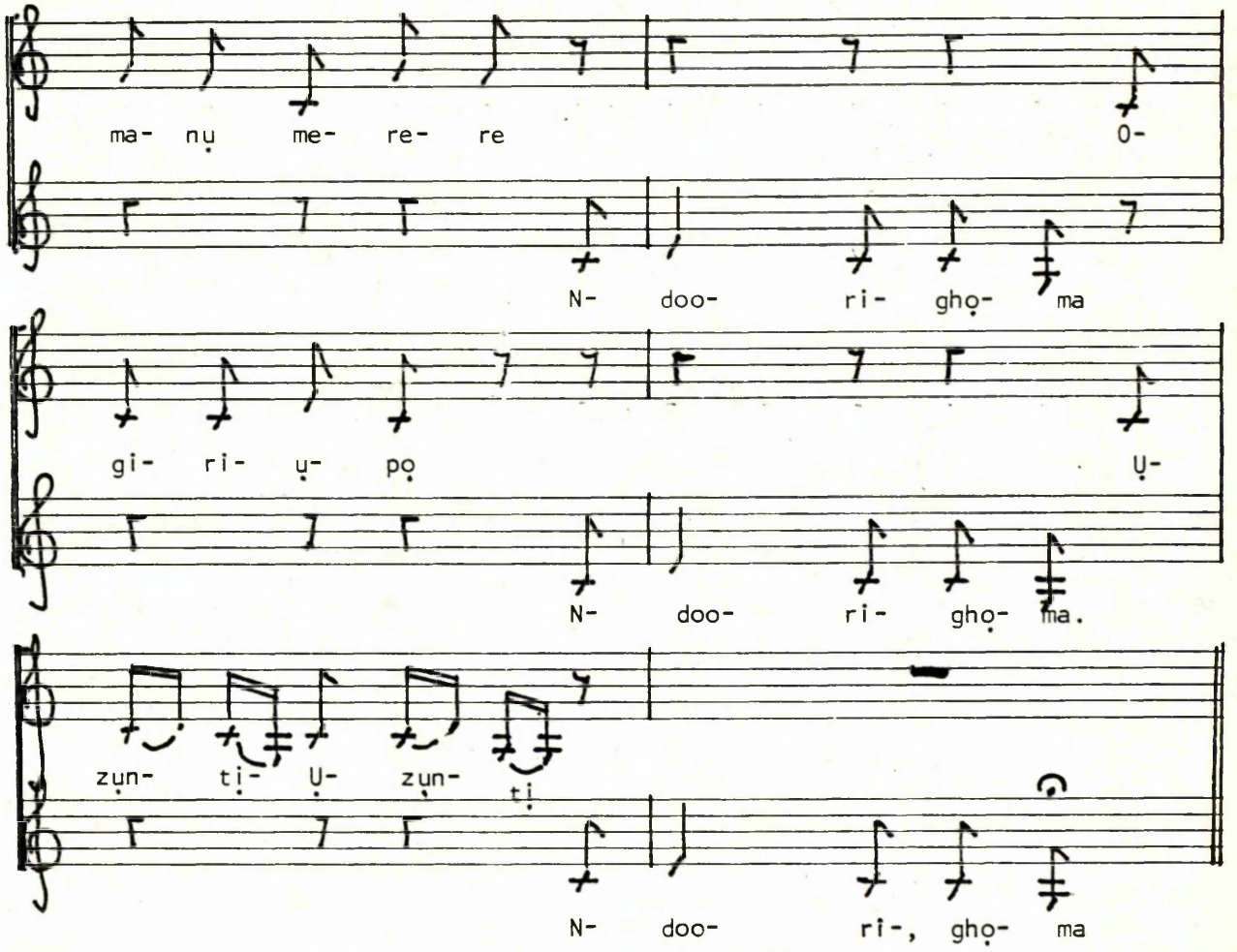

Je a- hụ- bha de a- kọ- lị a- nyị
hịị ịị hịị ị- ghịị
ya na ọ- wị e- zu- kọ- rọ- kwa
ọ- wị gụ- nụ- dụ
hịị ịị hịị ị- ghịị
le- me ghụ kị- gba- rọ- so?
ọ shịọ-nye ghụ dị- m- kpa lọ- gba
hịị ịị hịị ị- ghịị


gwo- so
Hii ii hii
verse 3
Je a- hu- bha de a-
i- ghii
ko- li a- nyi
hii ii hii
je- a- hu bha de a-
i- ghii
ko- li a- nyi
hii ii hii
Ya nan- ka- pie-
i- ghii


zu- ko- ro- kwa
hii ii hii
n- ka- pi gun- du le- me ghu ki-
i- ghii
gbu- ro- du
hii ii hii
sho- nye la hwo- ja shi o
i- ghii
gbu- gwoo- du
hii ii hii
0 bi- ko gu gbu- o- ri- ye ya hu
i- ghii

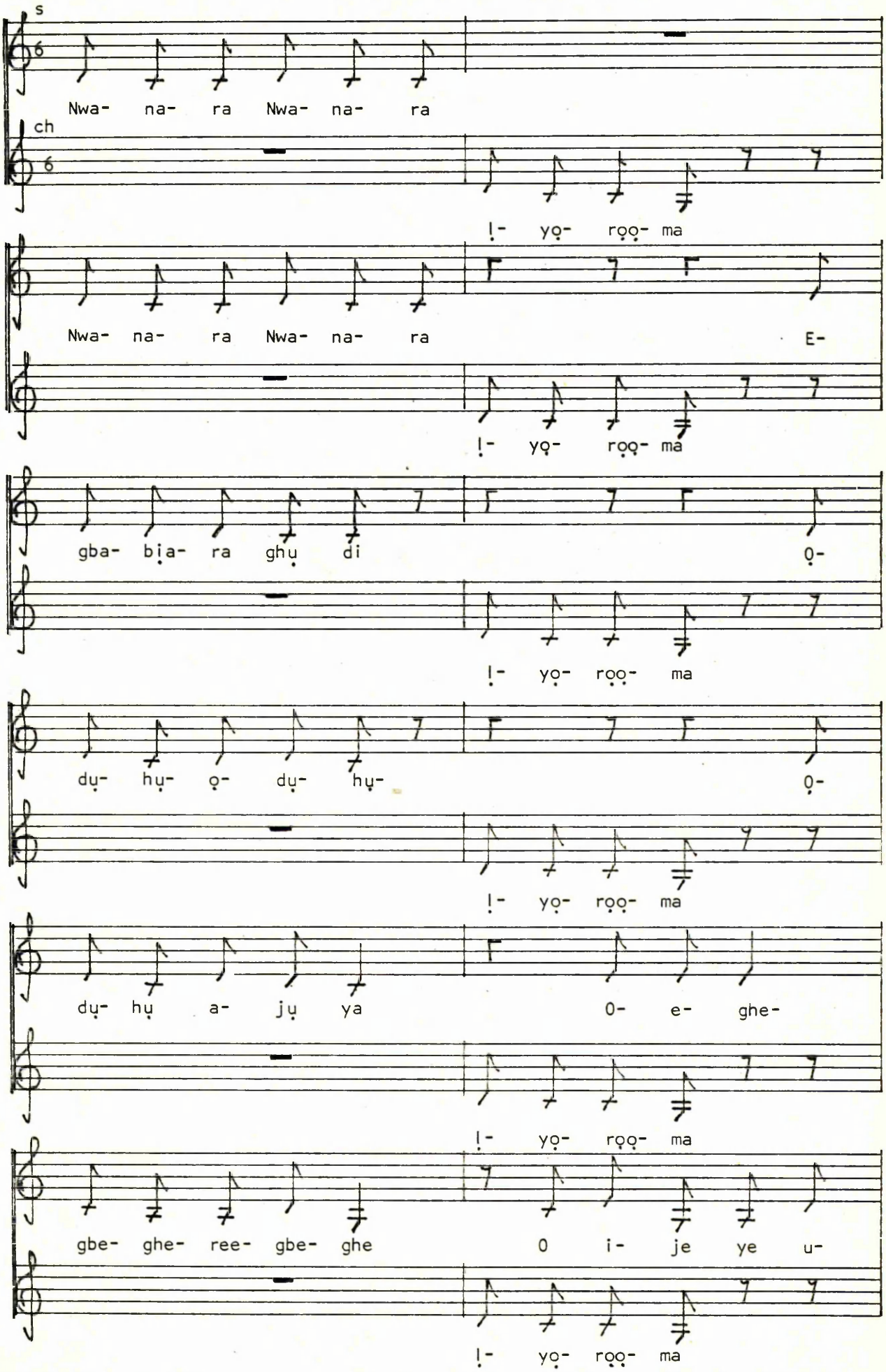

ge- re u- du
hii ii hii
o shi i- ti- ti hwu- ri
i- ghii
hwu i-ti- ti nwa i- ti who- ro- ro
o
hii ii hii i- ghii
shi i- ti- ti hwu - ri- hwu i- ti- ti nwa i- ti
s
n hwo- ro
ch
hii ii hii
i- ghii


(♩ 252)
s
ch
Ụ- zụn- tị Ụ- zụn- tị Ụ-
N- doo- ri- ghọ- ma
zụn- tị Ụ- zụn- tị !
N doo- ri- ghọ- ma
whọ- rị ye re- be ? E-
N- doo- ri- ghọ- ma
be ga- ram- bọ- gọ ? N-
N- doo- ri- ghọ- ma
ho- ji- ri ga
N- doo- ri- ghọ- ma
n- nụ ụ- tọ N
N- doo- ri ghọ- ma

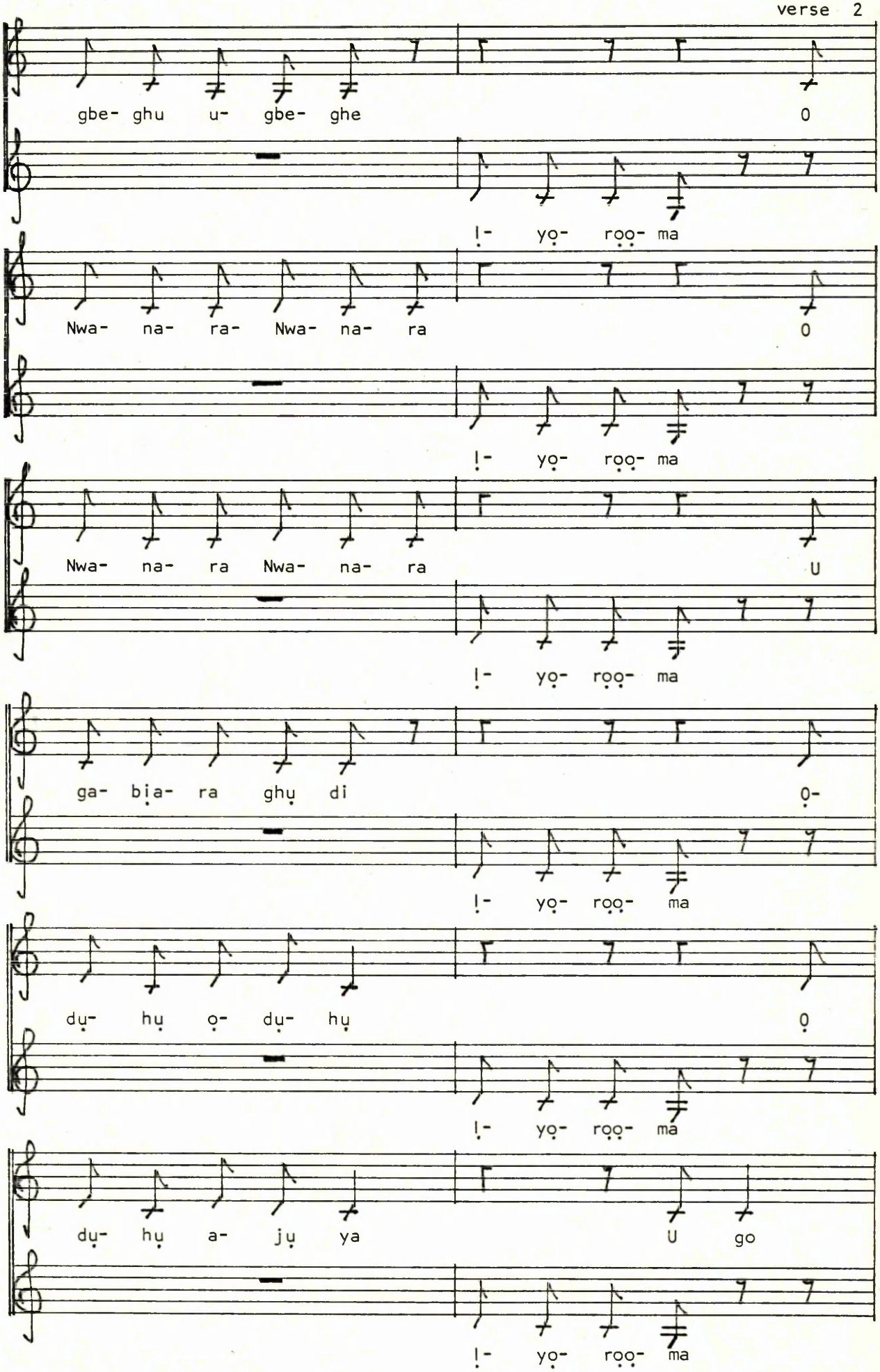

ma- nụ me- re- re 0-
N- doo- ri- ghọ- ma
gi- ri- ụ- pọ ụ-
N- doo- ri- ghọ- ma.
zụn- ti- ụ- zụn- ti
N- doo- ri-, ghọ- ma

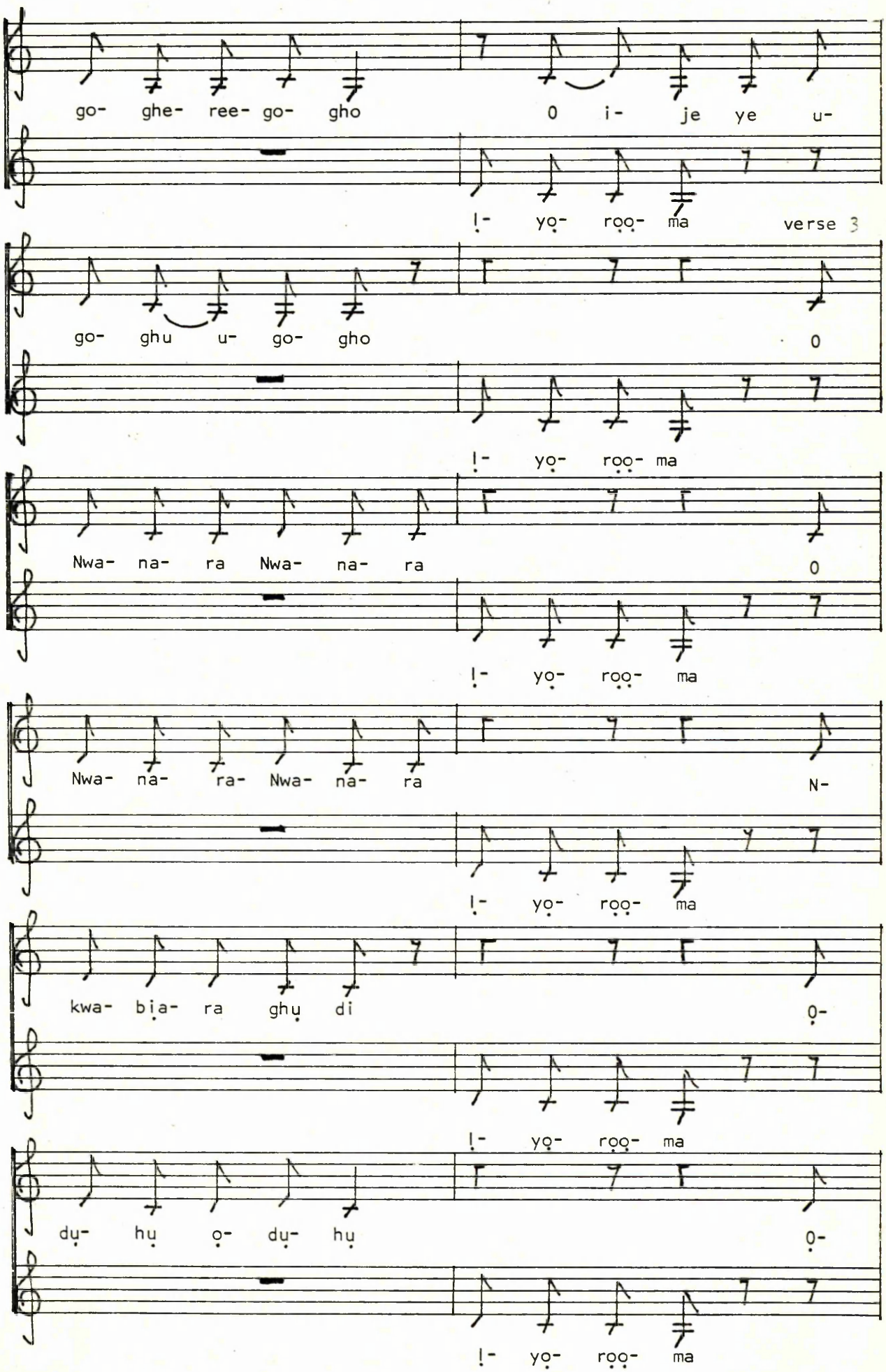
5. Nwaanara, Nwaanara (Eziagụ A33) Akụezue Onyeje

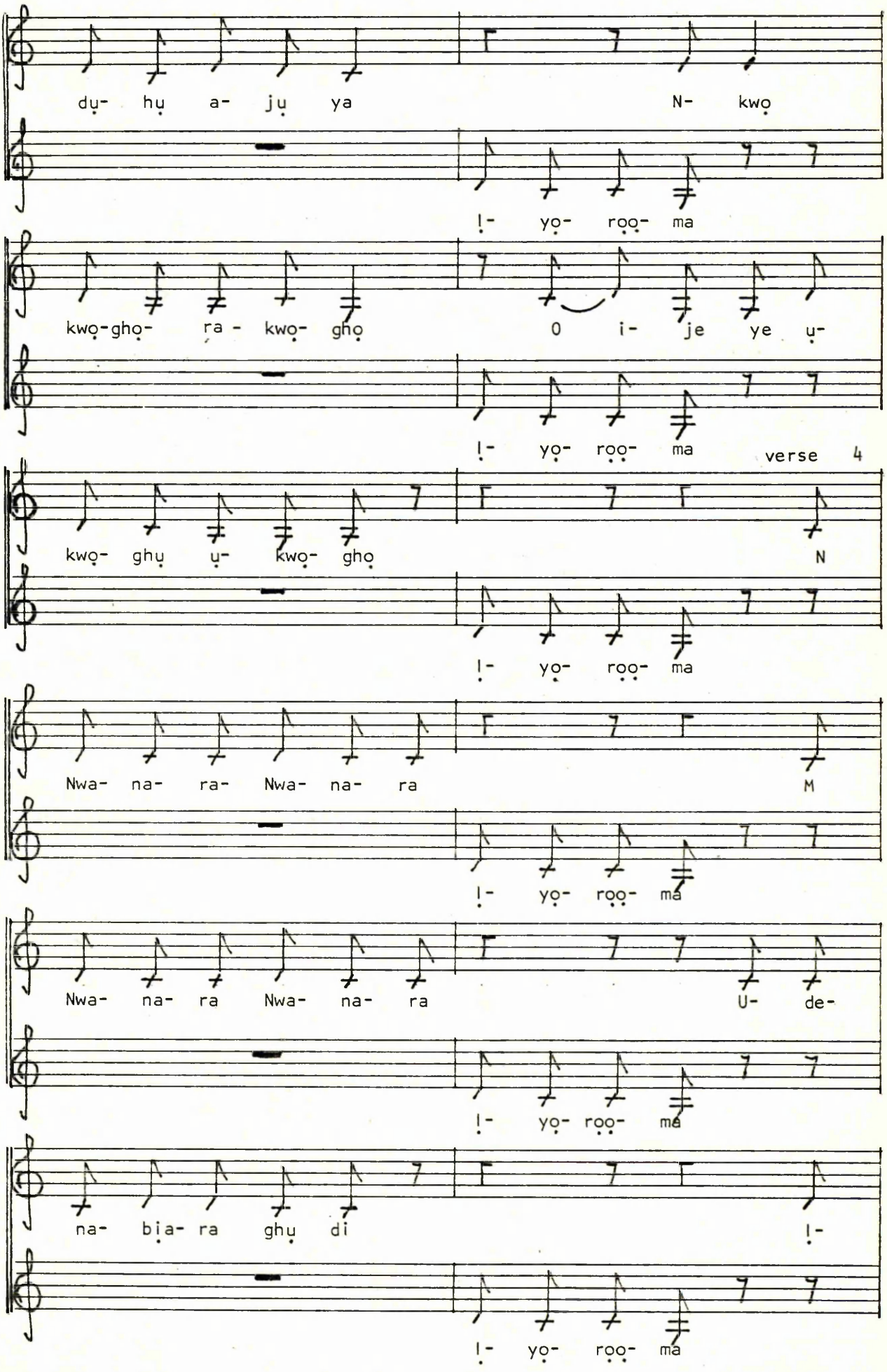
(♪ = 294)

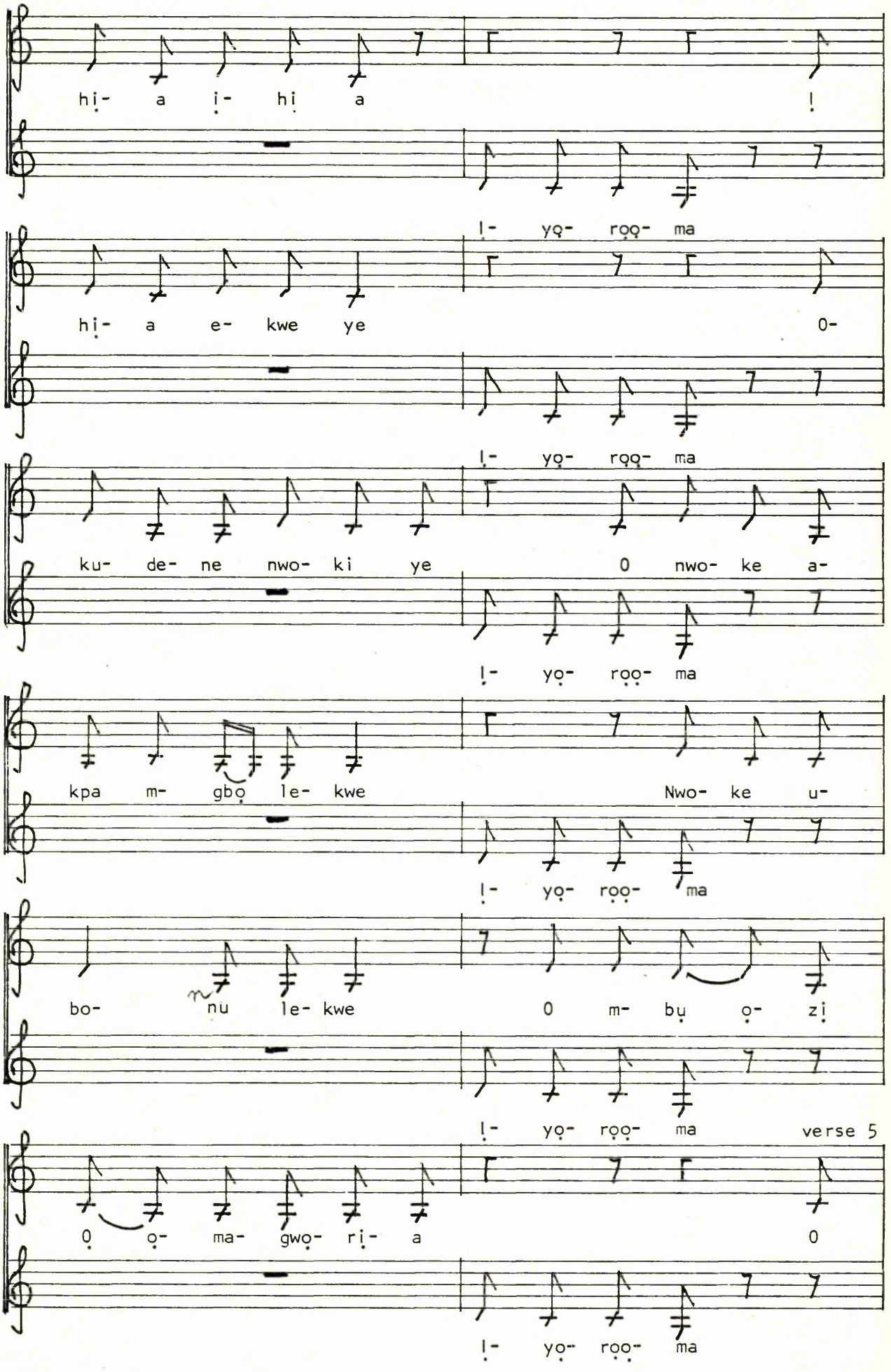


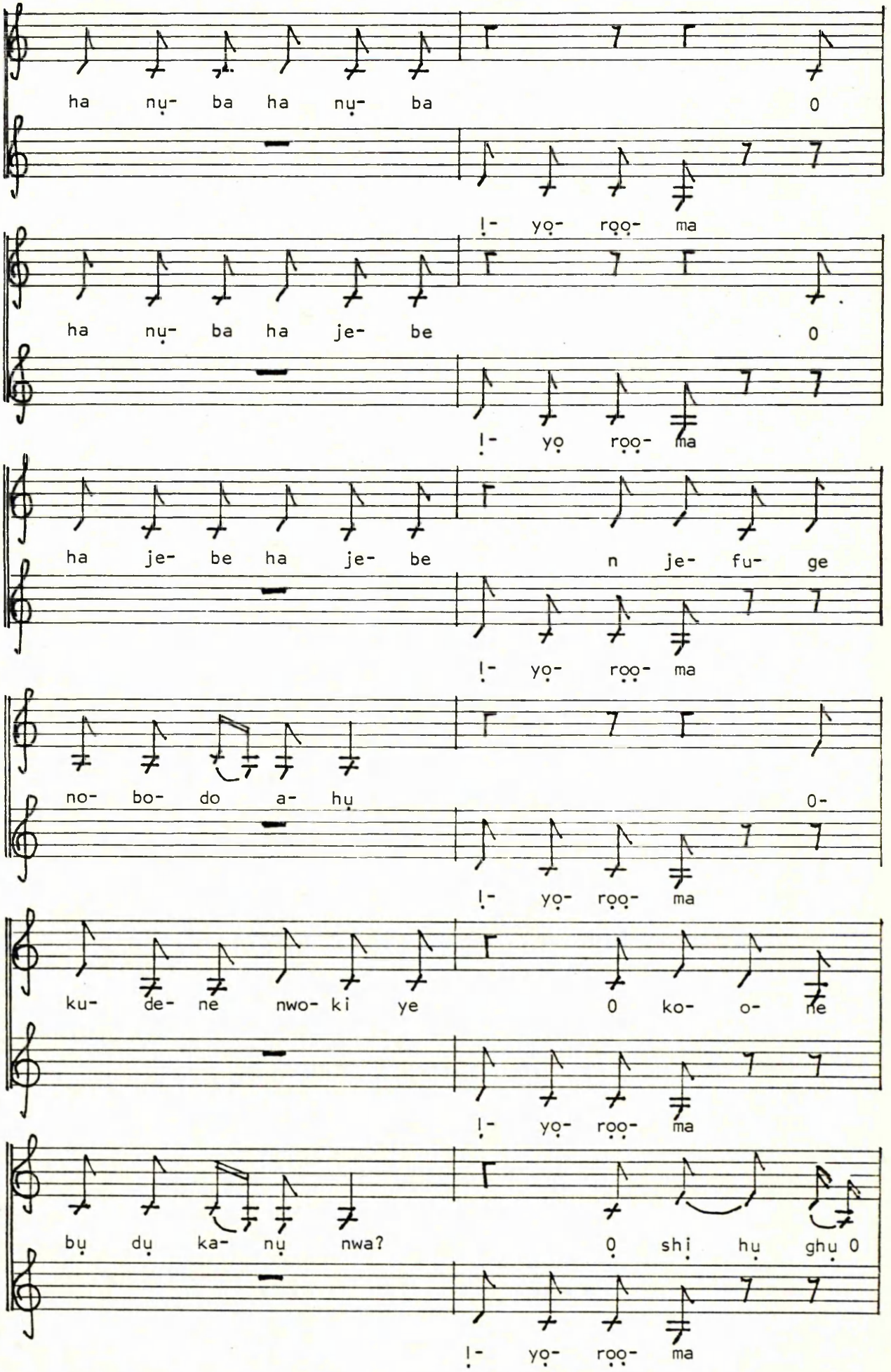
verse 2

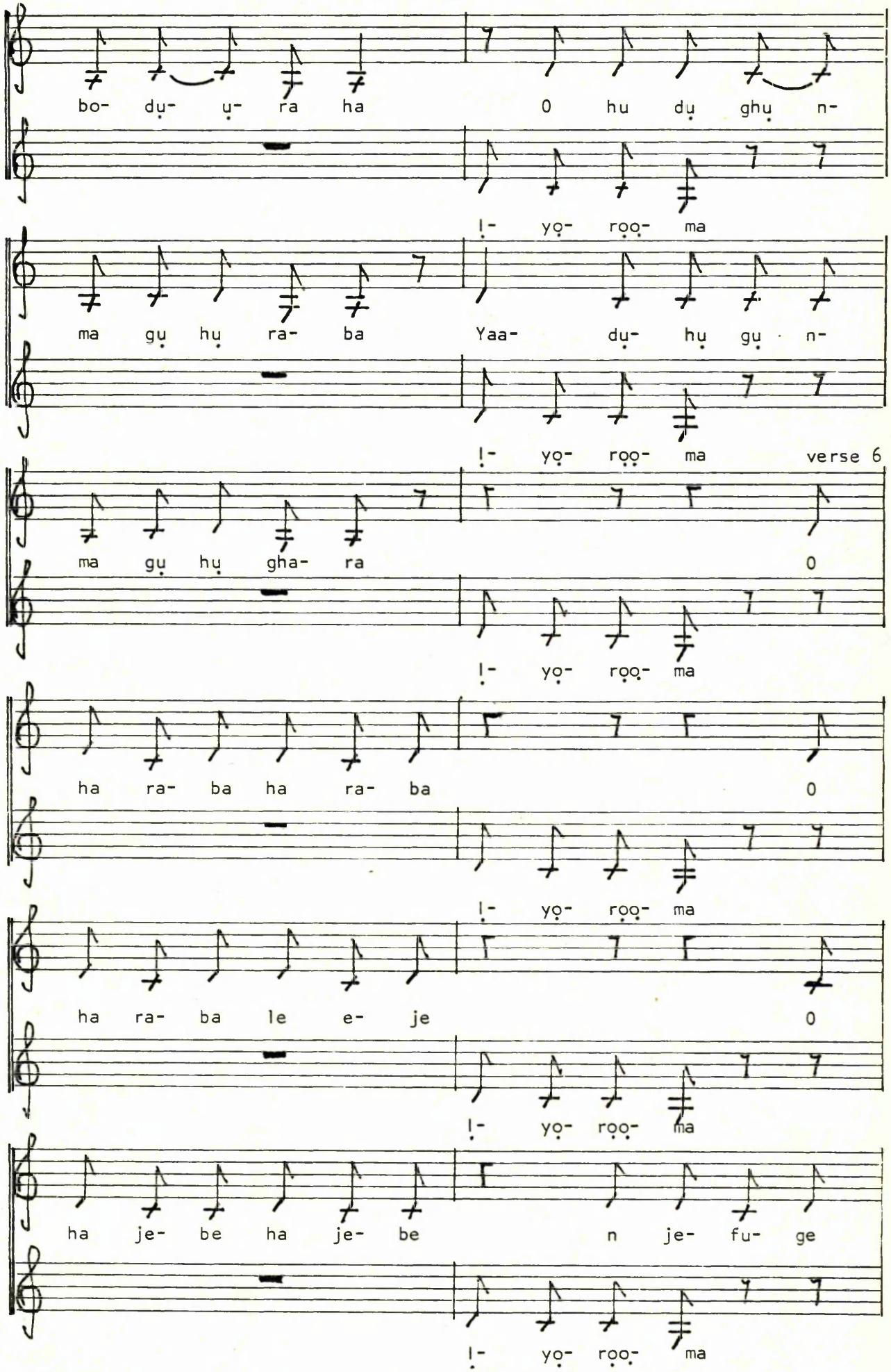

gbe- ghu u- gbe- ghe O
!- yọ- rọọ- ma
Nwa- na- ra- Nwa- na- ra O
!- yọ- rọọ- ma
Nwa- na- ra Nwa- na- ra U
!- yọ- rọọ- ma
ga- bịa- ra ghụ di ọ-
!- yọ- rọọ- ma
dụ- hụ ọ- dụ- hụ ọ
!- yọ- rọọ- ma
dụ- hụ a- jụ ya U go
!- yọ- rọọ- ma

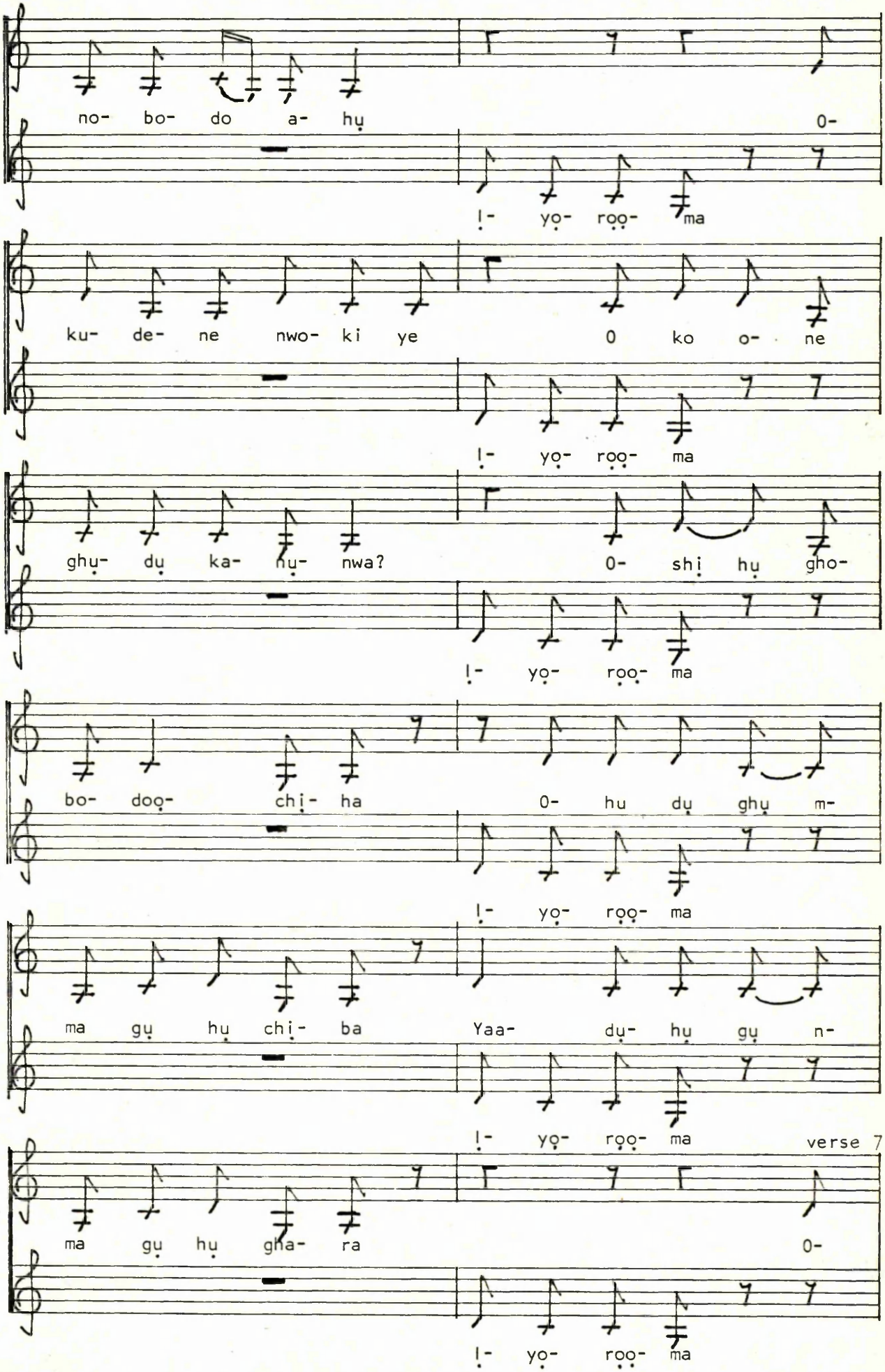

go- ghe- ree- go- gho
O i- je ye u-
!- yọ- roọ- ma
verse 3
go- ghu u- go- gho
O
!- yọ- roọ- ma
Nwa- na- ra Nwa- na- ra
O
!- yọ- roọ- ma
Nwa- na- ra- Nwa- na- ra
N-
!- yọ- roọ- ma
kwa- bịa- ra ghụ di
ọ-
!- yọ- roọ- ma
dụ- hụ ọ- dụ- hụ
ọ-
!- yọ- roọ- ma

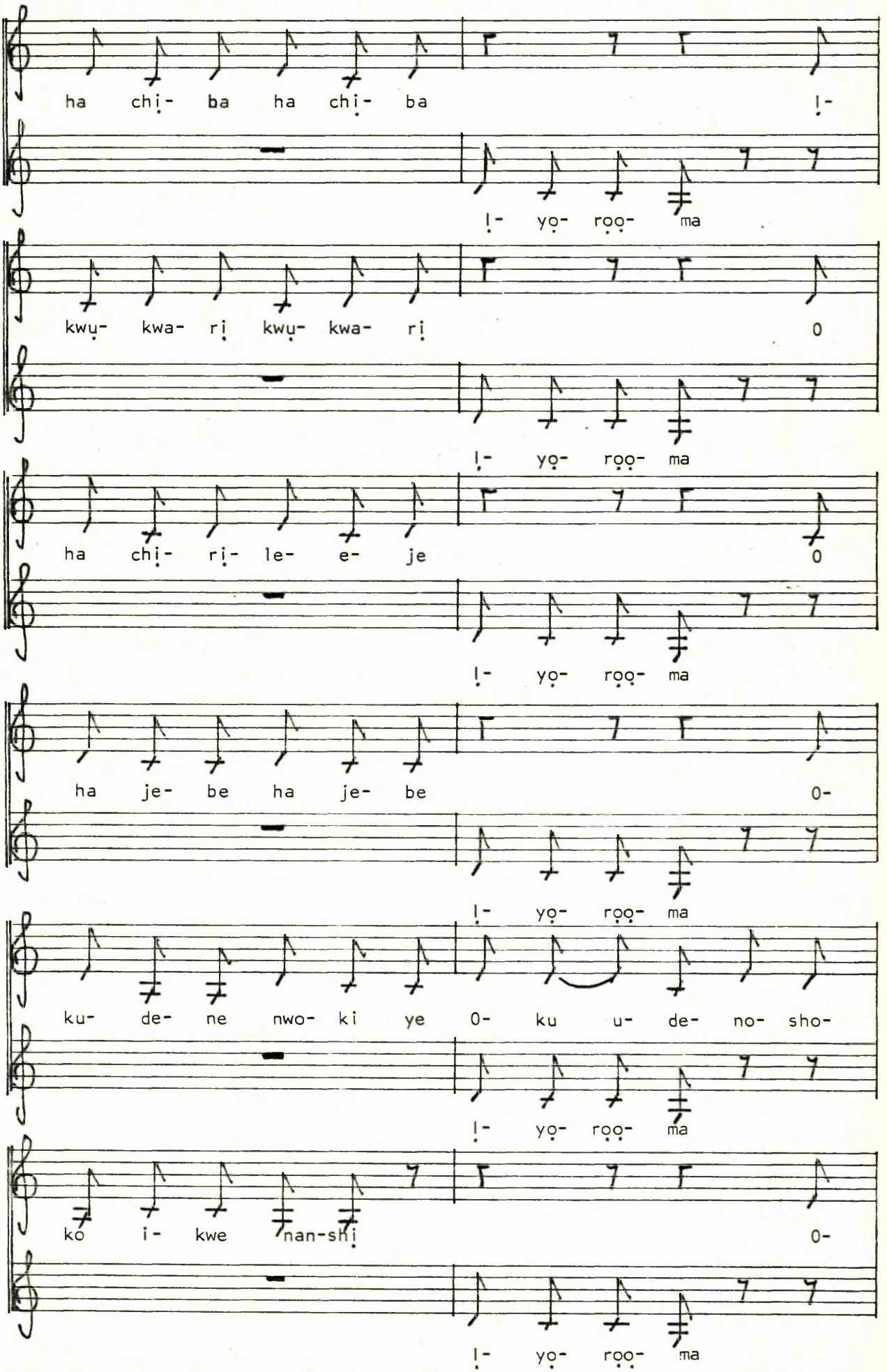

dụ- hụ a- jụ ya N- kwọ
!- yọ- roọ- ma
kwọ-ghọ- ra - kwọ- ghọ O i- je ye ụ-
!- yọ- roọ- ma
verse 4
kwọ- ghụ ụ- kwọ- ghọ N
!- yọ- roọ- ma
Nwa- na- ra- Nwa- na- ra M
!- yọ- roọ- ma
Nwa- na- ra Nwa- na- ra U- de-
!- yọ- roọ- ma
na- bịa- ra ghụ di !-
!- yọ- roọ- ma

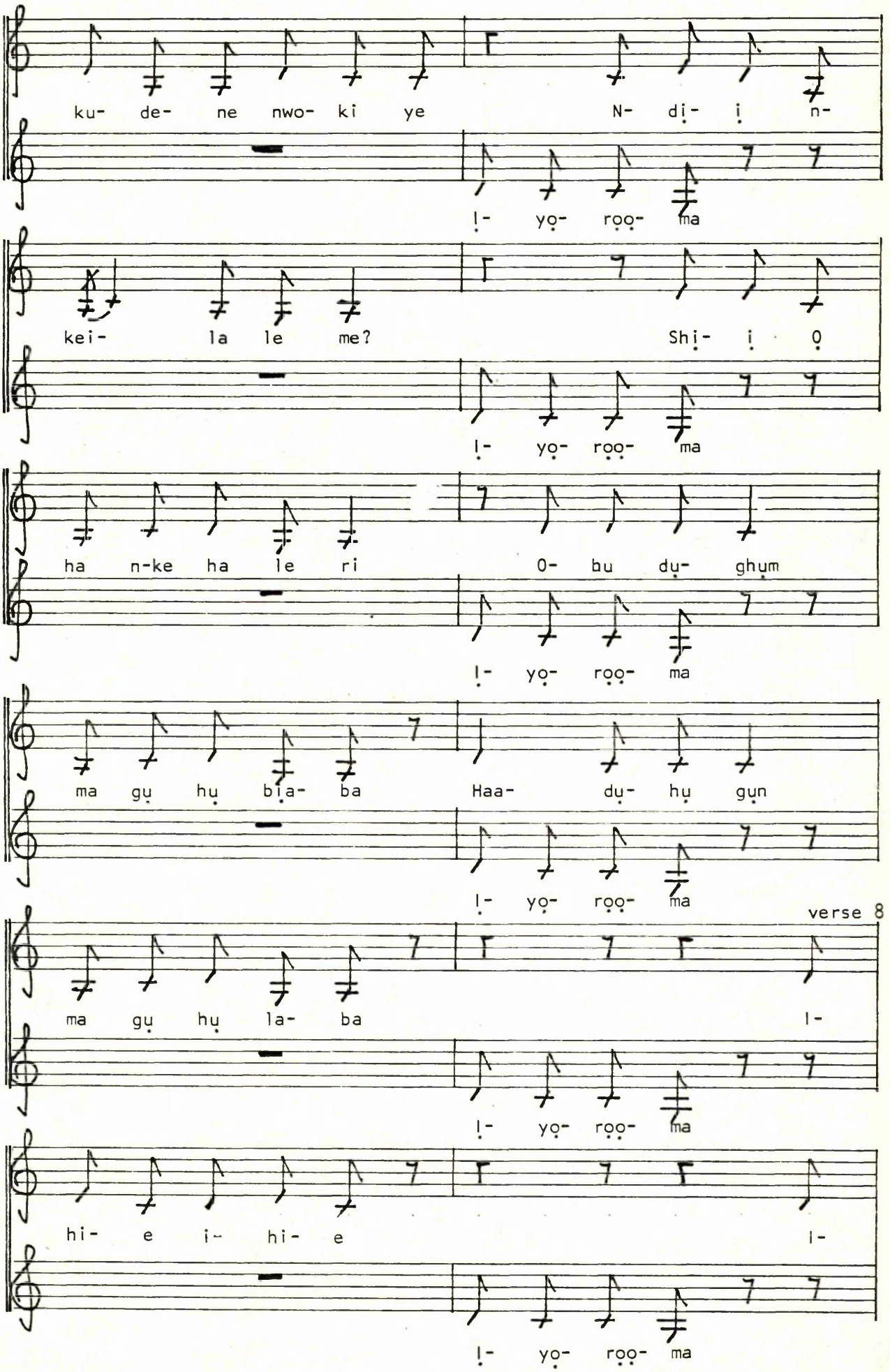

hị- a ị- hị a !
ị- yọ- rọọ- ma
hị- a e- kwe ye 0-
ị- yọ- rọọ- ma
ku- de- ne nwo- ki ye 0 nwo- ke a-
ị- yọ- rọọ- ma
kpa m- gbọ le- kwe Nwo- ke u-
ị- yọ- rọọ- ma
bo- nu le- kwe 0 m- bụ ọ- zị
ị- yọ- rọọ- ma
verse 5
0 ọ- ma- gwọ- rị- a 0
ị- yọ- rọọ- ma

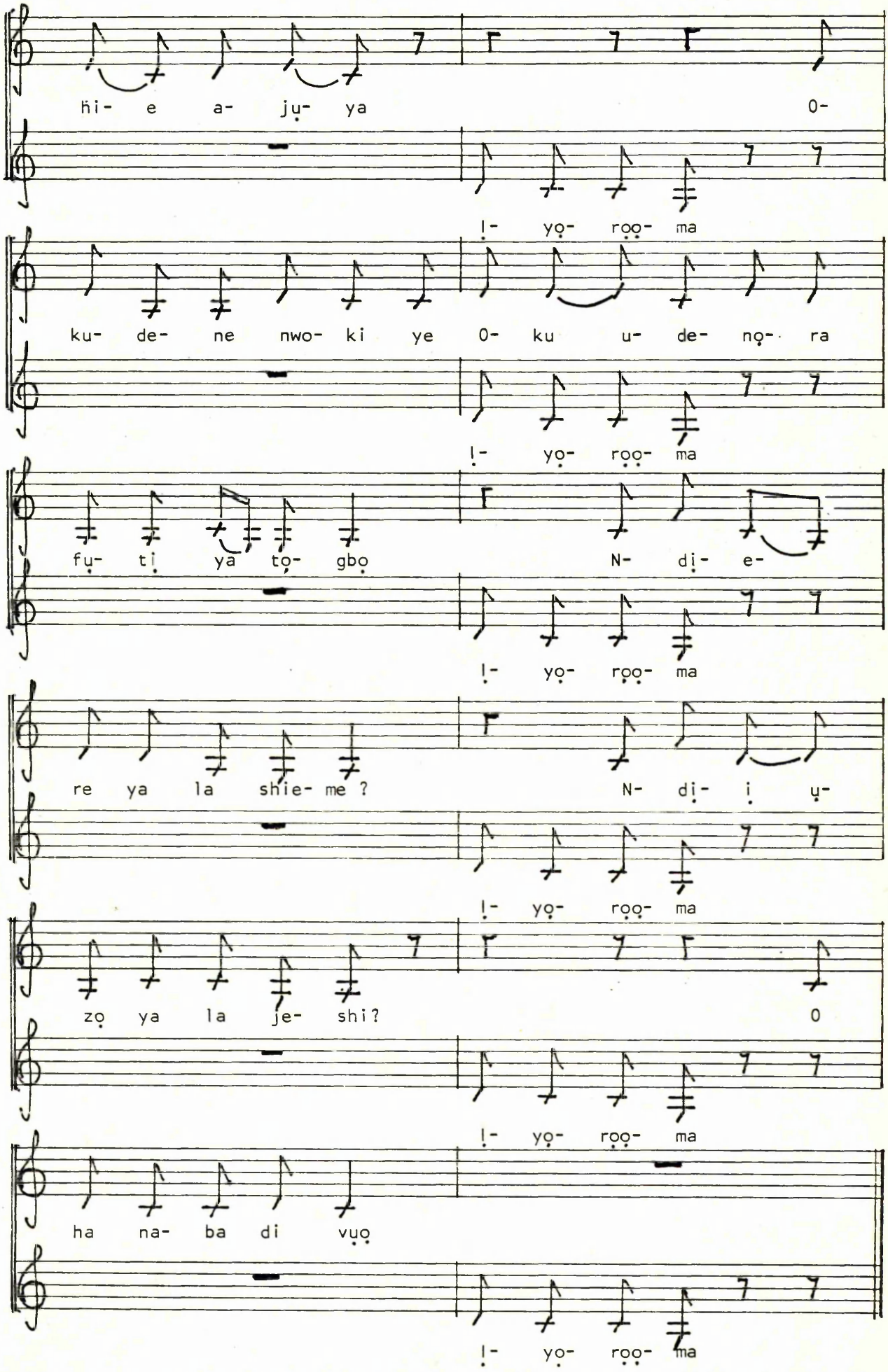

ha nụ- ba ha nụ- ba 0
!- yọ- roọ- ma
ha nụ- ba ha je- be 0
!- yọ roọ- ma
ha je- be ha je- be n je- fu- ge
!- yọ- roọ- ma
no- bo- do a- hụ 0-
!- yọ- roọ- ma
ku- de- ne nwo- ki ye 0 ko- o- ne
!- yọ- roọ- ma
bụ dụ ka- nụ nwa? 0 shị hụ ghụ 0
!- yọ- roọ- ma


bo- dụ- ụ- ra ha
O hu dụ ghụ n-
ị- yọ- rọọ- ma
ma gụ hụ ra- ba
Yaa- dụ- hụ gụ n-
ị- yọ- rọọ- ma
verse 6
ma gụ hụ gha- ra
O
ị- yọ- rọọ- ma
ha ra- ba ha ra- ba
O
ị- yọ- rọọ- ma
ha ra- ba le e- je
O
ị- yọ- rọọ- ma
ha je- be ha je- be
n je- fu- ge
ị- yọ- rọọ- ma

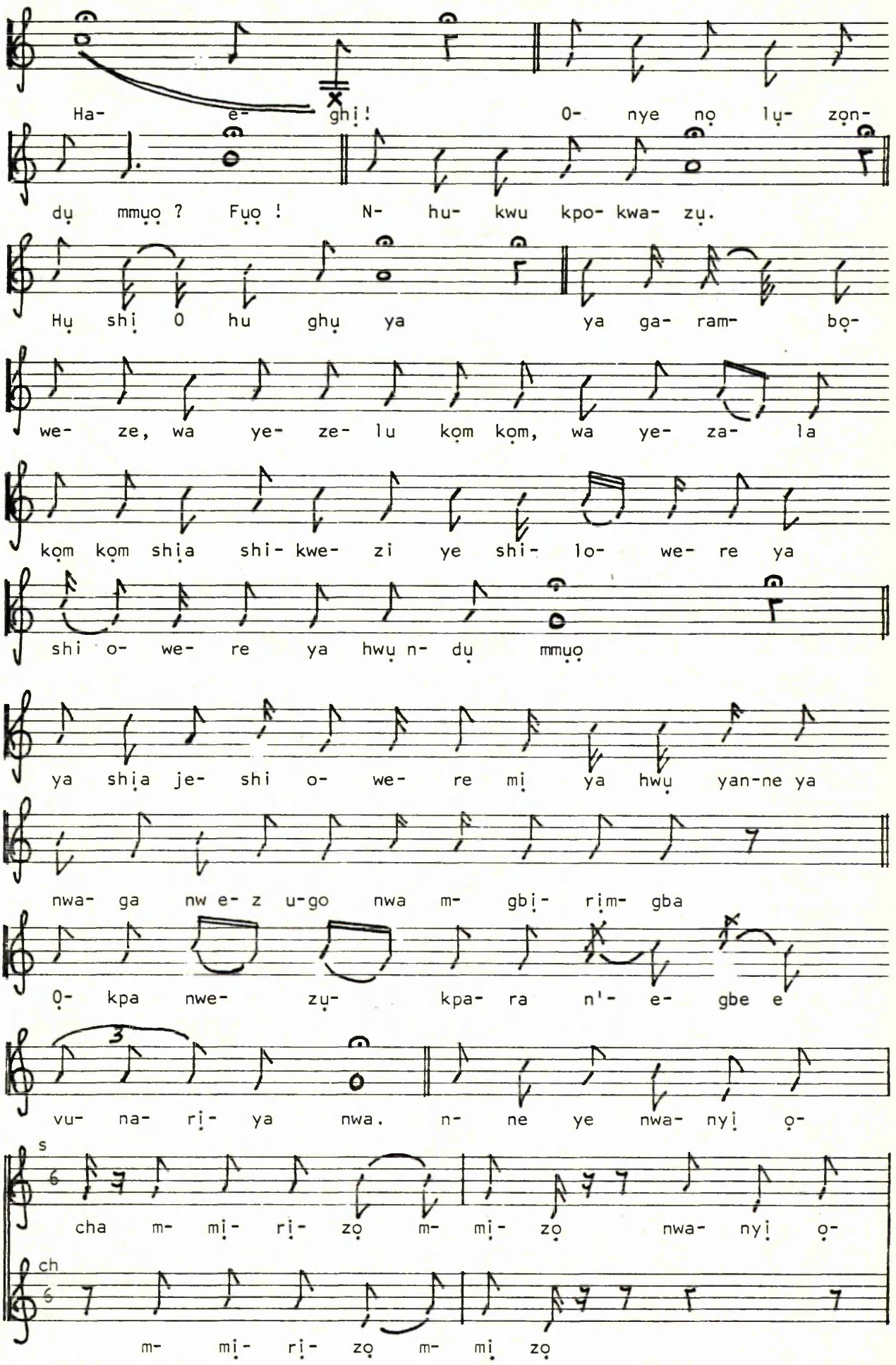

no- bo- do a- hụ
O-
!- yọ- roọ- ma
ku- de- ne nwo- ki ye
O ko o- ne
!- yọ- roọ- ma
ghụ- dụ ka- nụ- nwa?
O- shị hụ gho-
!- yọ- roọ- ma
bo- doọ- chị- ha
O- hu dụ ghụ m-
!- yọ- roọ- ma
ma gụ hụ chị- ba
Yaa- dụ- hụ gụ n-
!- yọ- roọ- ma
verse 7
ma gụ hụ gha- ra
O-
!- yọ- roọ- ma

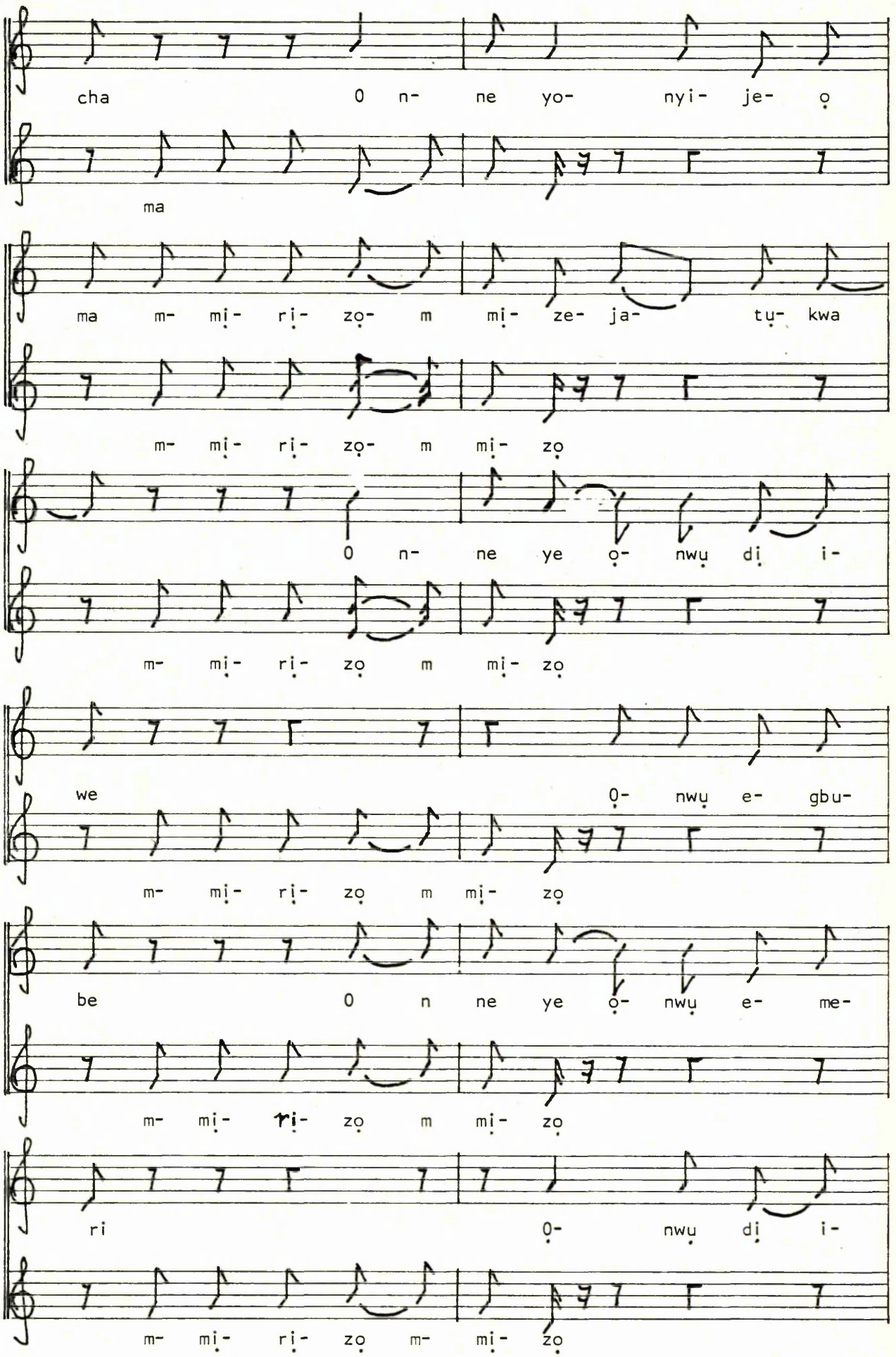

ha chị- ba ha chị- ba !-
!- yọ- roọ- ma
kwụ- kwa- rị kwụ- kwa- rị 0
!- yọ- roọ- ma
ha chị- rị- le- e- je 0
!- yọ- roọ- ma
ha je- be ha je- be 0-
!- yọ- roọ- ma
ku- de- ne nwo- ki ye 0- ku u- de- no- sho-
!- yọ- roọ- ma
ko i- kwe nan-shị 0-
!- yọ- roọ- ma

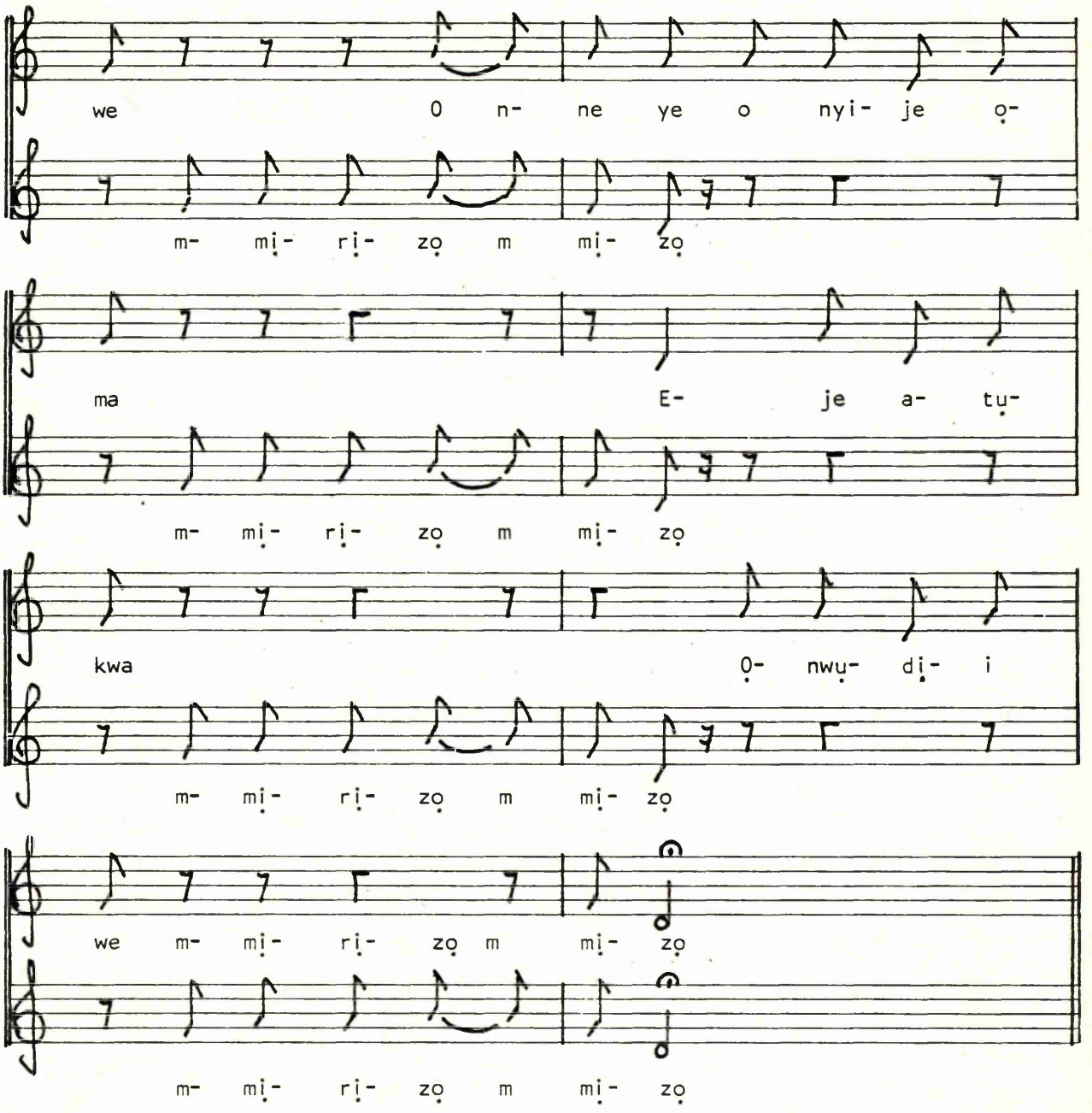

ku- de- ne nwo- ki ye
N- di- i n-
i- yo- roo- ma
kei- la le me?
Shi- i o
i- yo- roo- ma
ha n-ke ha le ri
O- bu du- ghum
i- yo- roo- ma
ma gu hu bia- ba
Haa- du- hu gun
i- yo- roo- ma
verse 8
ma gu hu la- ba
i-
i- yo- roo- ma
hi- e i- hi- e
i-
i- yo- roo- ma


ĦI- e a- ju- ya
O-
I- yo- roo- ma
ku- de- ne nwo- ki ye O- ku u- de- no- ra
I- yo- roo- ma
fu- ti ya to- gbo
N- di- e-
I- yo- roo- ma
re ya la shie- me ?
N- di- i u-
I- yo- roo- ma
zo ya la je- shi?
O
I- yo- roo- ma
ha na- ba di vuo
I- yo- roo- ma

6. Onye nọ l'uzo ndi mmuo? (Eziagụ A54) Akụezue Onyeje
(♪ = 360)

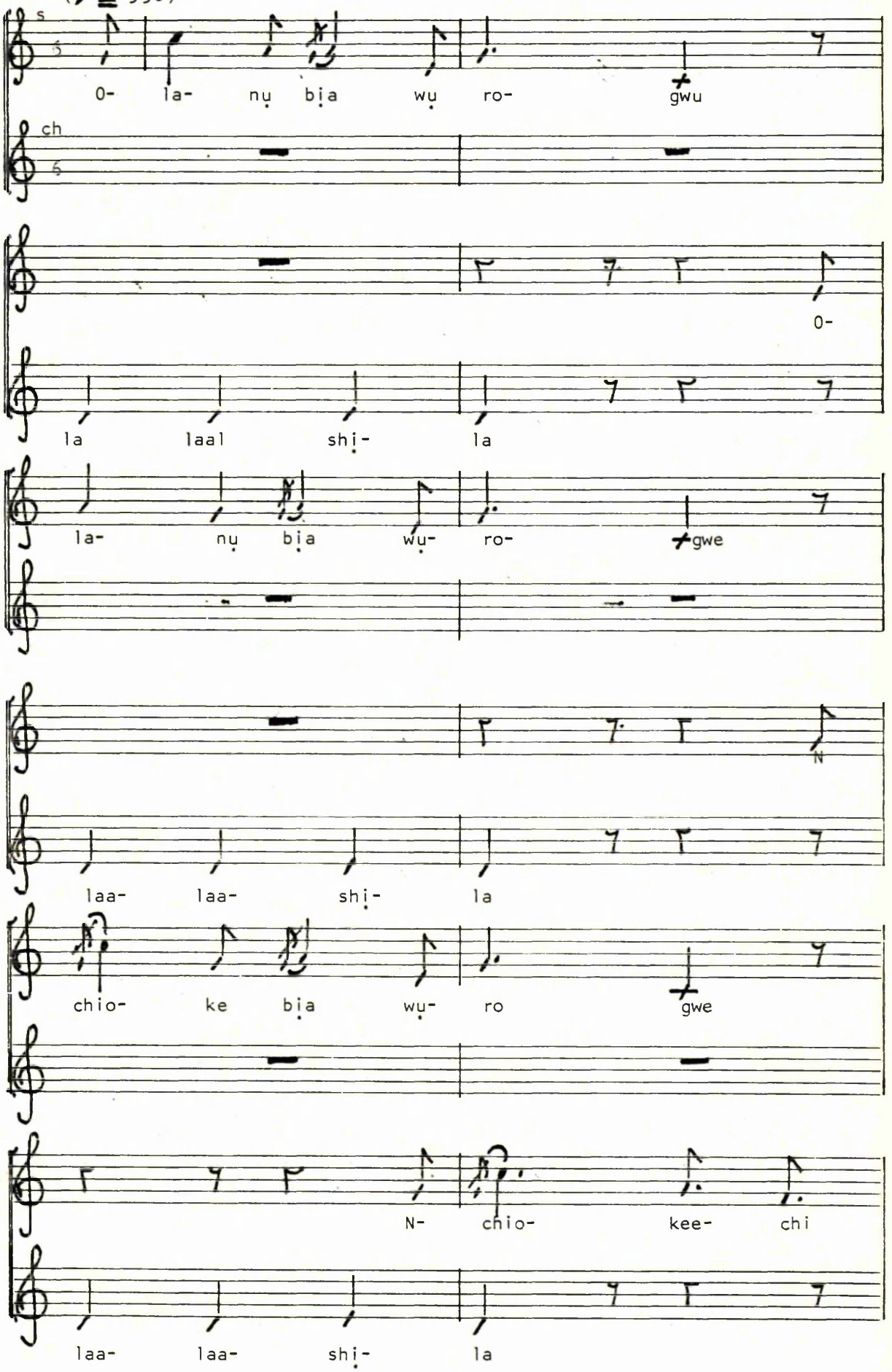


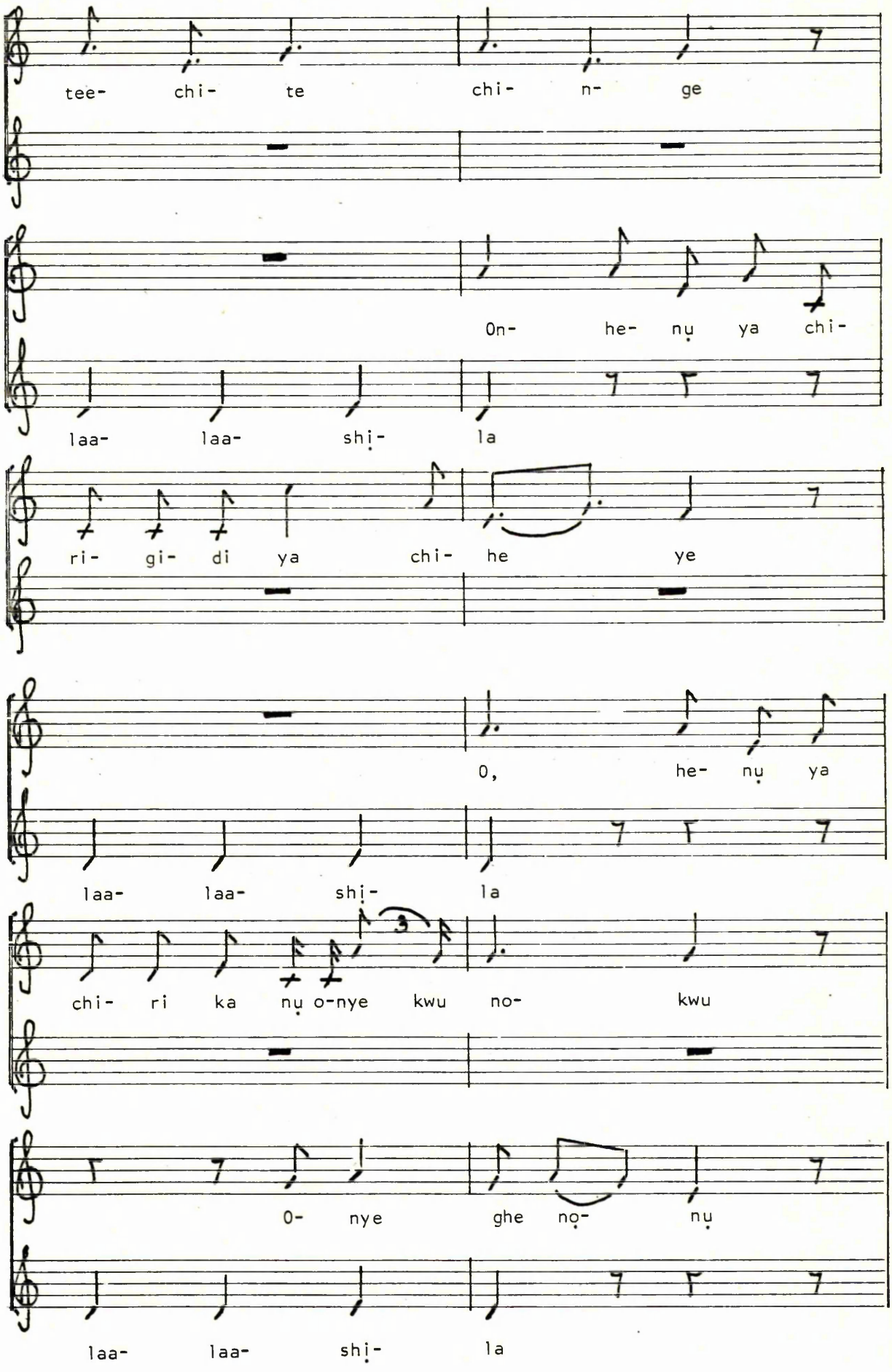

cha O n- ne yo- nyi- je- ọ
ma
ma m- mị- rị- zọ- m mị- ze- ja- tụ- kwa
m- mị- rị- zọ- m mị- zọ
O n- ne ye ọ- nwụ dị i-
m- mị- rị- zọ m mị- zọ
we ọ- nwụ e- gbu-
m- mị- rị- zọ m mị- zọ
be O n ne ye ọ- nwụ e- me-
m- mị- rị- zọ m mị- zọ
ri ọ- nwụ dị i-
m- mị- rị- zọ m- mị- zọ

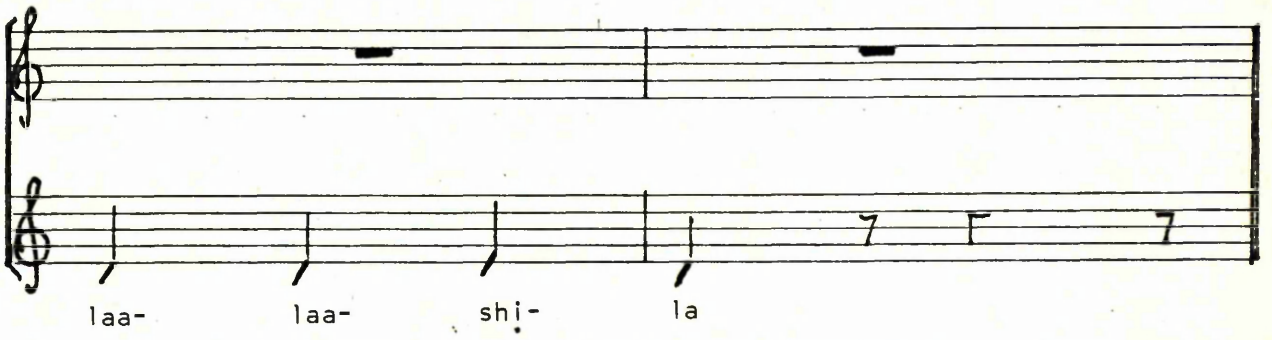

we O n- ne ye o nyi- je ọ-
m- mị- rị- zọ m mị- zọ
ma E- je a- tụ-
m- mị- rị- zọ m mị- zọ
kwa ọ- nwụ- dị- i
m- mị- rị- zọ m mị- zọ
we m- mị- rị- zọ m mị- zọ
m- mị- rị- zọ m mị- zọ

7. Olee anụ bịa wụrụ ogwe (Eziagụ A55) Akụezue Onyeje

(♪ = 336)

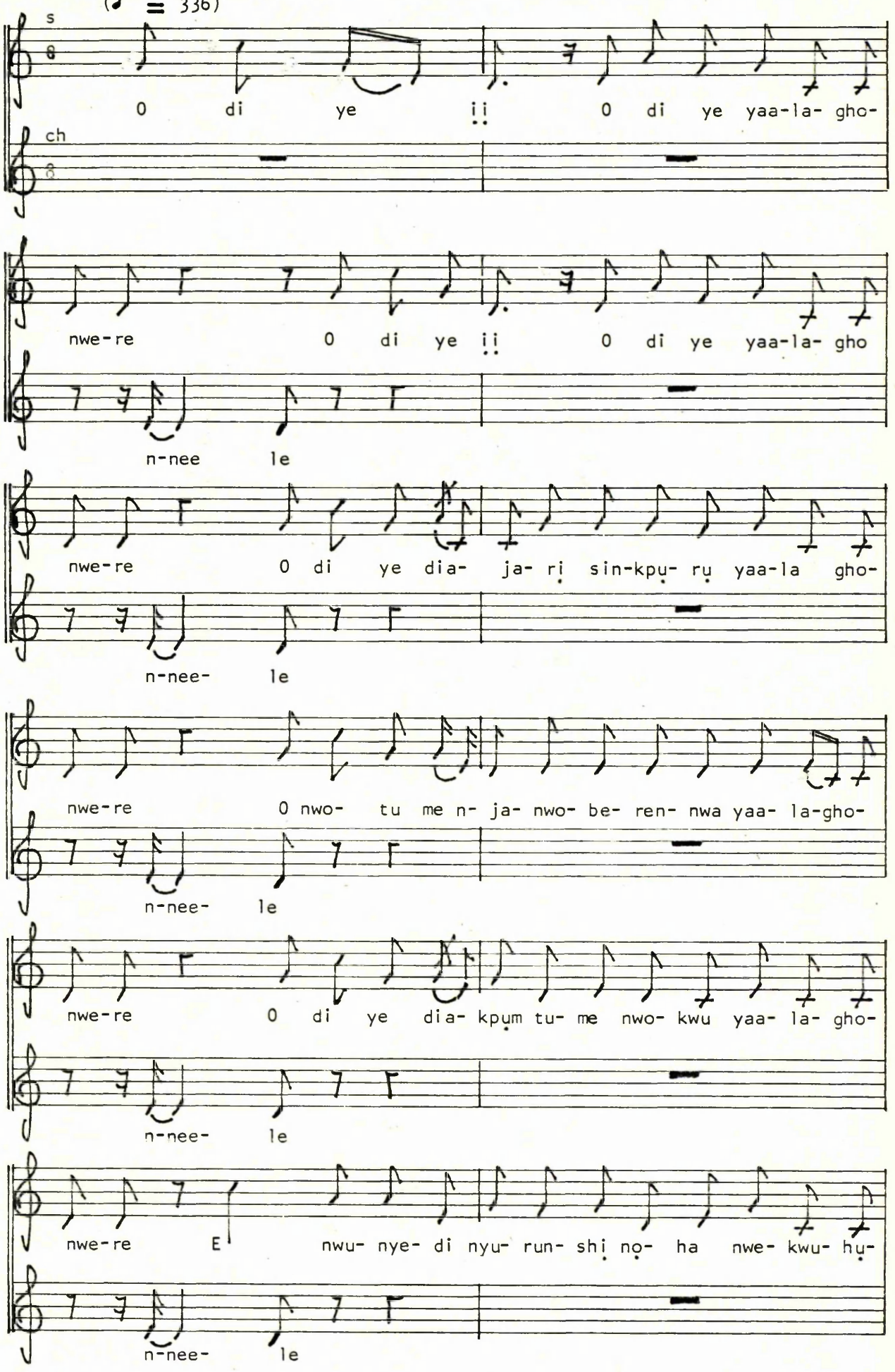


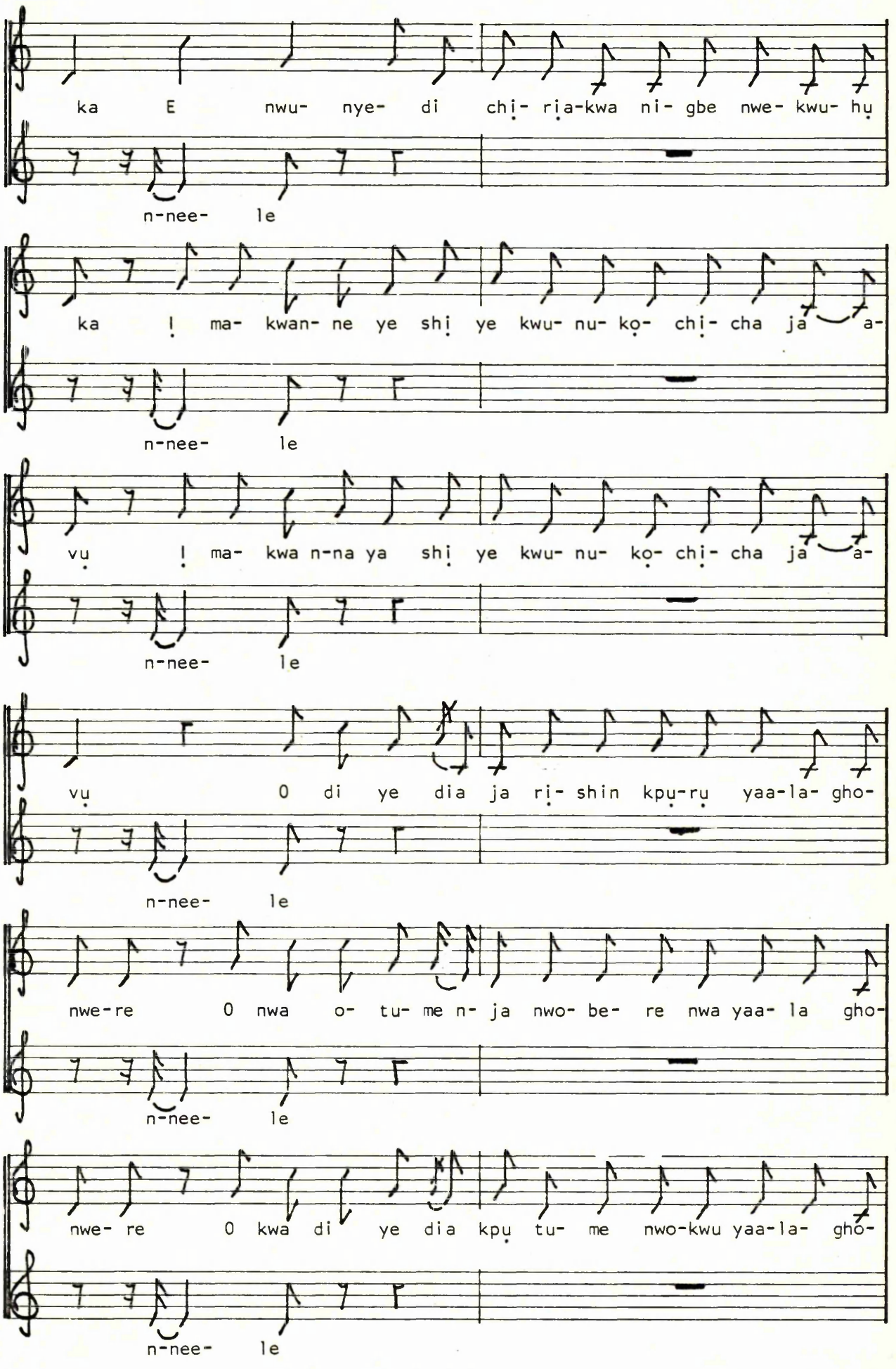

tee- chi- te chi- n- ge
On- he- nụ ya chi-
laa- laa- shị- la
ri- gi- di ya chi- he ye
O, he- nụ ya
laa- laa- shị- la
3
chi- ri ka nụ o-nye kwu no- kwu
O- nye ghe nọ- nụ
laa- laa- shị- la

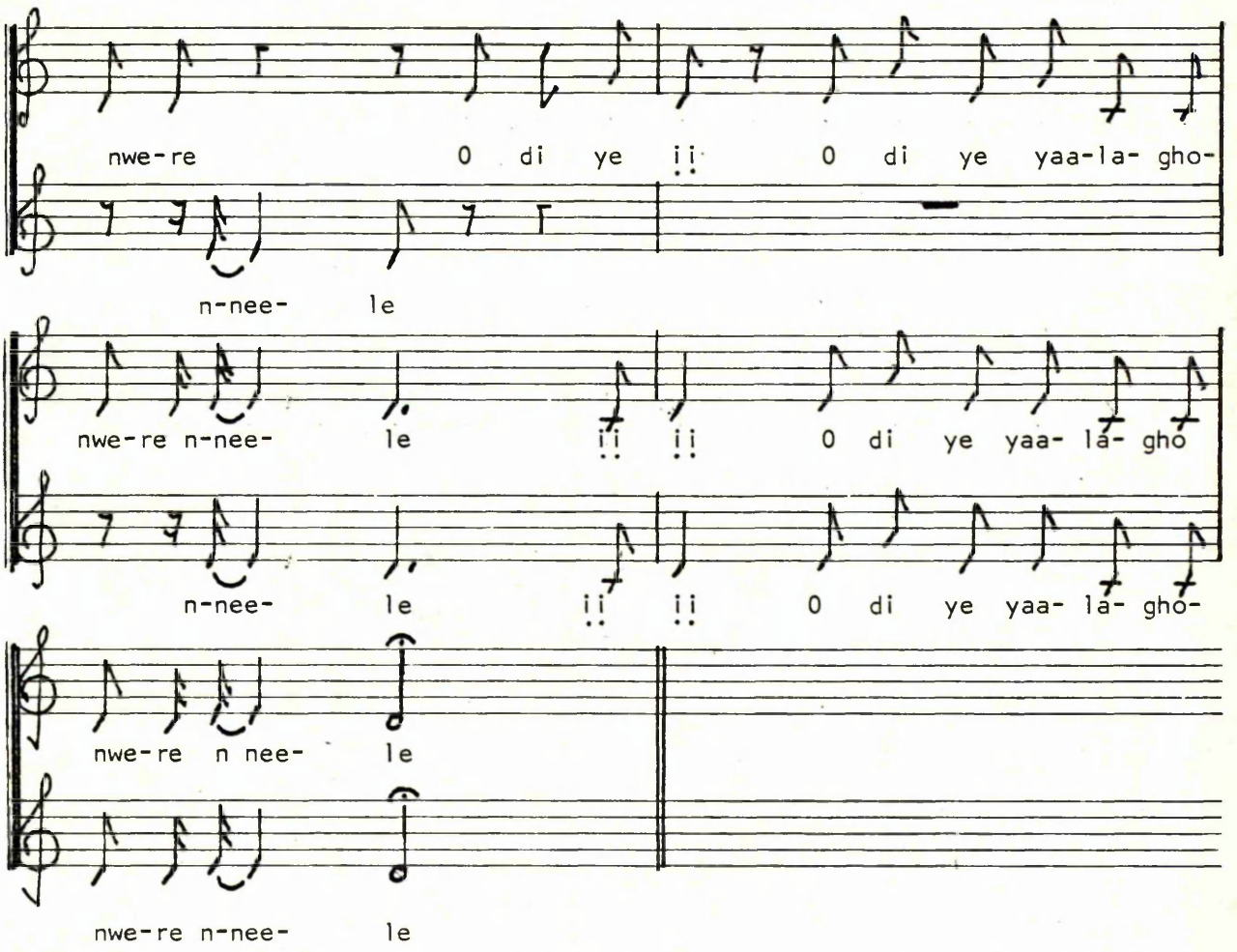

laa-
laa-
shi-
la

8. O di ye, ya alaghụ onwere? (Eziagụ A56) Akụezue Onyeje

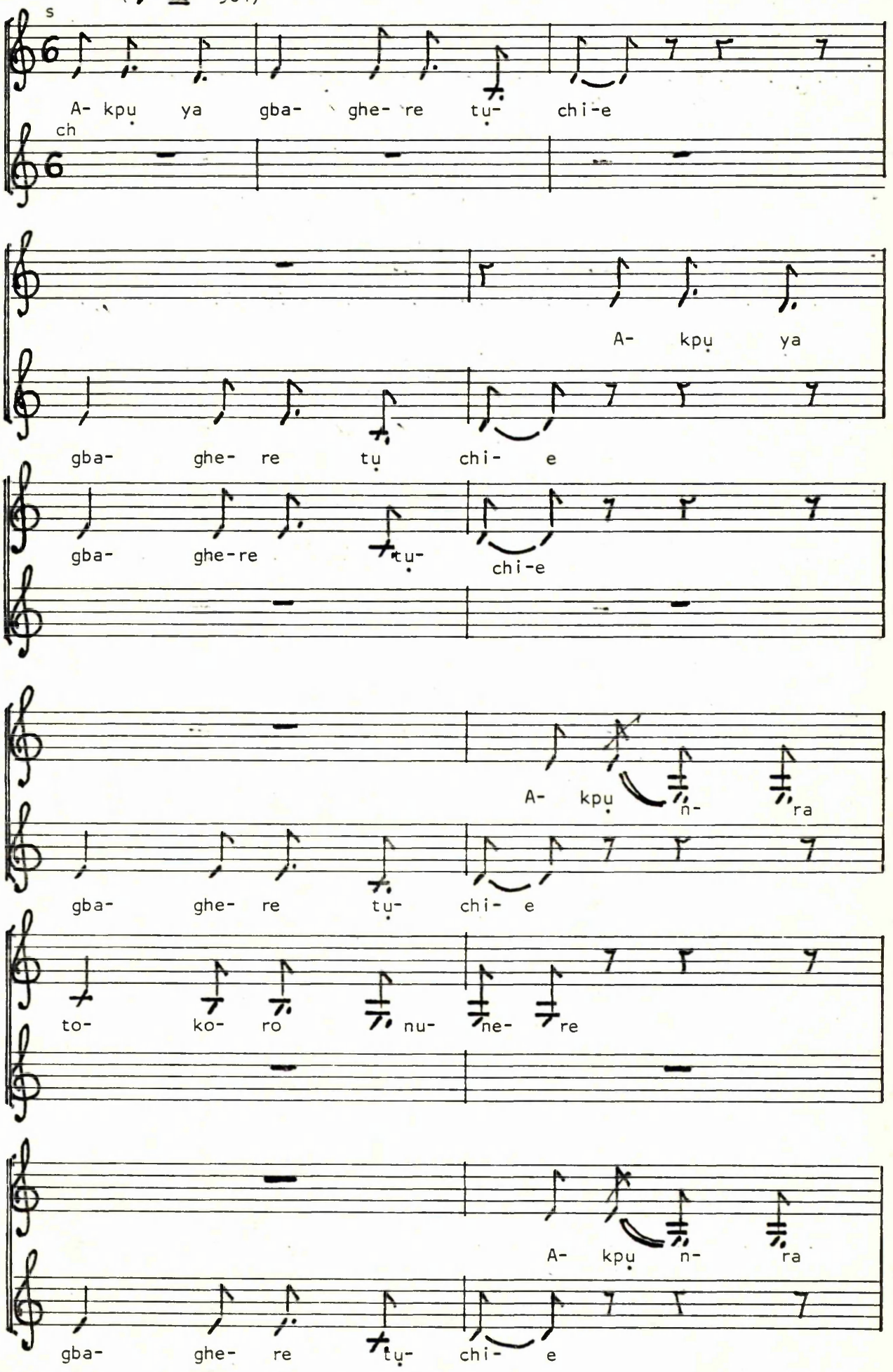
(♪ = 336)

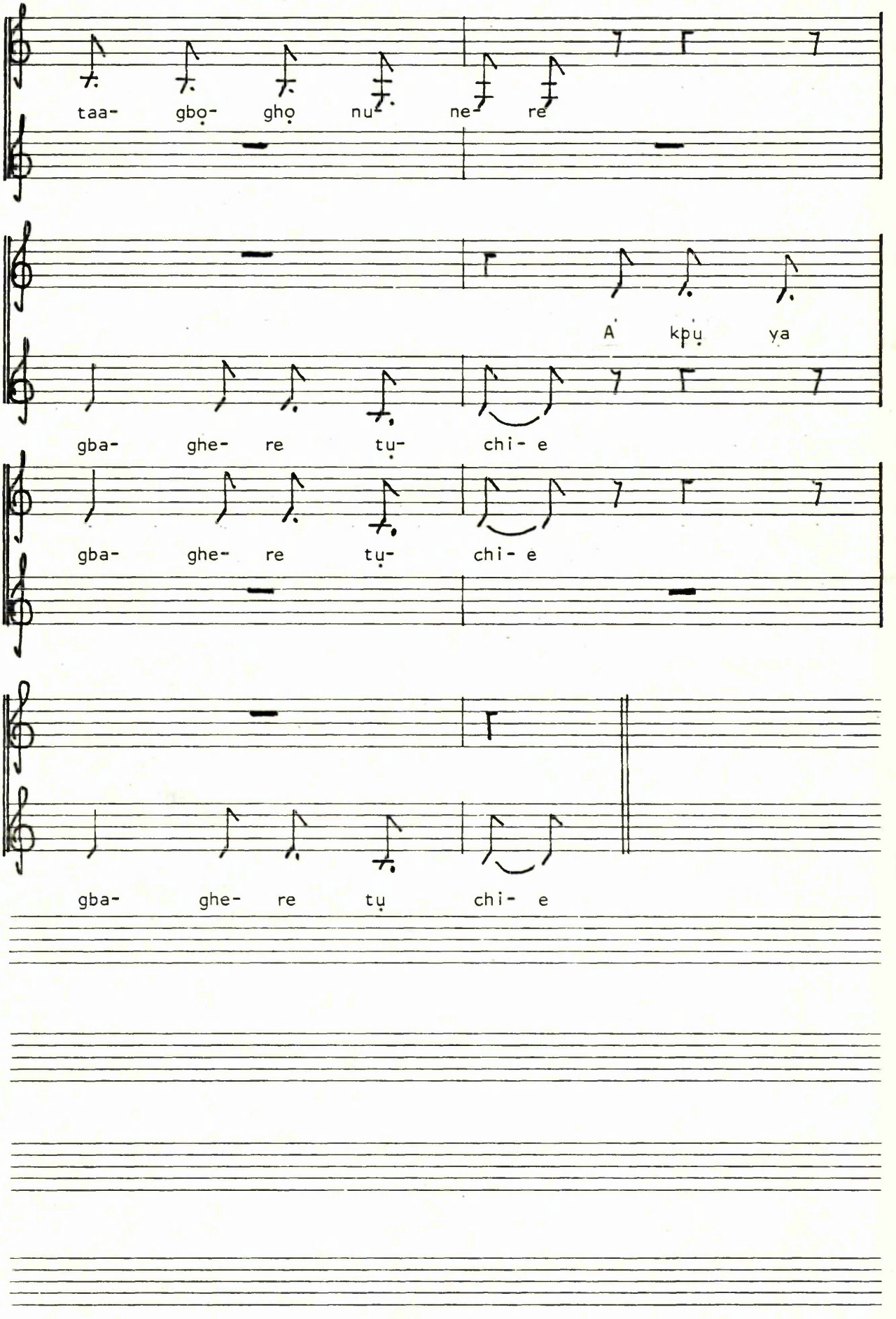



ka E nwu- nye- di chị- rịa-kwa ni- gbe nwe- kwu- hụ
n-nee- le
ka ị ma- kwan- ne ye shị ye kwu- nu- kọ- chị- cha ja a-
n-nee- le
vụ ị ma- kwa n-na ya shị ye kwu- nu- kọ- chị- cha ja a-
n-nee- le
vụ 0 di ye dia ja rị- shin kpụ-rụ yaa-la- gho-
n-nee- le
nwe-re 0 nwa o- tu- me n- ja nwo- be- re nwa yaa- la gho-
n-nee- le
nwe- re 0 kwa di ye dia kpụ tu- me nwo-kwu yaa-la- gho-
n-nee- le

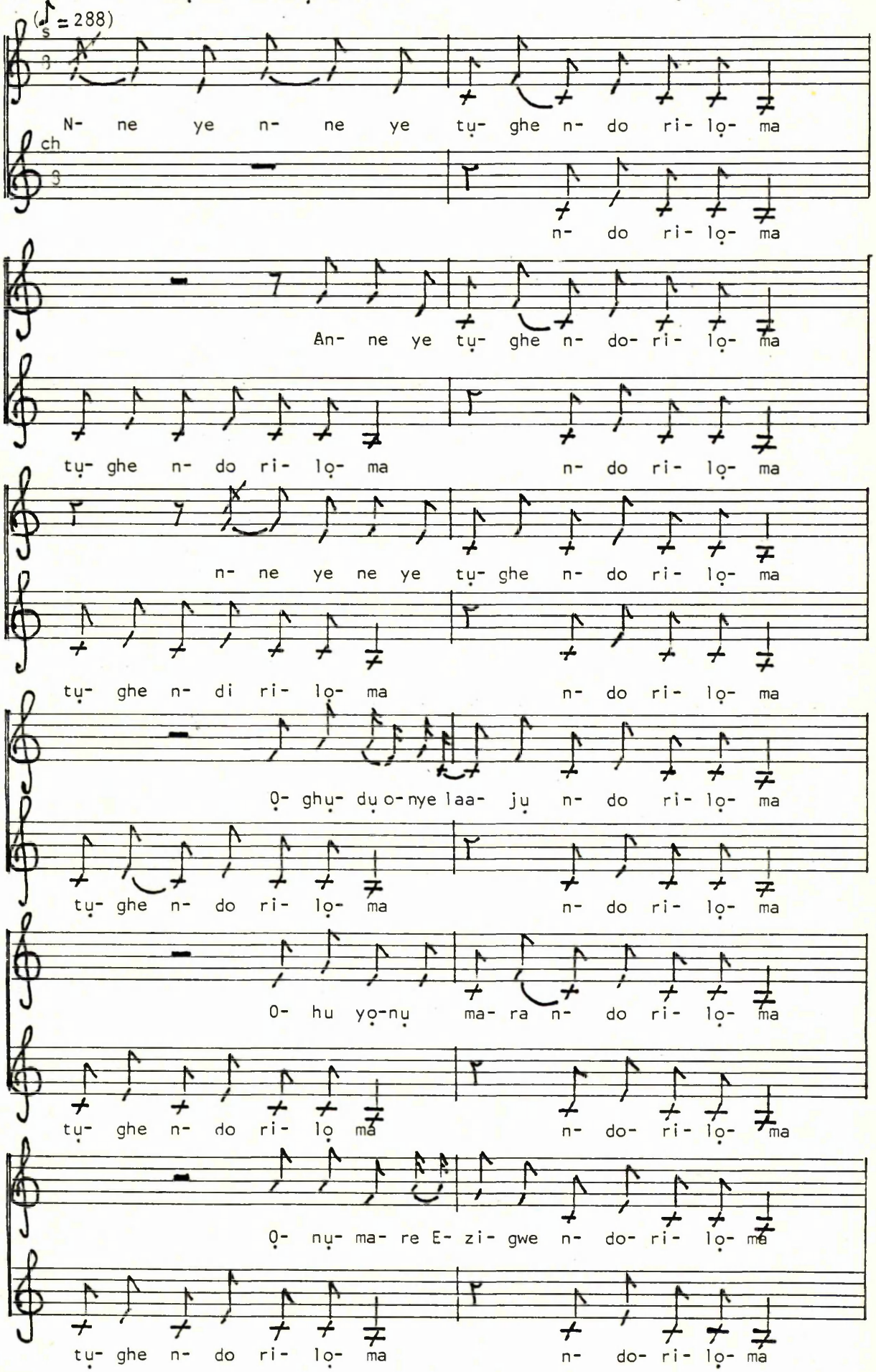

nwe-re 0 di ye i i 0 di ye yaa-la- gho-
n-nee- le
nwe-re n-nee- le i i i i 0 di ye yaa- la- gho
n-nee- le i i i i 0 di ye yaa- la- gho-
nwe-re n nee- le
nwe-re n-nee- le

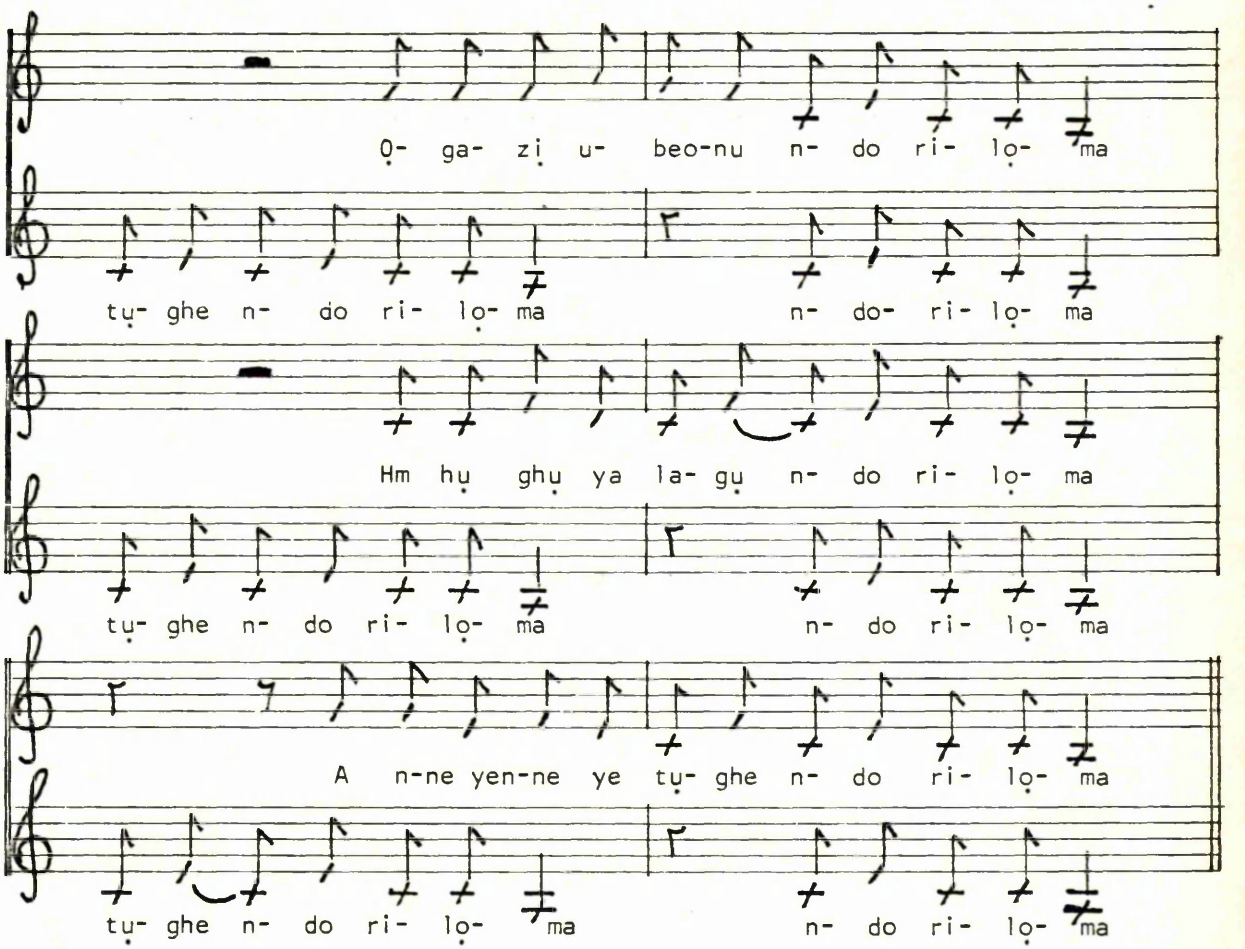
(♪ = 384)


s
A- kpụ ya gba- ghe- re tụ- chi-e
ch
A- kpụ ya
gba- ghe- re tụ chi- e
gba- ghe-re tụ- chi-e
A- kpụ n- ra
gba- ghe- re tụ- chi- e
to- ko- ro nu- ne- re
A- kpụ n- ra
gba- ghe- re tụ- chi- e

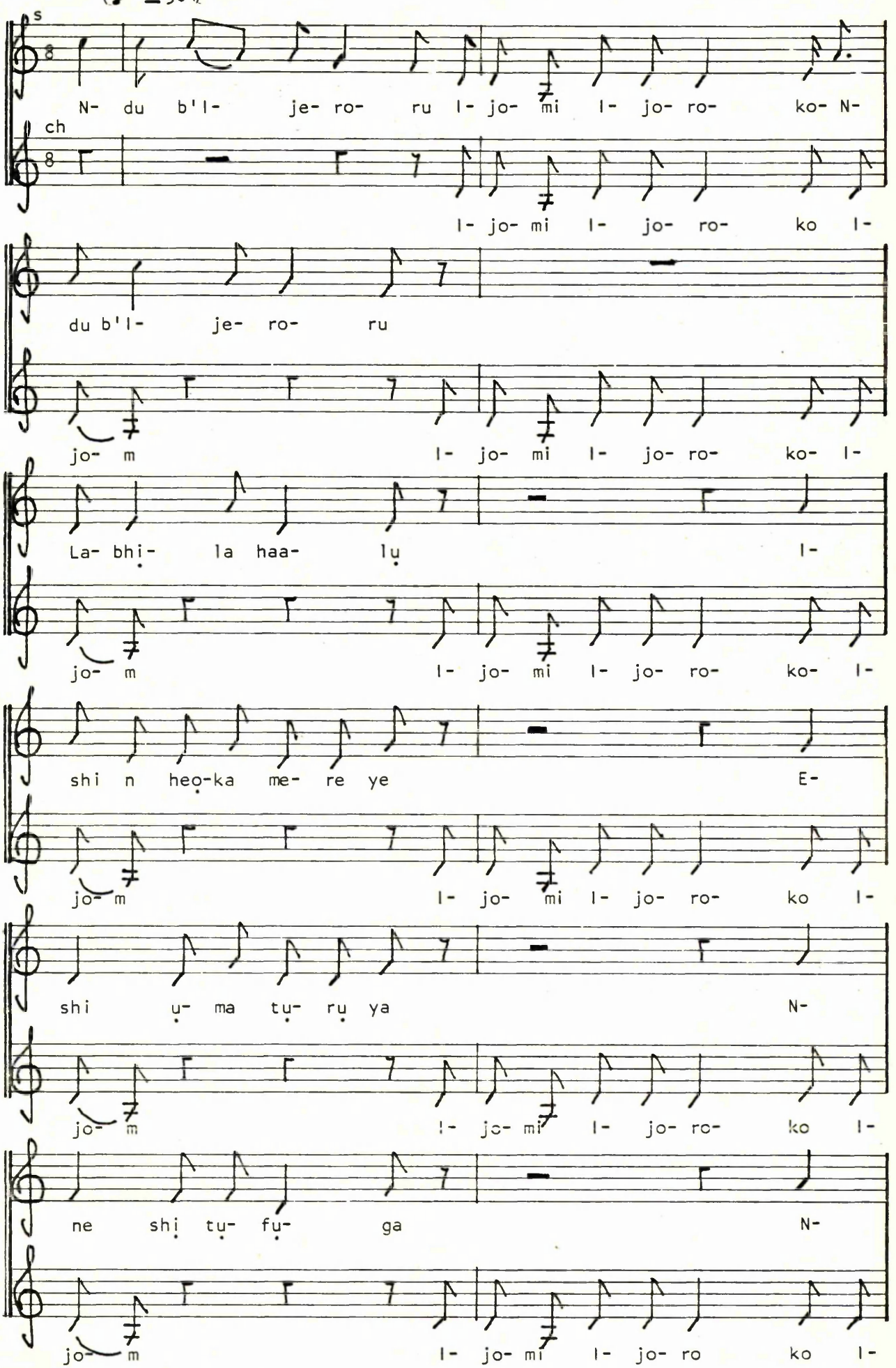

taa- gbọ- ghọ nu- ne- re
A kpụ ya
gba- ghe- re tụ- chi- e
gba- ghe- re tụ- chi- e
gba- ghe- re tụ chi- e

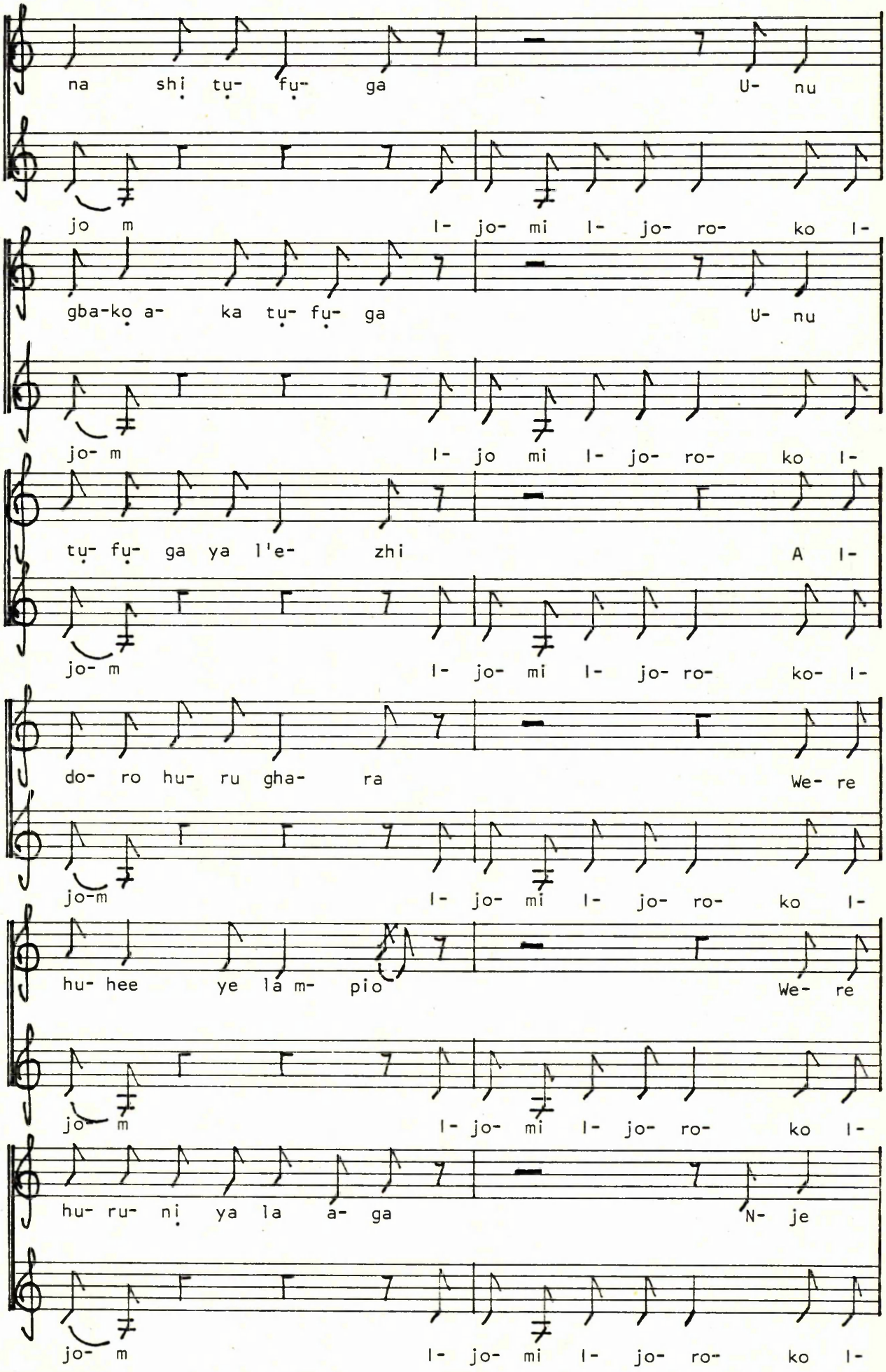
10. Nne ya, nne ya tughe (Eziagu A2 b) Akuenzue Onyeje

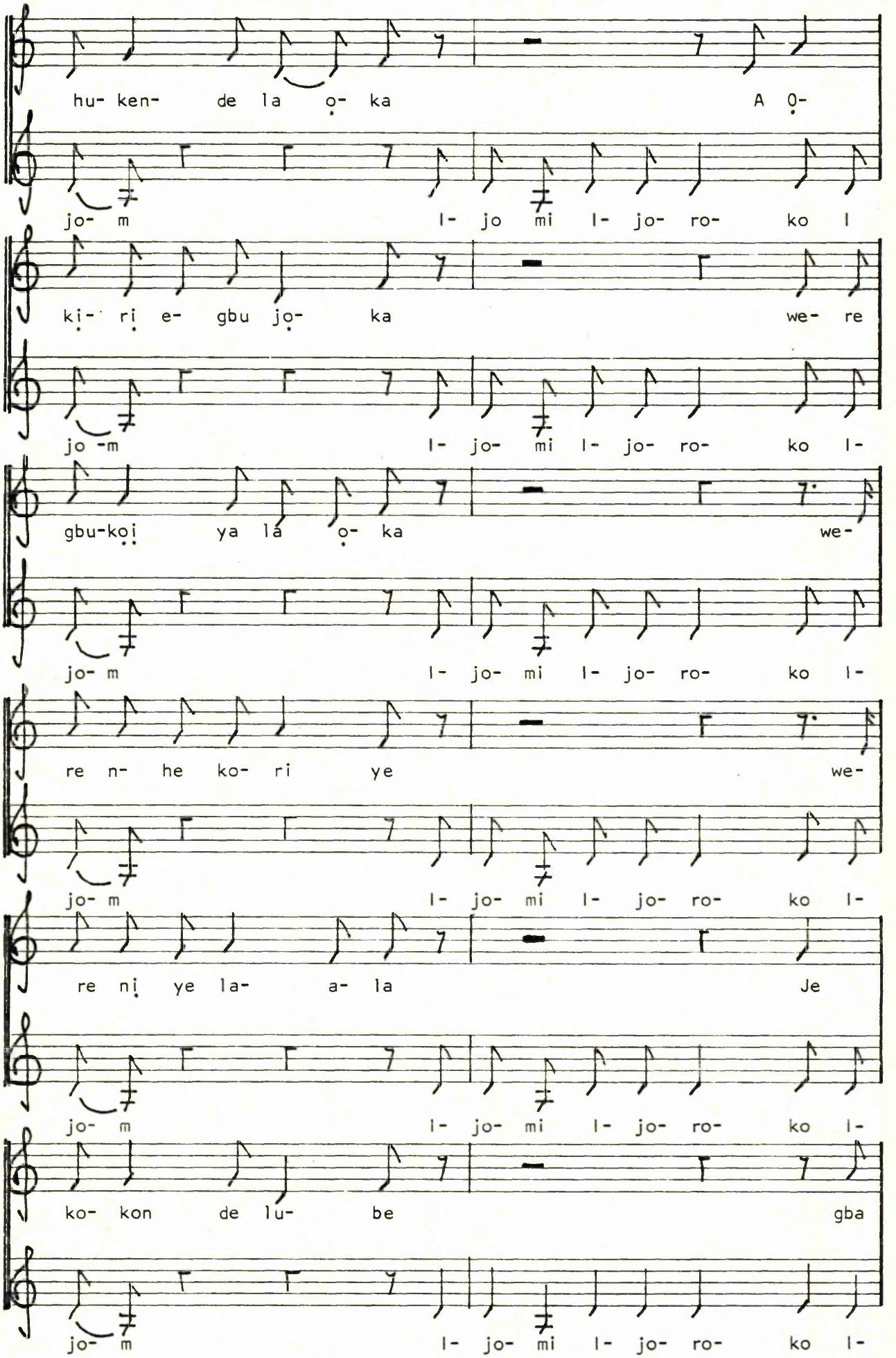


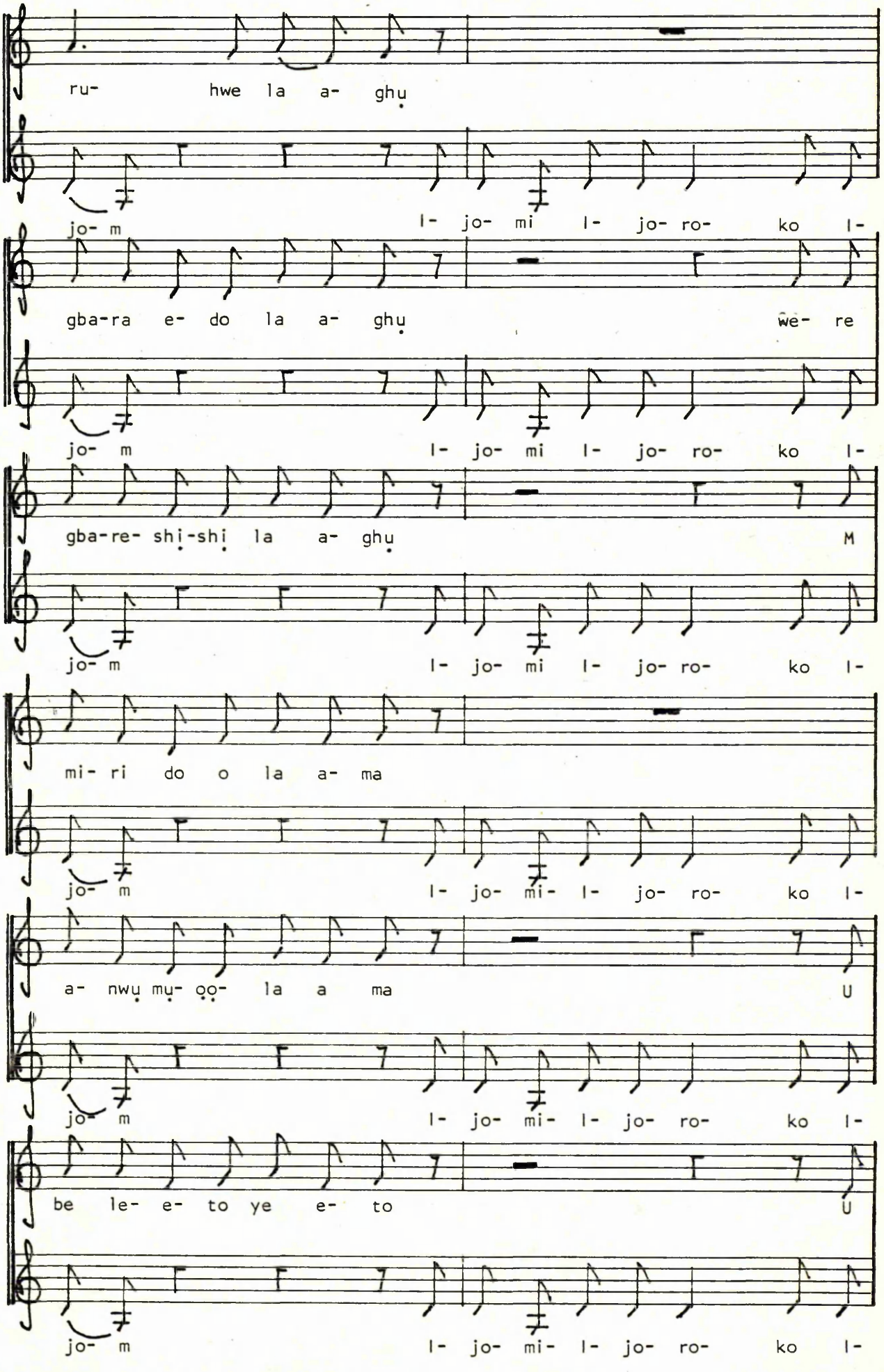

Ọ- ga- zị u- beo-nu n- do ri- lọ- ma
tụ- ghe n- do ri- lọ- ma
n- do- ri- lọ- ma
Hm hụ ghụ ya la- gụ n- do ri- lọ- ma
tụ- ghe n- do ri- lọ- ma
n- do ri- lọ- ma
A n-ne yen-ne ye tụ- ghe n- do ri- lọ- ma
tụ- ghe n- do ri- lọ- ma
n- do ri- lọ- ma

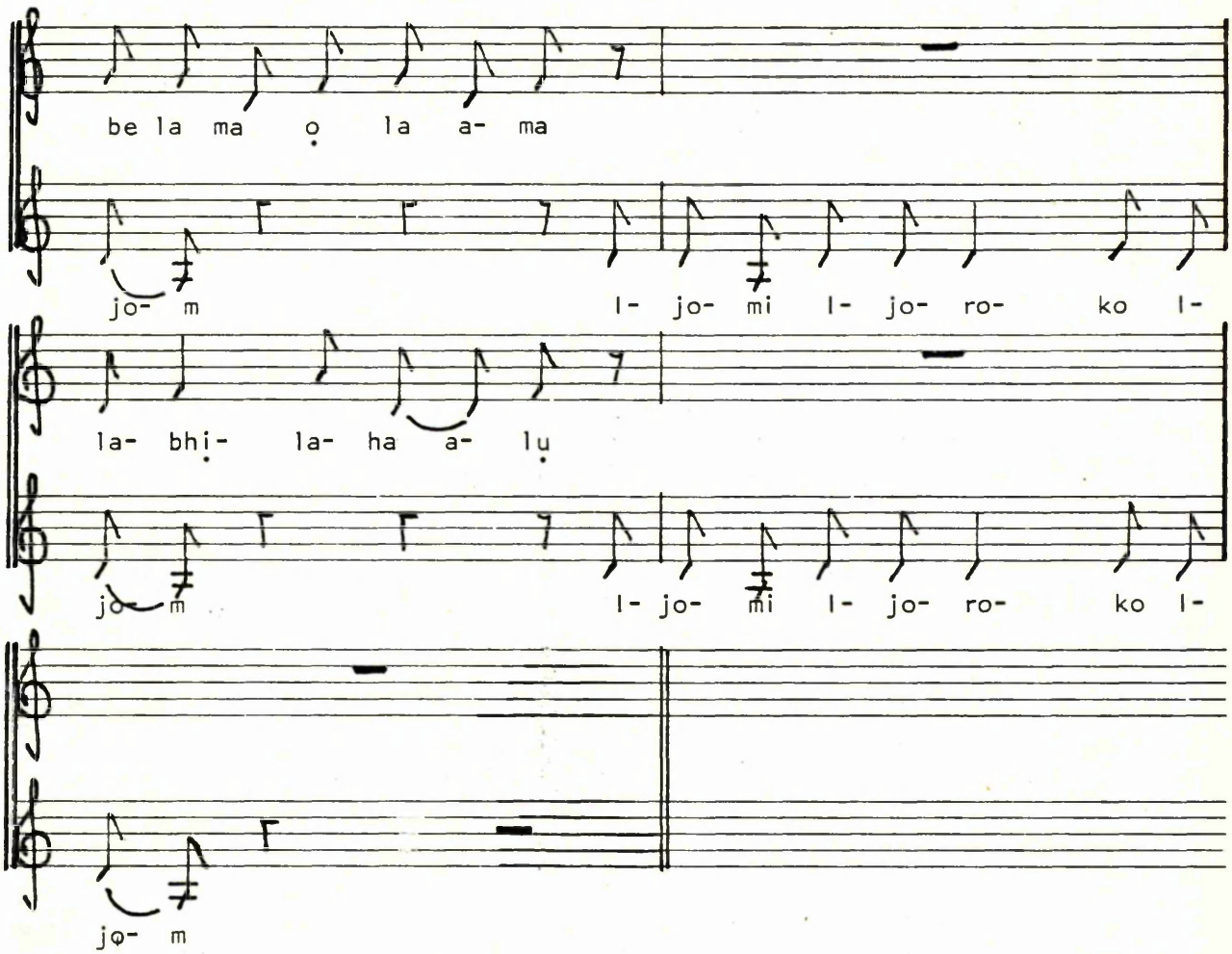
(♪ = 384)

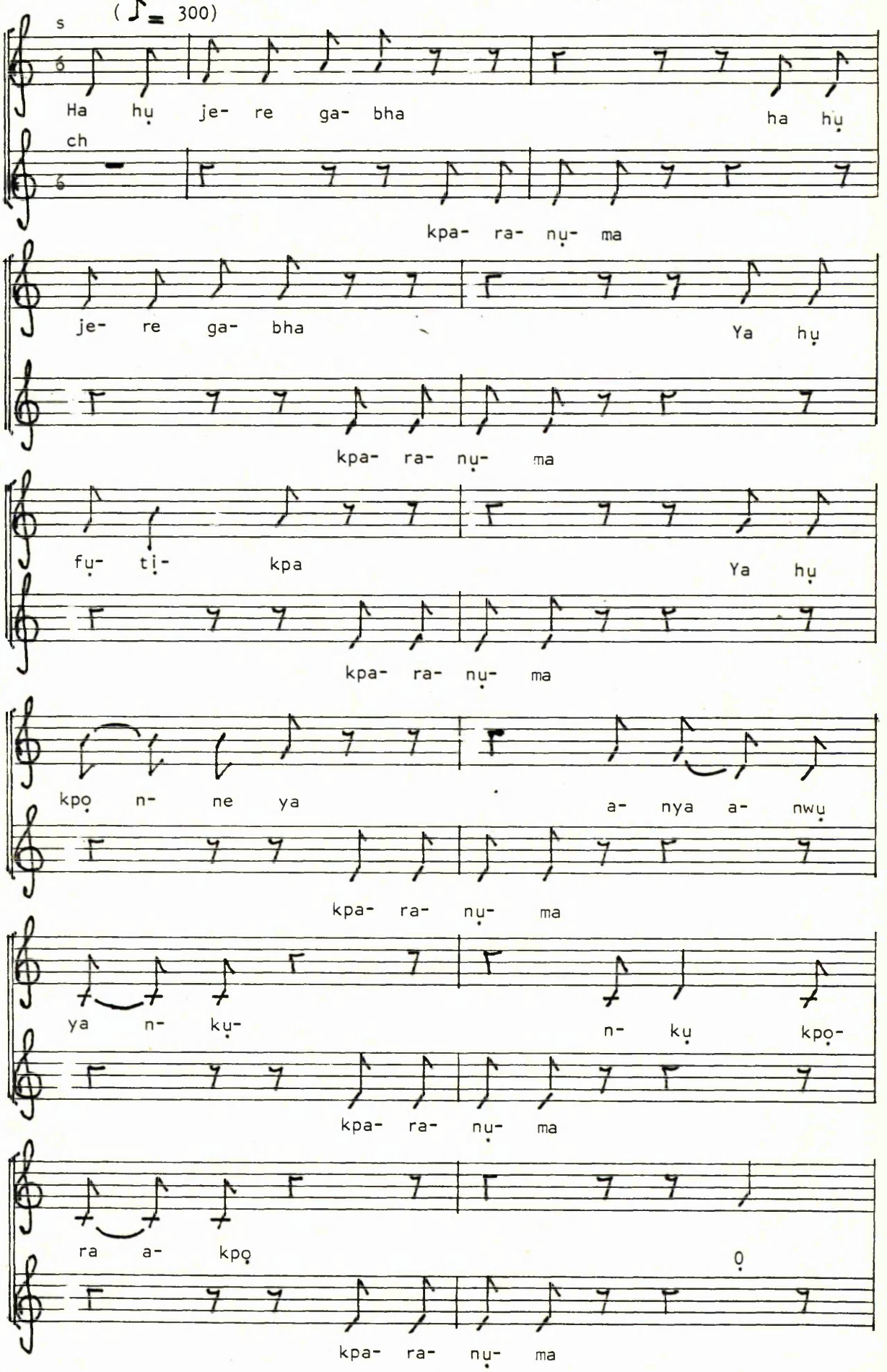

s
N- du b'I- je- ro- ru I- jo- mi I- jo- ro- ko- N-
ch
I- jo- mi I- jo- ro- ko I-
du b'I- je- ro- ru
jo- m I- jo- mi I- jo- ro- ko- I-
La- bhi- la haa- lụ I-
jo- m I- jo- mi I- jo- ro- ko- I-
shi n heọ-ka me- re ye E-
jo- m I- jo- mi I- jo- ro- ko I-
shi ụ- ma tụ- rụ ya N-
jo- m I- jo- mi I- jo- ro- ko I-
ne shị tụ- fụ- ga N-
jo- m I- jo- mi I- jo- ro ko I-

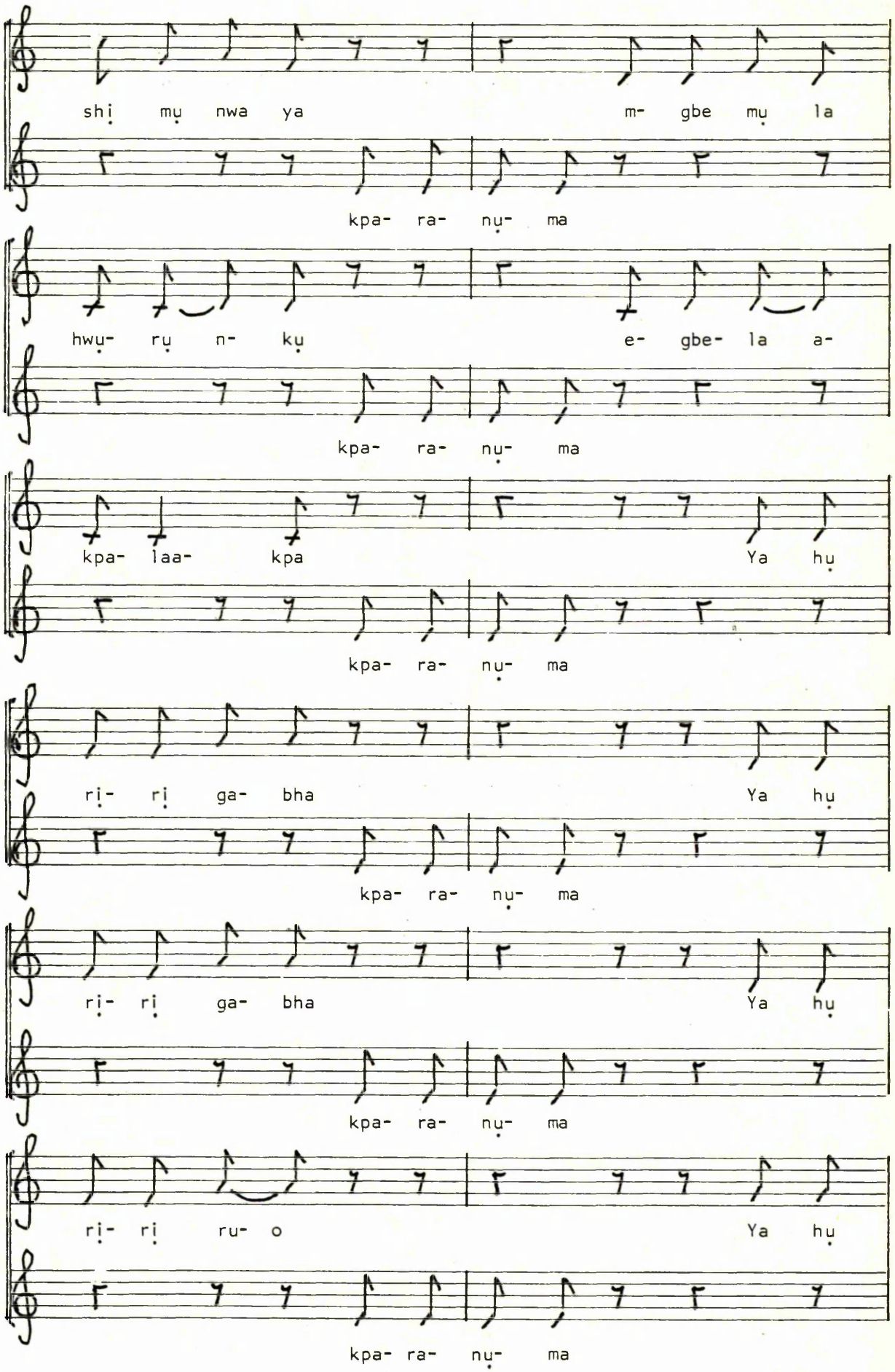

na shi tu- fu- ga U- nu
jo m I- jo- mi I- jo- ro- ko I-
gba-ko a- ka tu- fu- ga U- nu
jo- m I- jo mi I- jo- ro- ko I-
tu- fu- ga ya l'e- zhi A I-
jo- m I- jo- mi I- jo- ro- ko- I-
do- ro hu- ru gha- ra We- re
jo-m I- jo- mi I- jo- ro- ko I-
hu- hee ye la m- pio We- re
jo- m I- jo- mi I- jo- ro- ko I-
hu- ru- ni ya la a- ga N- je
jo- m I- jo- mi I- jo- ro- ko I-

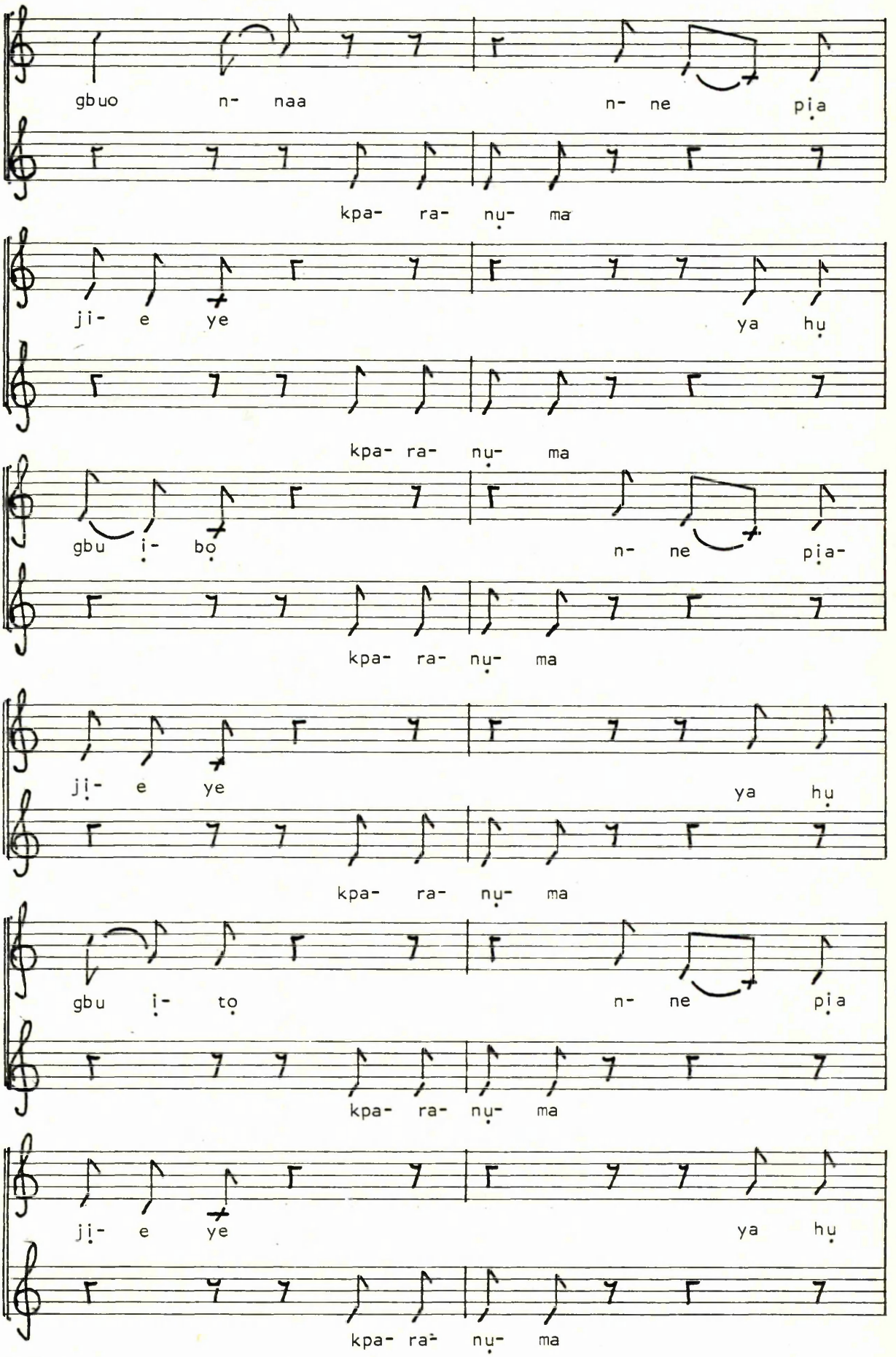

hu- ken- de la ọ- ka A ọ-
jo- m l- jo mi l- jo- ro- ko l
ki- ri e- gbu jo- ka we- re
jo -m l- jo- mi l- jo- ro- ko l-
gbu-koi ya la ọ- ka we-
jo- m l- jo- mi l- jo- ro- ko l-
re n- he ko- ri ye we-
jo- m l- jo- mi l- jo- ro- ko l-
re ni ye la- a- la Je
jo- m l- jo- mi l- jo- ro- ko l-
ko- kon de lu- be gba
jo- m l- jo- mi l- jo- ro- ko l-

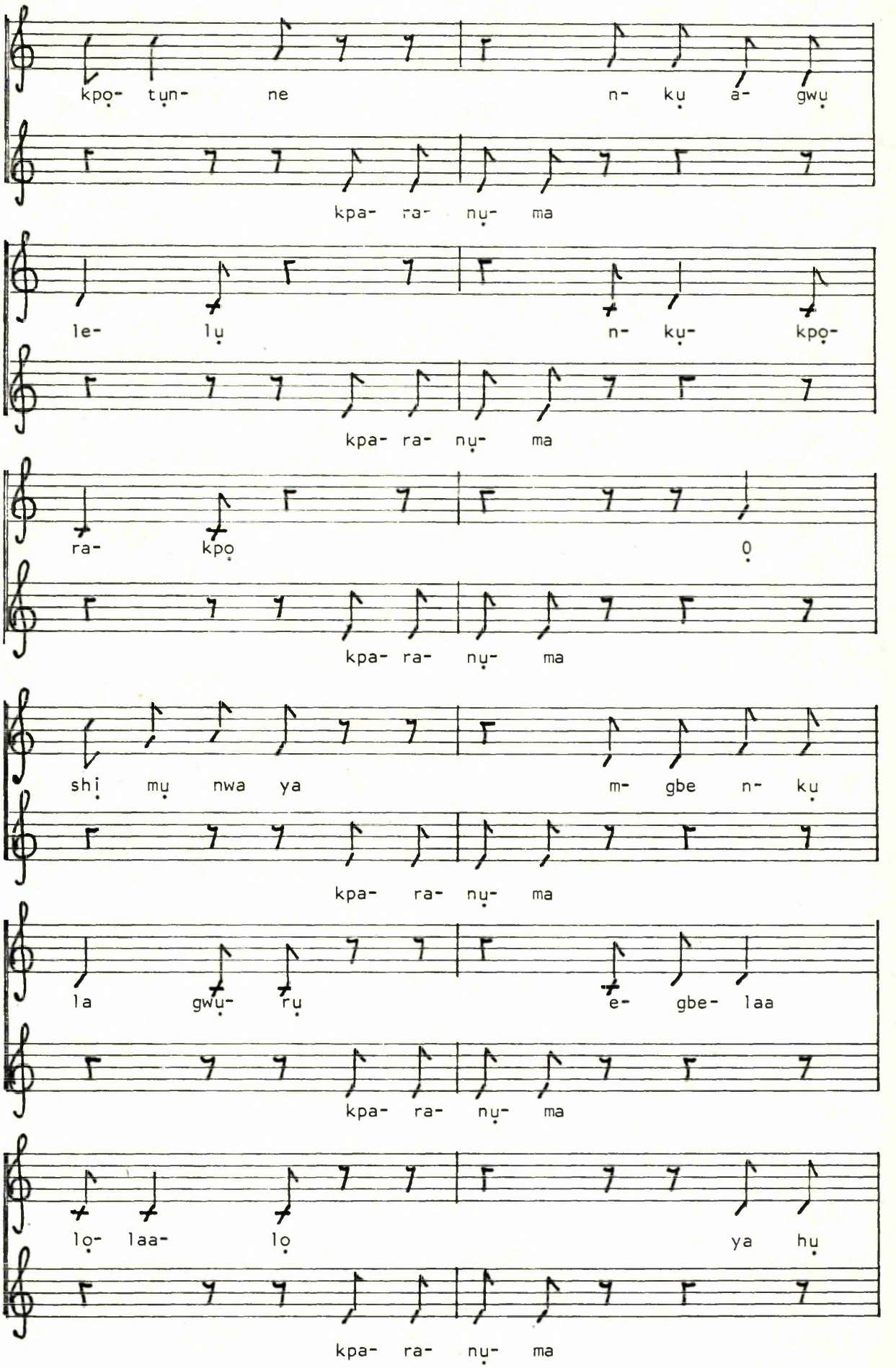

ru- hwe la a- ghụ
jo- m I- jo- mi I- jo- ro- ko I-
gba-ra e- do la a- ghụ we- re
jo- m I- jo- mi I- jo- ro- ko I-
gba-re- shị-shị la a- ghụ M
jo- m I- jo- mi I- jo- ro- ko I-
mi- ri do o la a- ma
jo- m I- jo- mi- I- jo- ro- ko I-
a- nwụ mụ- ọọ- la a ma U
jo- m I- jo- mi- I- jo- ro- ko I-
be le- e- to ye e- to U
jo- m I- jo- mi- I- jo- ro- ko I-

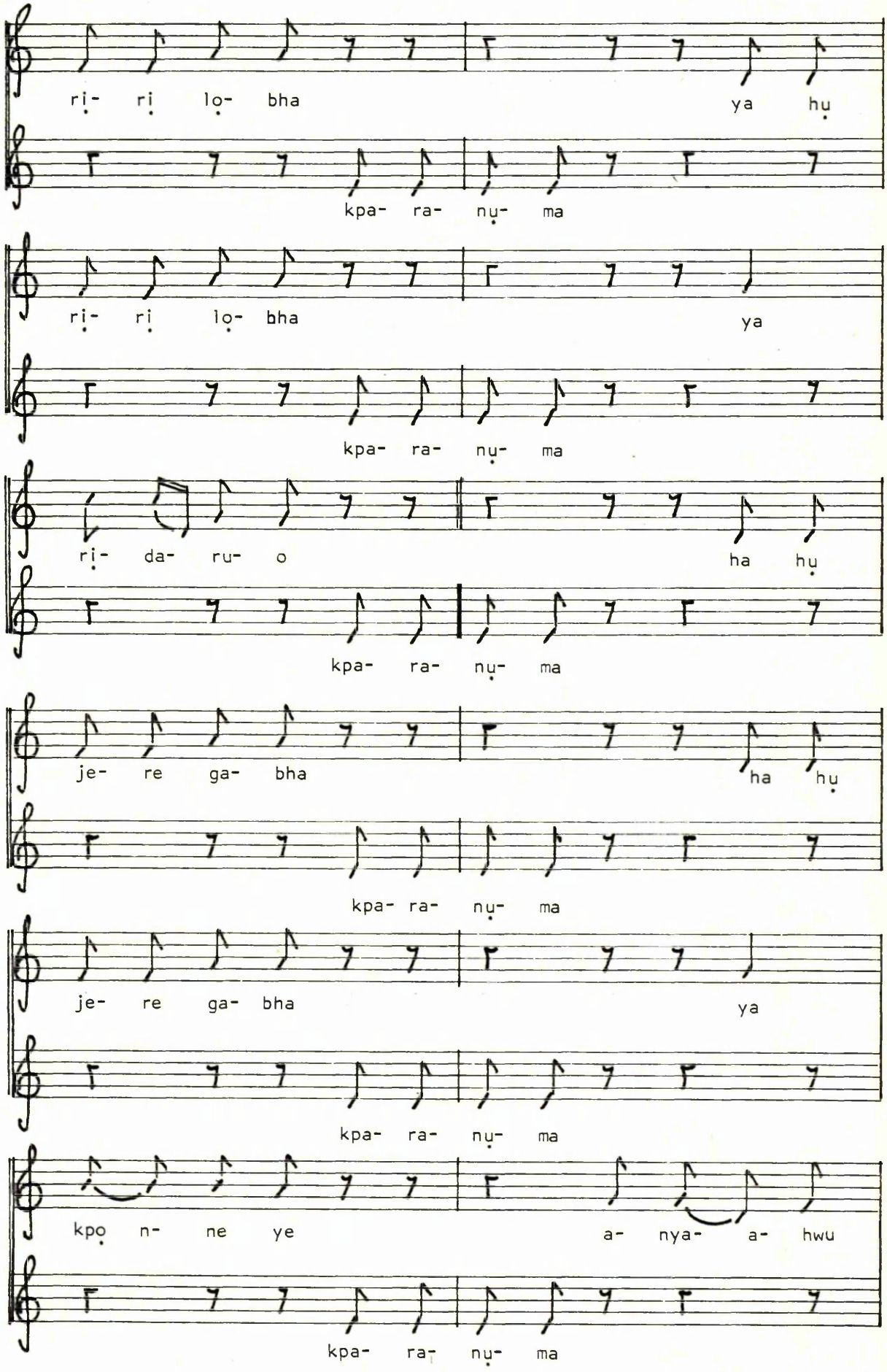

be la ma o la a- ma
jo- m l- jo- mi l- jo- ro- ko l-
la- bhi- la- ha a- lu
jo- m l- jo- mi l- jo- ro- ko l-
jo- m

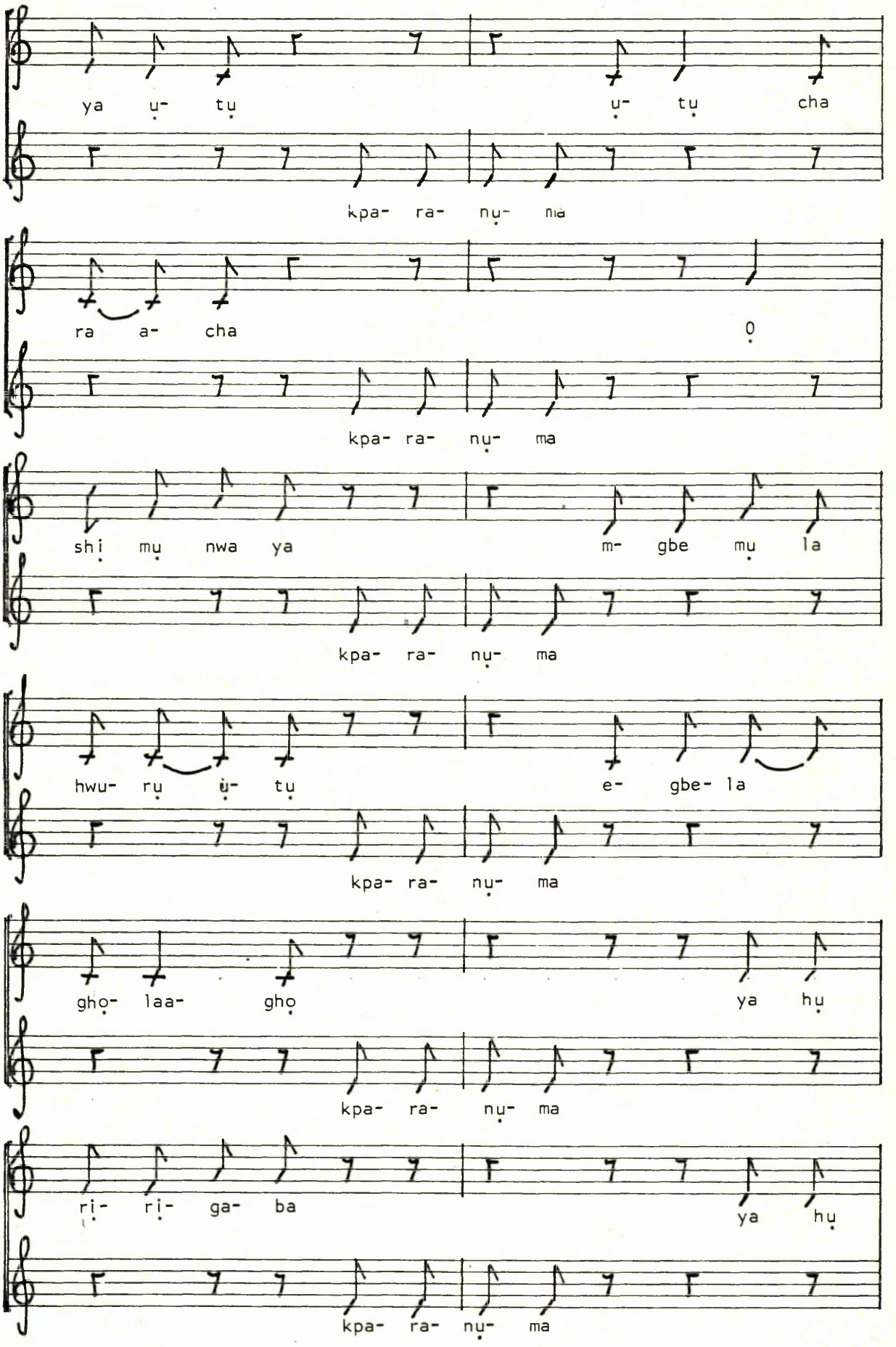

(♪ = 300)
s
Ha hụ je- re ga- bha ha hụ
ch
kpa- ra- nụ- ma
je- re ga- bha Ya hụ
kpa- ra- nụ- ma
fụ- tị- kpa Ya hụ
kpa- ra- nụ- ma
kpọ n- ne ya a- nya a- nwụ
kpa- ra- nụ- ma
ya n- kụ- n- kụ kpọ-
kpa- ra- nụ- ma
ra a- kpọ ọ
kpa- ra- nụ- ma

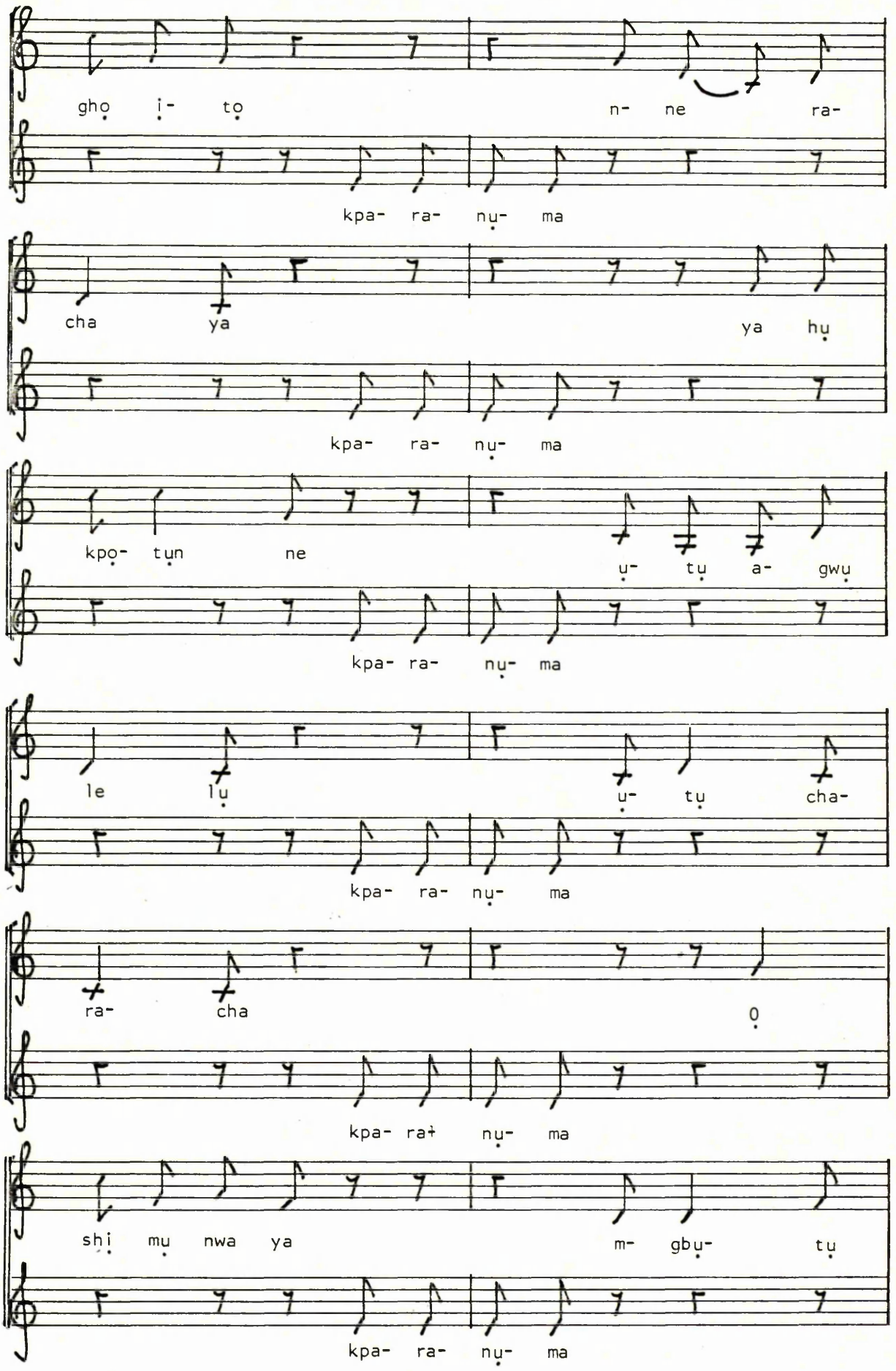

shị mụ nwa ya m- gbe mụ la
kpa- ra- nụ- ma
hwụ- rụ n- kụ e- gbe- la a-
kpa- ra- nụ- ma
kpa- laa- kpa Ya hụ
kpa- ra- nụ- ma
rị- rị ga- bha Ya hụ
kpa- ra- nụ- ma
rị- rị ga- bha Ya hụ
kpa- ra- nụ- ma
rị- rị ru- o Ya hụ
kpa- ra- nụ- ma

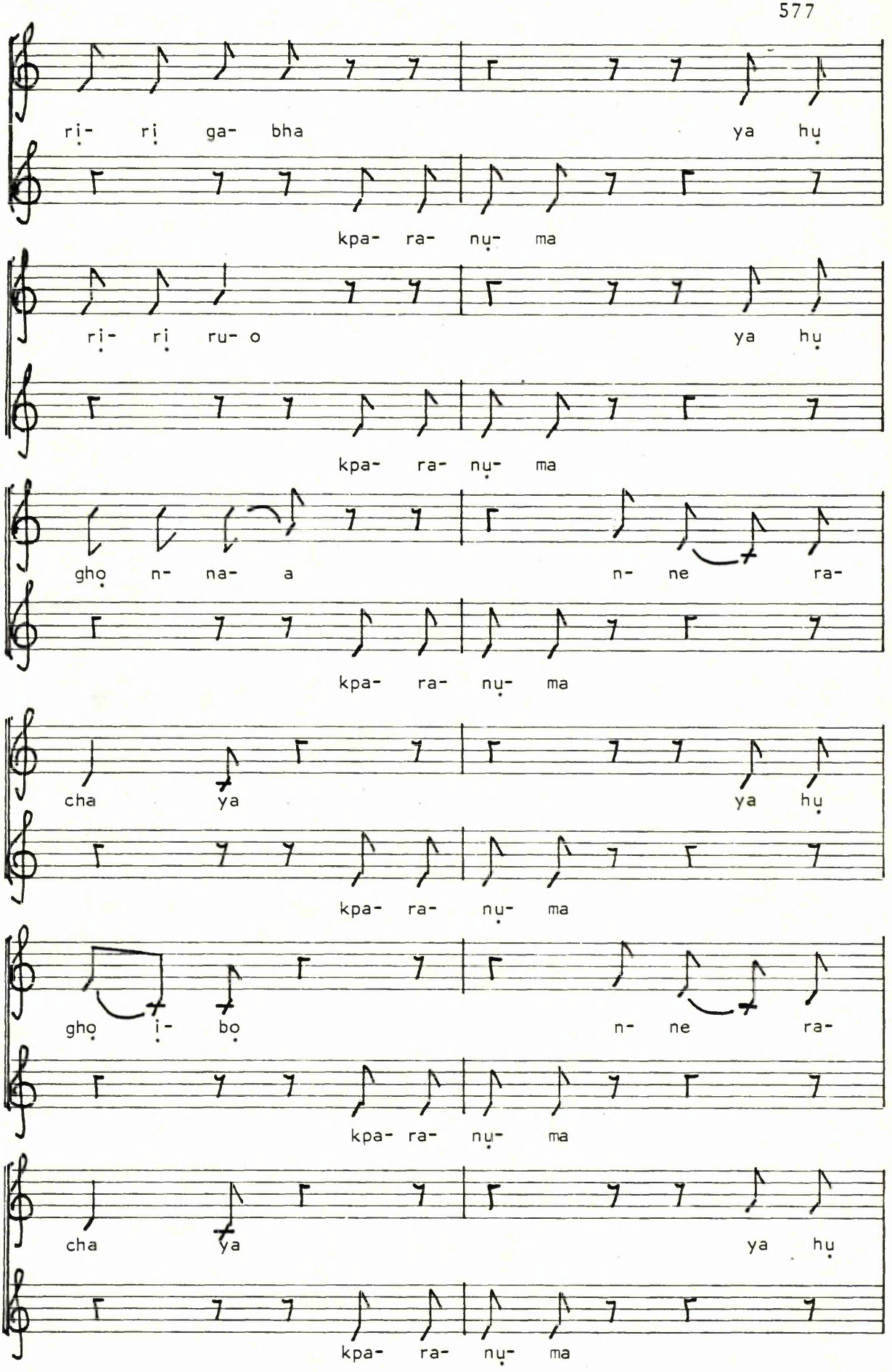

gbuo n- naa n- ne pịa
kpa- ra- nụ- ma
ji- e ye ya hụ
kpa- ra- nụ- ma
gbu ị- bọ n- ne pịa-
kpa- ra- nụ- ma
jị- e ye ya hụ
kpa- ra- nụ- ma
gbu ị- tọ n- ne pịa
kpa- ra- nụ- ma
jị- e ye ya hụ
kpa- ra- nụ- ma

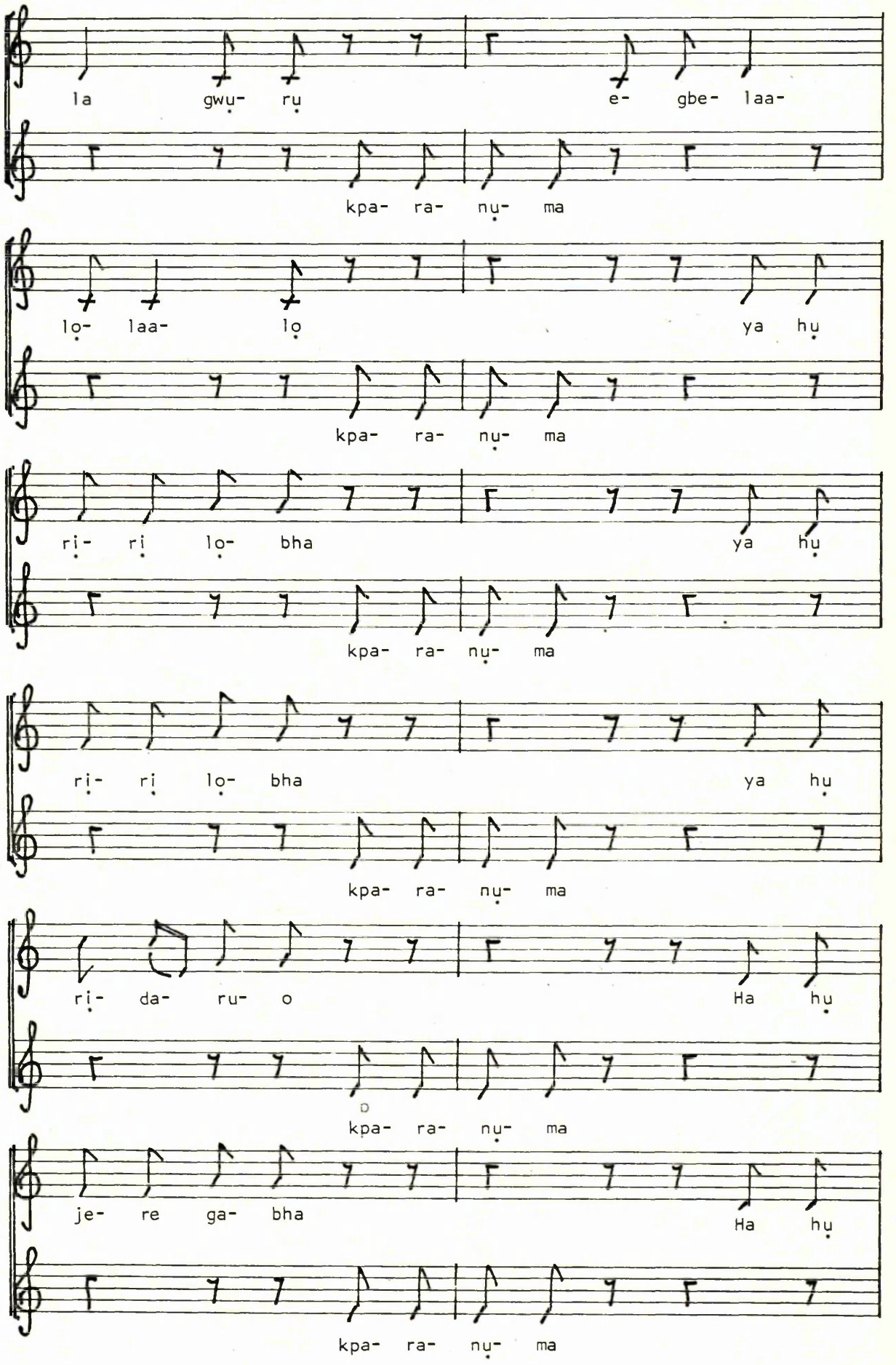

kpọ- tụn- ne n- kụ a- gwụ
kpa- ra- nụ- ma
le- lụ n- kụ- kpọ-
kpa- ra- nụ- ma
ra- kpọ ọ
kpa- ra- nụ- ma
shị mụ nwa ya m- gbe n- kụ
kpa- ra- nụ- ma
la gwụ- rụ e- gbe- laa
kpa- ra- nụ- ma
lọ- laa- lọ ya hụ
kpa- ra- nụ- ma

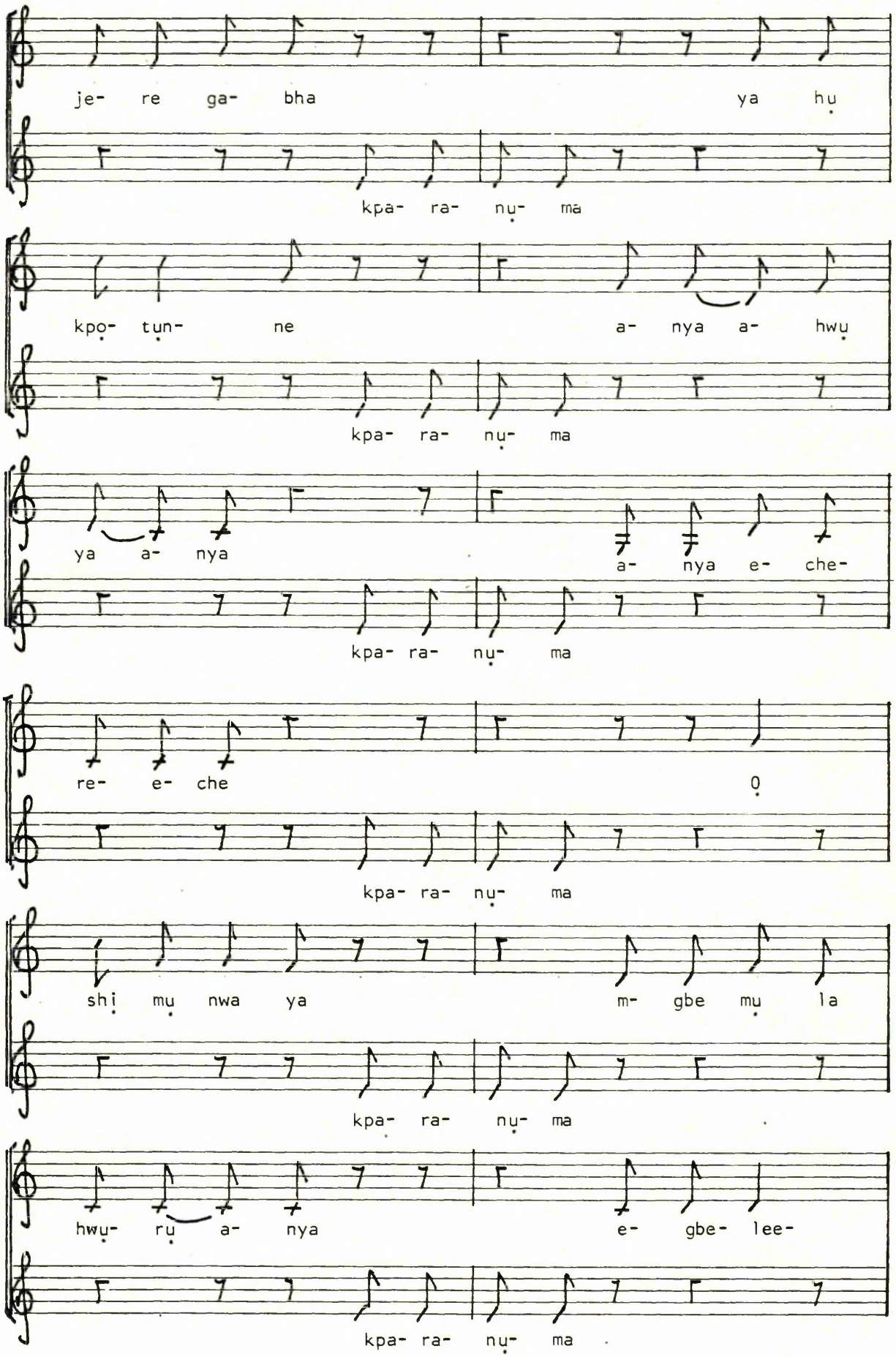

ri- ri lo- bha ya hu
kpa- ra- nu- ma
ri- ri lo- bha ya
kpa- ra- nu- ma
ri- da- ru- o ha hu
kpa- ra- nu- ma
je- re ga- bha ha hu
kpa- ra- nu- ma
je- re ga- bha ya
kpa- ra- nu- ma
kpo n- ne ye a- nya- a- hwu
kpa- ra- nu- ma

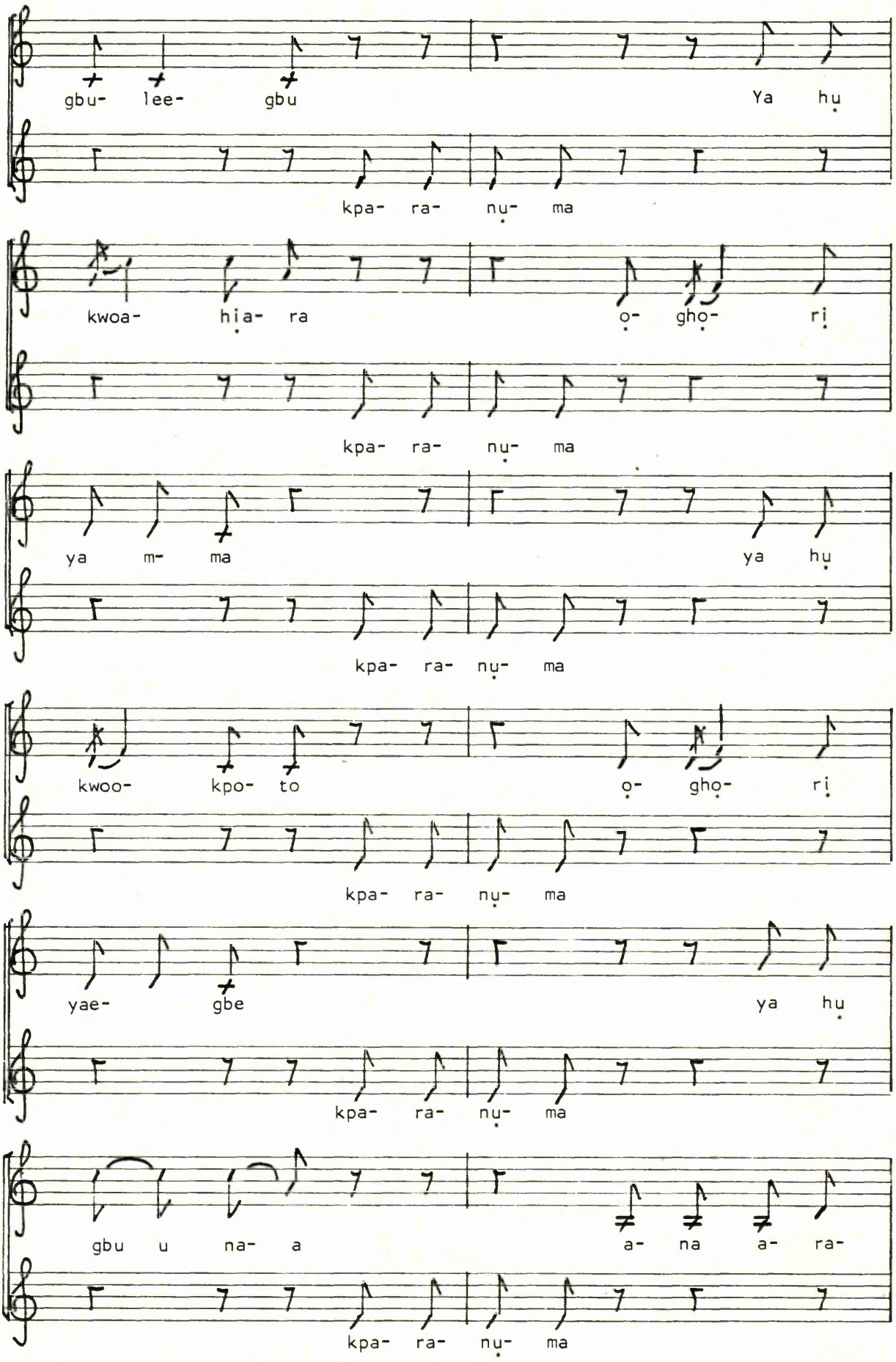

ya u- tụ u- tụ cha
kpa- ra- nụ- ma
ra a- cha o
kpa- ra- nụ- ma
shị mụ nwa ya m- gbe mụ la
kpa- ra- nụ- ma
hwu- rụ ụ- tụ e- gbe- la
kpa- ra- nụ- ma
gho- laa- gho ya hụ
kpa- ra- nụ- ma
rị- rị- ga- ba ya hụ
kpa- ra- nụ- ma

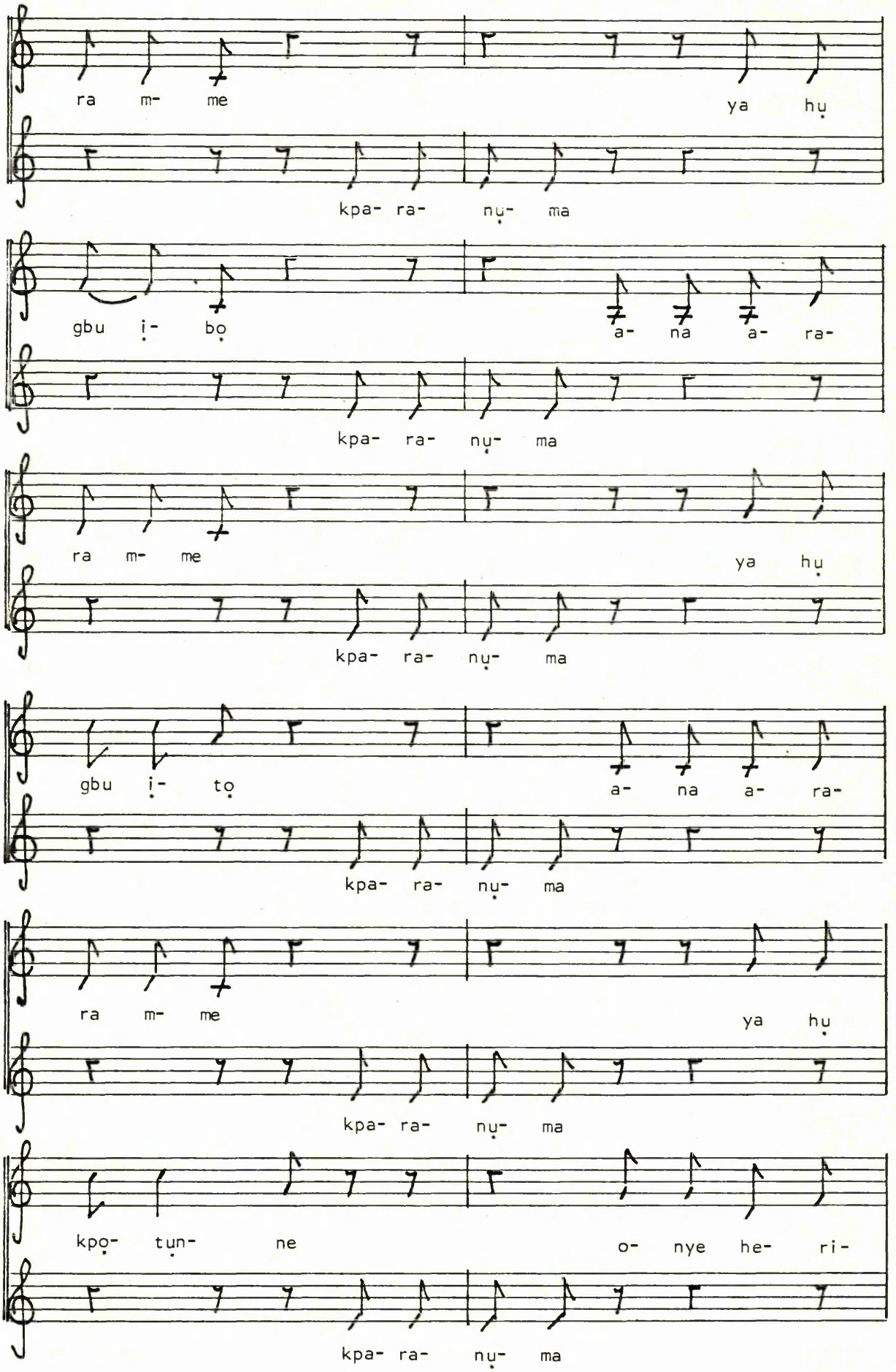

ghọ ị- tọ n- ne ra-
kpa- ra- nụ- ma
cha ya ya hụ
kpa- ra- nụ- ma
kpọ- tụn ne ụ- tụ a- gwụ
kpa- ra- nụ- ma
le lụ ụ- tụ cha-
kpa- ra- nụ- ma
ra- cha o
kpa- ra- nụ- ma
shị mụ nwa ya m- gbụ- tụ
kpa- ra- nụ- ma

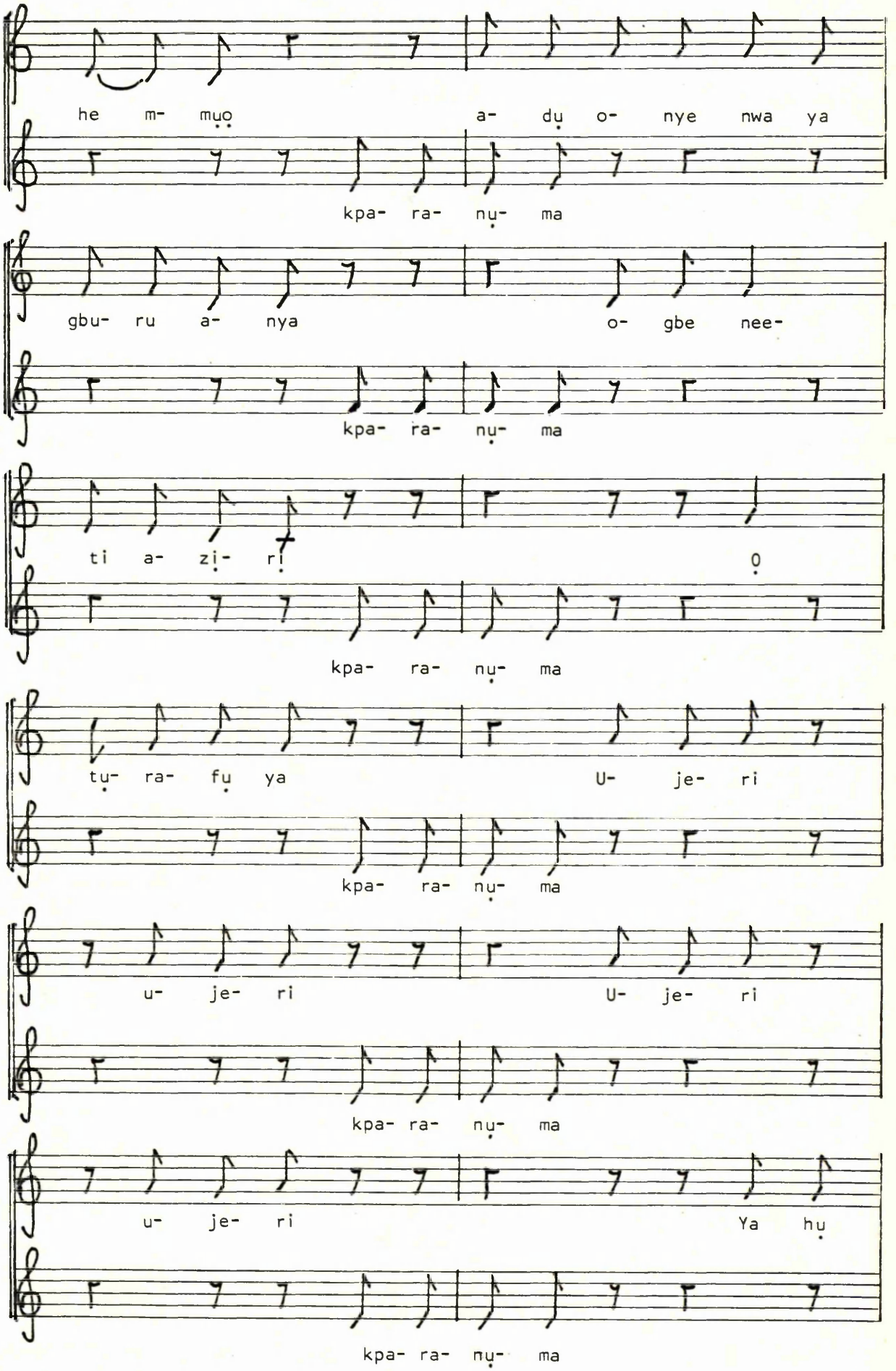

ri- ri ga- bha ya hu
kpa- ra- nu- ma
ri- ri ru- o ya hu
kpa- ra- nu- ma
gho n- na- a n- ne ra-
kpa- ra- nu- ma
cha ya ya hu
kpa- ra- nu- ma
gho i- bo n- ne ra-
kpa- ra- nu- ma
cha ya ya hu
kpa- ra- nu- ma

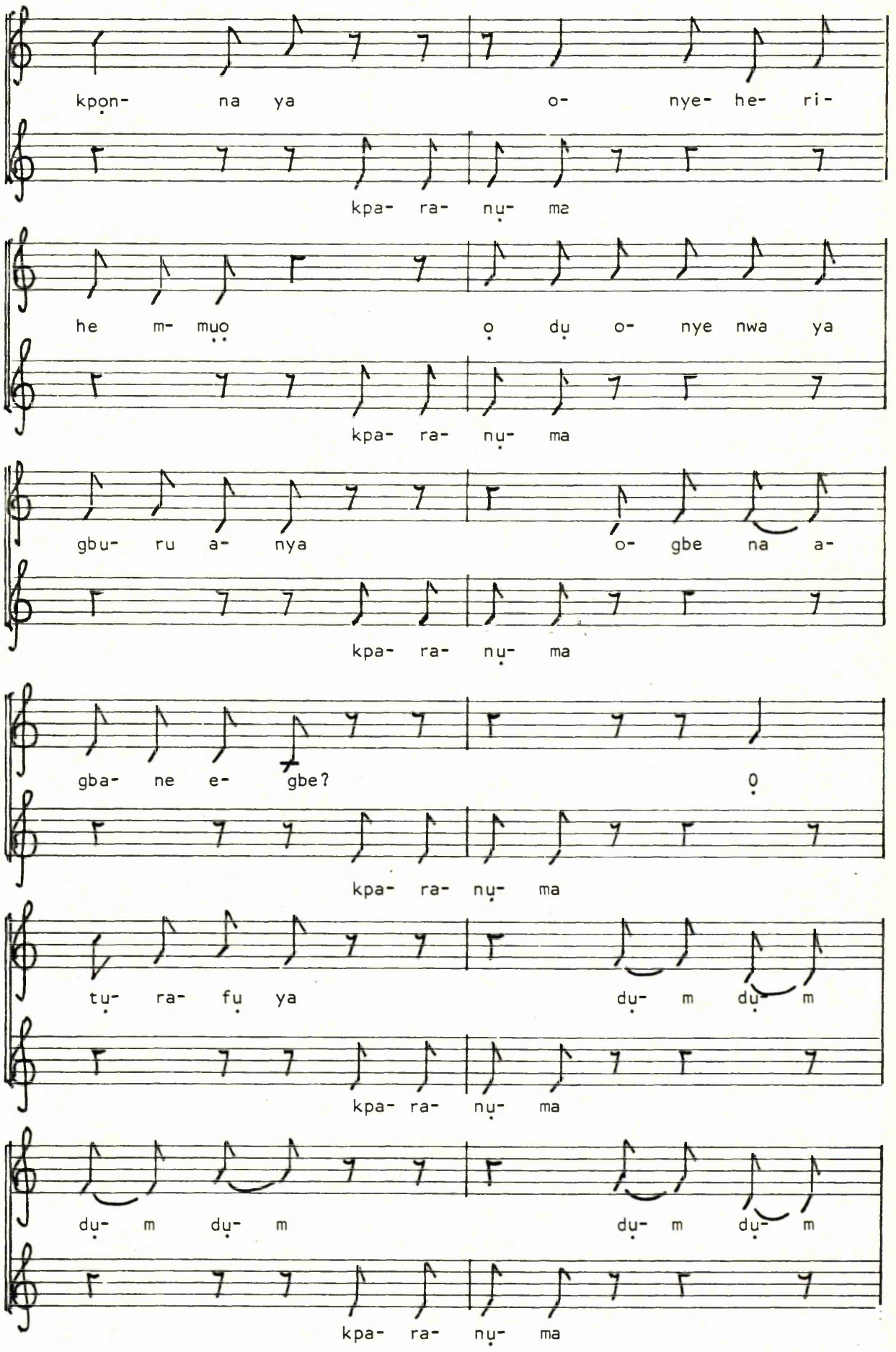

la gwụ- rụ e- gbe- laa-
kpa- ra- nụ- ma
lọ- laa- lọ ya hụ
kpa- ra- nụ- ma
rị- rị lọ- bha ya hụ
kpa- ra- nụ- ma
rị- rị lọ- bha ya hụ
kpa- ra- nụ- ma
rị- da- ru- o Ha hụ
kpa- ra- nụ- ma
je- re ga- bha Ha hụ
kpa- ra- nụ- ma

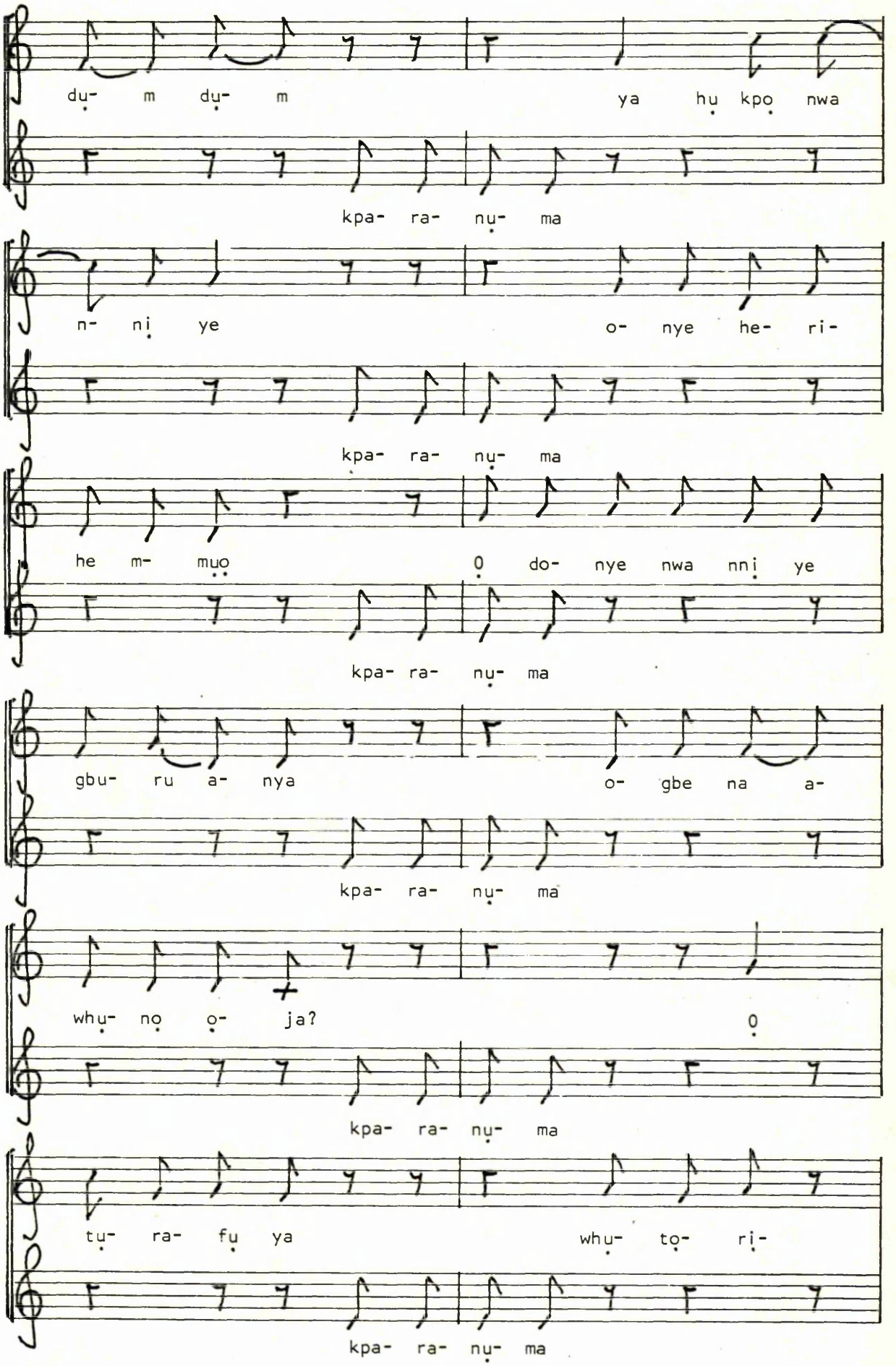

je- re ga- bha ya hu
kpa- ra- nu- ma
kpo- tun- ne a- nya a- hwu
kpa- ra- nu- ma
ya a- nya a- nya e- che-
kpa- ra- nu- ma
re- e- che o
kpa- ra- nu- ma
shi mu nwa ya m- gbe mu la
kpa- ra- nu- ma
hwu- ru a- nya e- gbe- lee-
kpa- ra- nu- ma

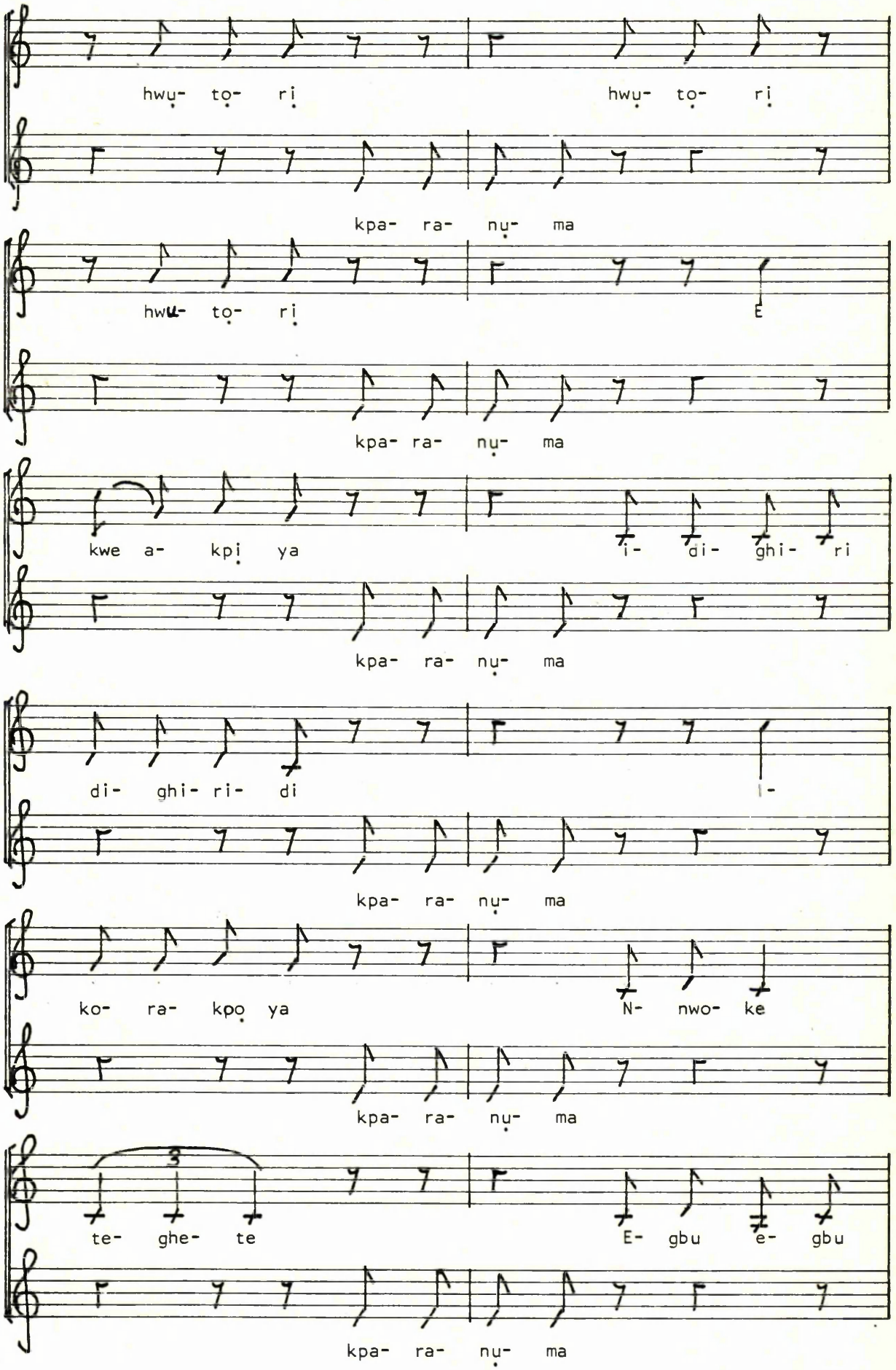

gbu- lee- gbu Ya hụ
kpa- ra- nụ- ma
kwoa- hịa- ra ọ- ghọ- rị
kpa- ra- nụ- ma
ya m- ma ya hụ
kpa- ra- nụ- ma
kwoo- kpo- to ọ- ghọ- rị
kpa- ra- nụ- ma
yae- gbe ya hụ
kpa- ra- nụ- ma
gbu u na- a a- na a- ra-
kpa- ra- nụ- ma

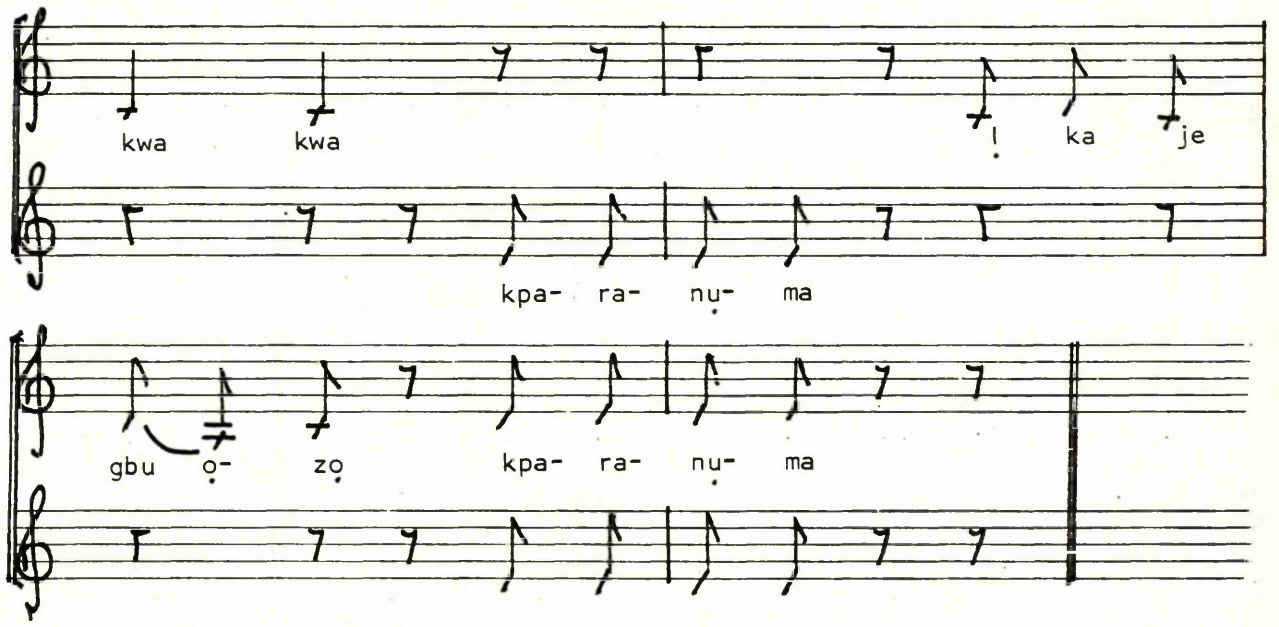

ra m- me
ya hụ
kpa- ra- nụ- ma
gbu ị- bọ
a- na a- ra-
kpa- ra- nụ- ma
ra m- me
ya hụ
kpa- ra- nụ- ma
gbu ị- tọ
a- na a- ra-
kpa- ra- nụ- ma
ra m- me
ya hụ
kpa- ra- nụ- ma
kpọ- tụn- ne
o- nye he- ri-
kpa- ra- nụ- ma


he m- mụọ a- dụ o- nye nwa ya
kpa- ra- nụ- ma
gbu- ru a- nya o- gbe nee-
kpa- ra- nụ- ma
ti a- zị- rị O
kpa- ra- nụ- ma
tụ- ra- fụ ya U- je- ri
kpa- ra- nụ- ma
u- je- ri U- je- ri
kpa- ra- nụ- ma
u- je- ri Ya hụ
kpa- ra- nụ- ma


kpọn- na ya o- nye- he- ri-
kpa- ra- nụ- ma
he m- mụọ ọ dụ o- nye nwa ya
kpa- ra- nụ- ma
gbu- ru a- nya o- gbe na a-
kpa- ra- nụ- ma
gba- ne e- gbe? Ọ
kpa- ra- nụ- ma
tụ- ra- fụ ya dụ- m dụ- m
kpa- ra- nụ- ma
dụ- m dụ- m dụ- m dụ- m
kpa- ra- nụ- ma

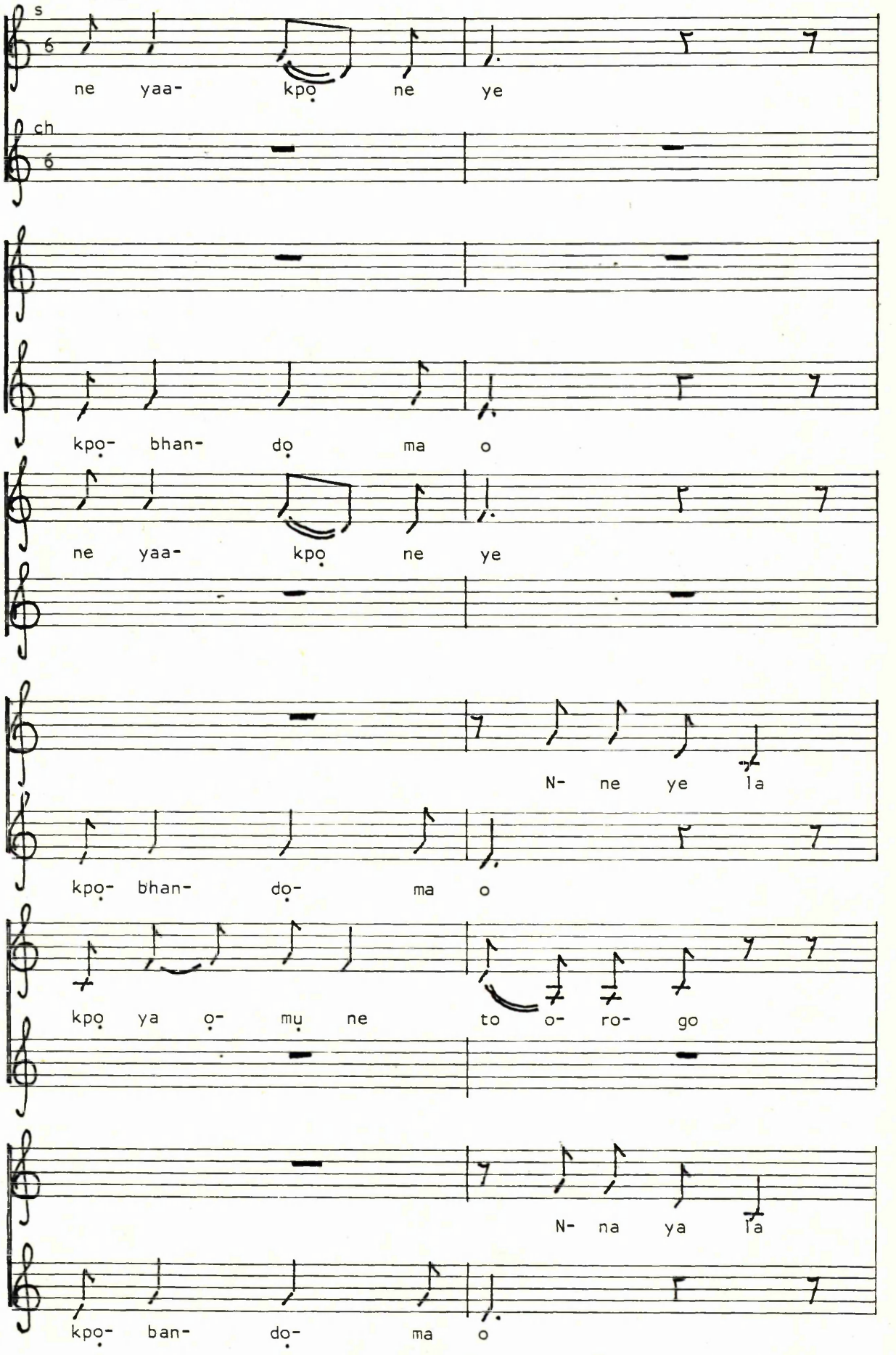

dụ- m dụ- m ya hụ kpọ nwa
kpa- ra- nụ- ma
n- ni ye o- nye he- ri-
kpa- ra- nụ- ma
he m- mụọ ọ do- nye nwa nni ye
kpa- ra- nụ- ma
gbu- ru a- nya o- gbe na a-
kpa- ra- nụ- ma
whụ- nọ ọ- ja? ọ
kpa- ra- nụ- ma
tụ- ra- fụ ya whụ- tọ- rị-
kpa- ra- nụ- ma

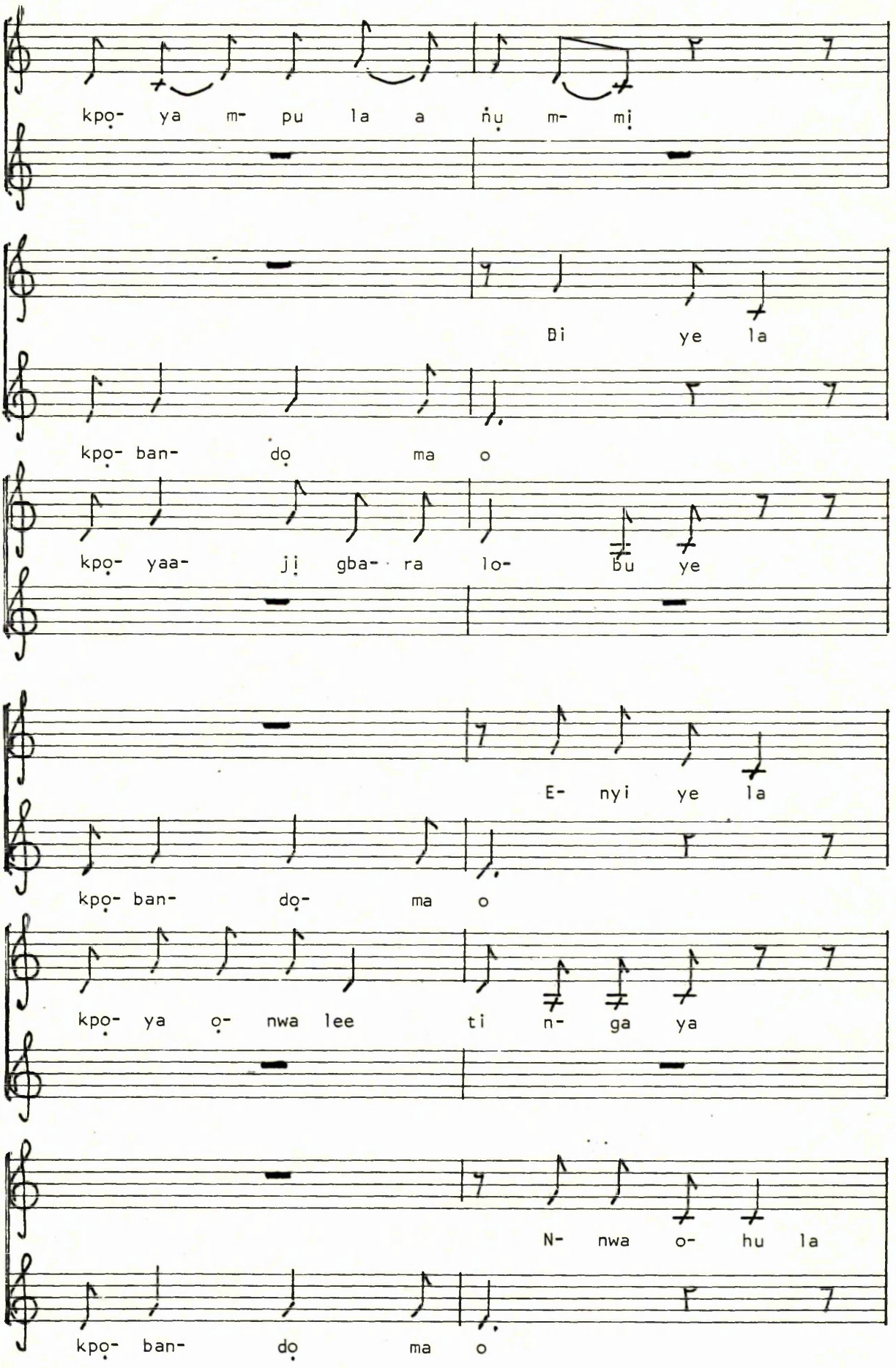

hwụ- to- ri hwụ- to- ri
kpa- ra- nụ- ma
hwụ- to- ri E
kpa- ra- nụ- ma
kwe a- kpị ya i- di- ghi- ri
kpa- ra- nụ- ma
di- ghi- ri- di I-
kpa- ra- nụ- ma
ko- ra- kpọ ya N- nwo- ke
kpa- ra- nụ- ma
3
te- ghe- te E- gbu e- gbu
kpa- ra- nụ- ma

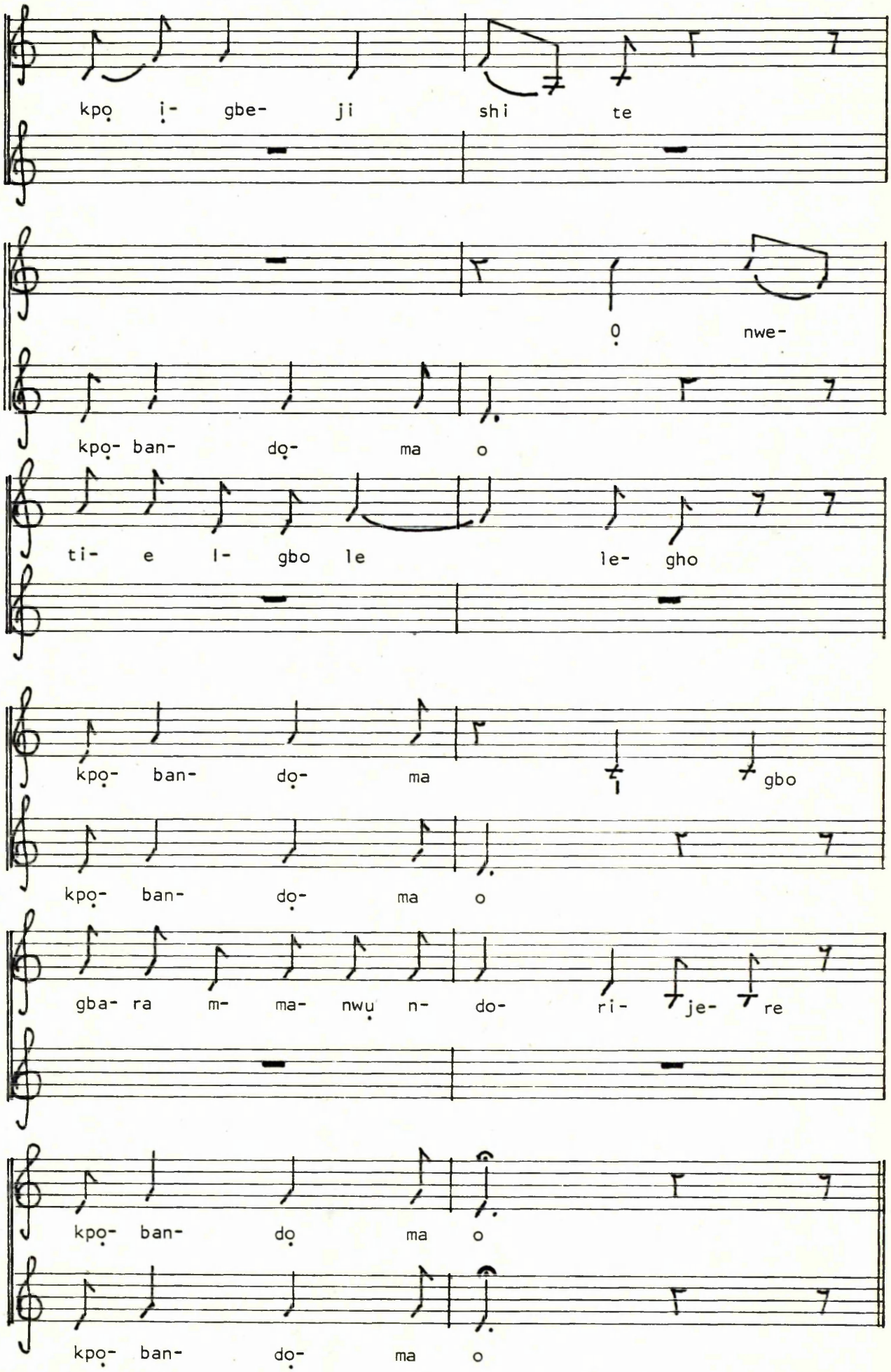

kwa kwa ! ka je
kpa- ra- nu- ma
gbu o- zo kpa- ra- nu- ma

13. Kpobha ndi oma (Eziagu A24)

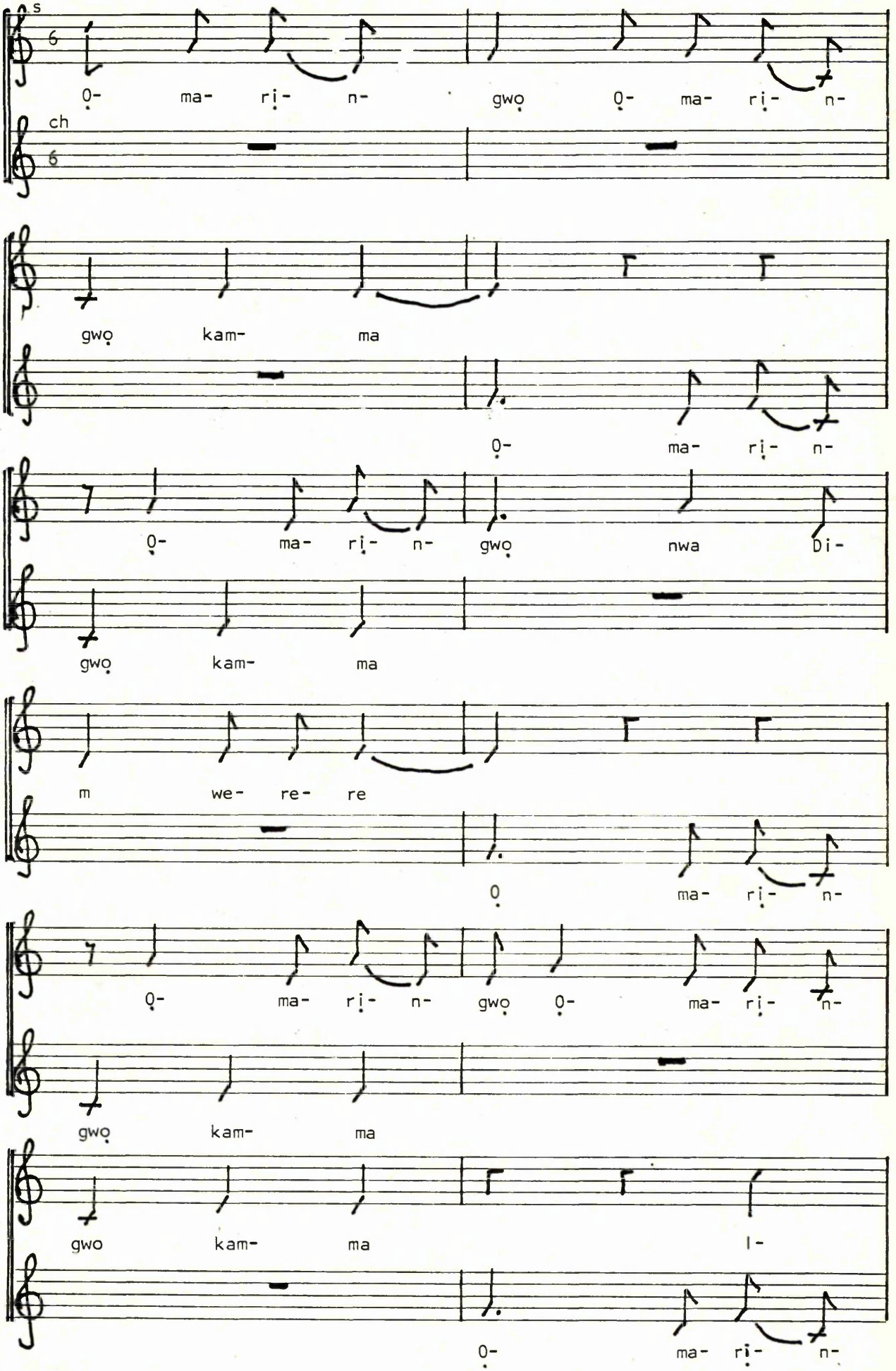
(♪ = 446)

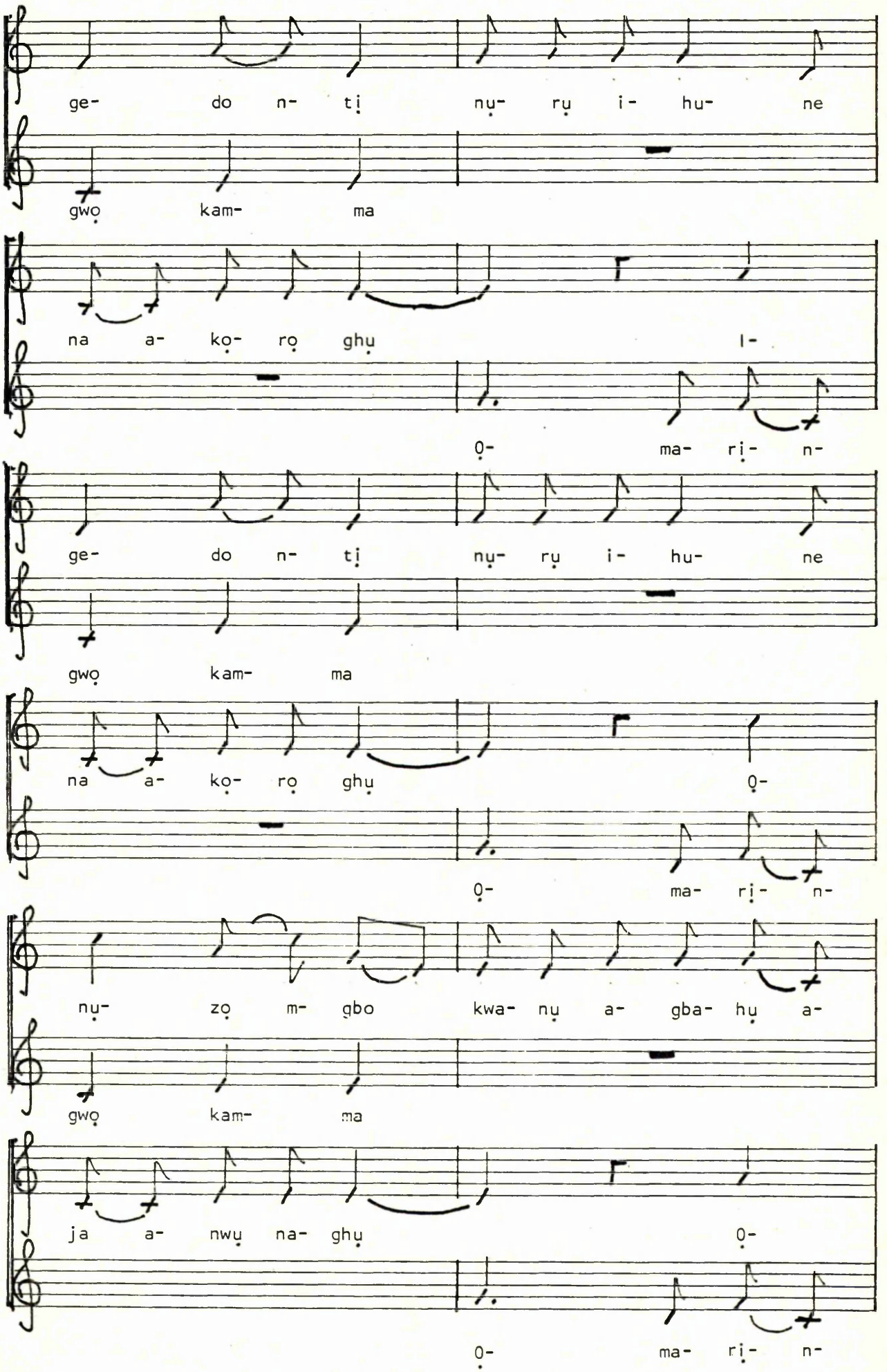


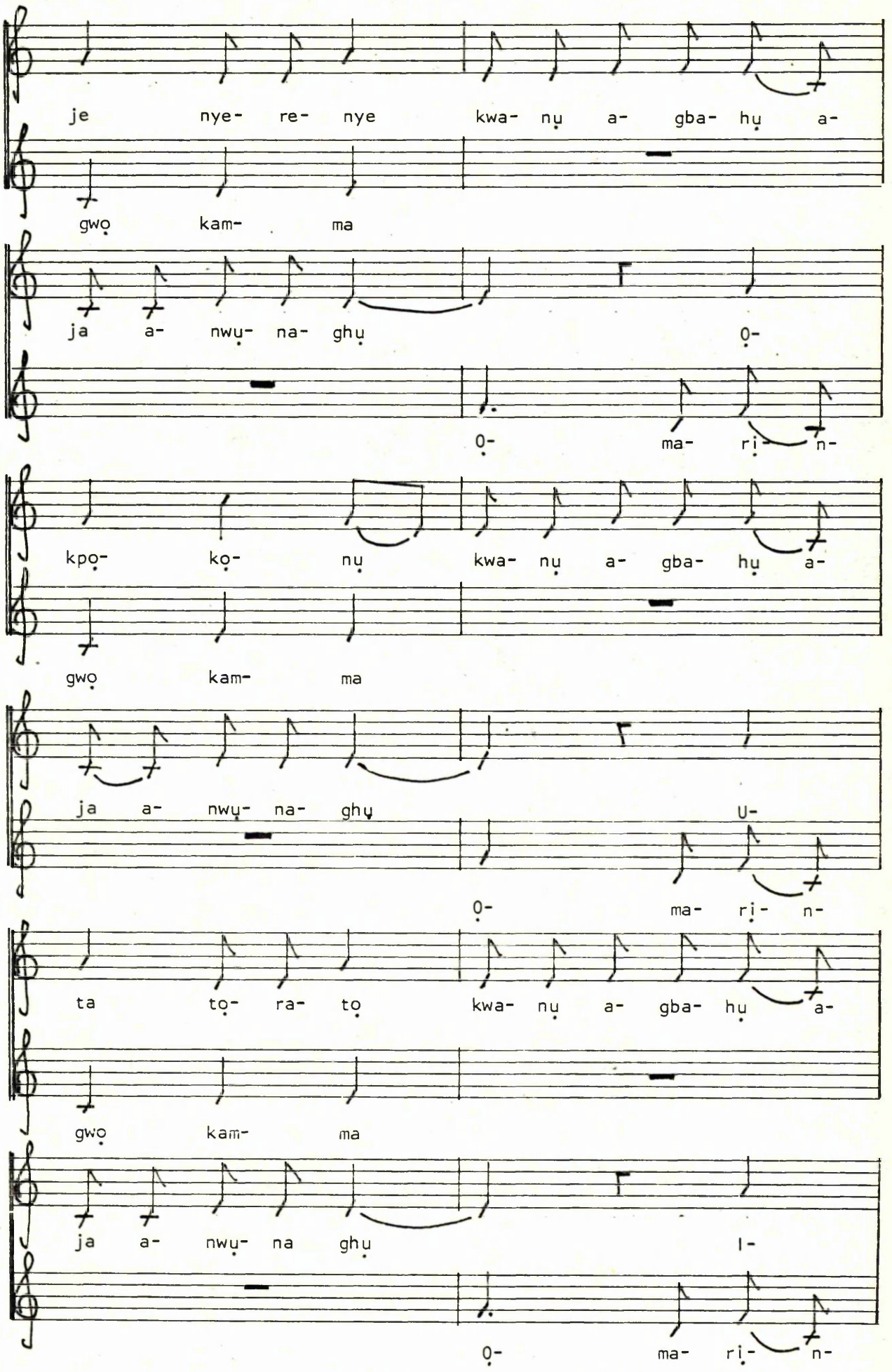

kpọ- ya m- pu la a ṅụ m- mị
Bi ye la
kpọ- ban- dọ ma o
kpọ- yaa- jị gba- ra lo- bu ye
E- nyi ye la
kpọ- ban- dọ- ma o
kpọ- ya ọ- nwa lee ti n- ga ya
N- nwa o- hu la
kpọ- ban- dọ ma o

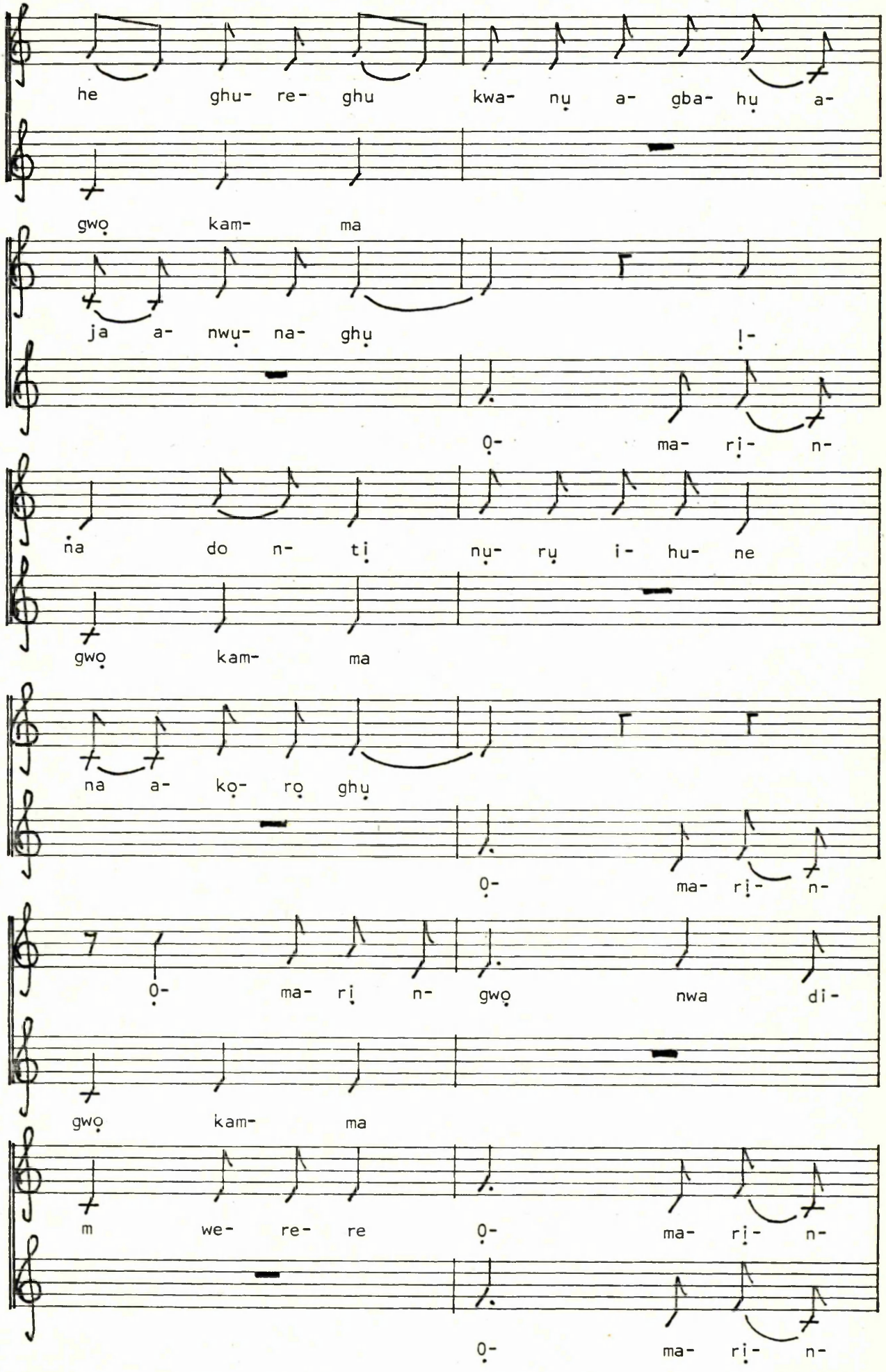

kpọ ị- gbe- ji shi te
ọ nwe-
kpọ- ban- dọ- ma o
ti- e l- gbo le le- gho
kpọ- ban- dọ- ma gbo
kpọ- ban- dọ- ma o
gba- ra m- ma- nwụ n- do- ri- je- re
kpọ- ban- dọ ma o
kpọ- ban- dọ- ma o

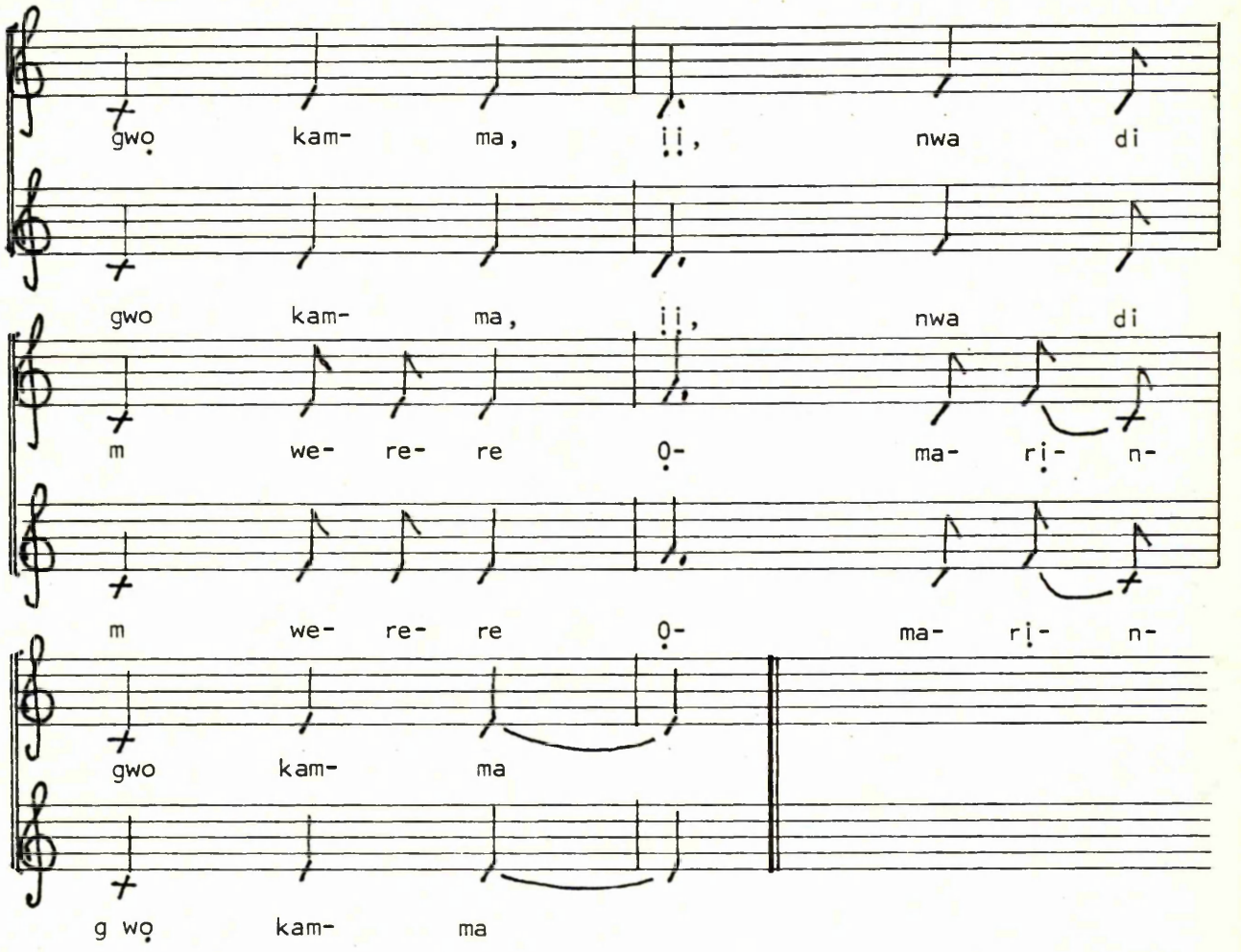
(♪ = 432)


s
6
Ọ- ma- rị- n- gwọ Ọ- ma- rị- n-
ch
6
gwọ kam- ma
Ọ- ma- rị- n-
Ọ- ma- rị- n- gwọ nwa Di-
gwọ kam- ma
m we- re- re
Ọ ma- rị- n-
Ọ- ma- rị- n- gwọ Ọ- ma- rị- n-
gwọ kam- ma
gwo kam- ma l-
Ọ- ma- rị- n-


ge- do n- ṭị nụ- rụ i- hu- ne
gwọ kam- ma
na a- kọ- rọ ghụ ị-
ọ- ma- rị- n-
ge- do n- ṭị nụ- rụ i- hu- ne
gwọ kam- ma
na a- kọ- rọ ghụ ọ-
ọ- ma- rị- n-
nụ- zọ m- gbo kwa- nụ a- gba- hụ a-
gwọ kam- ma
ja a- nwụ na- ghụ ọ-
ọ- ma- rị- n-

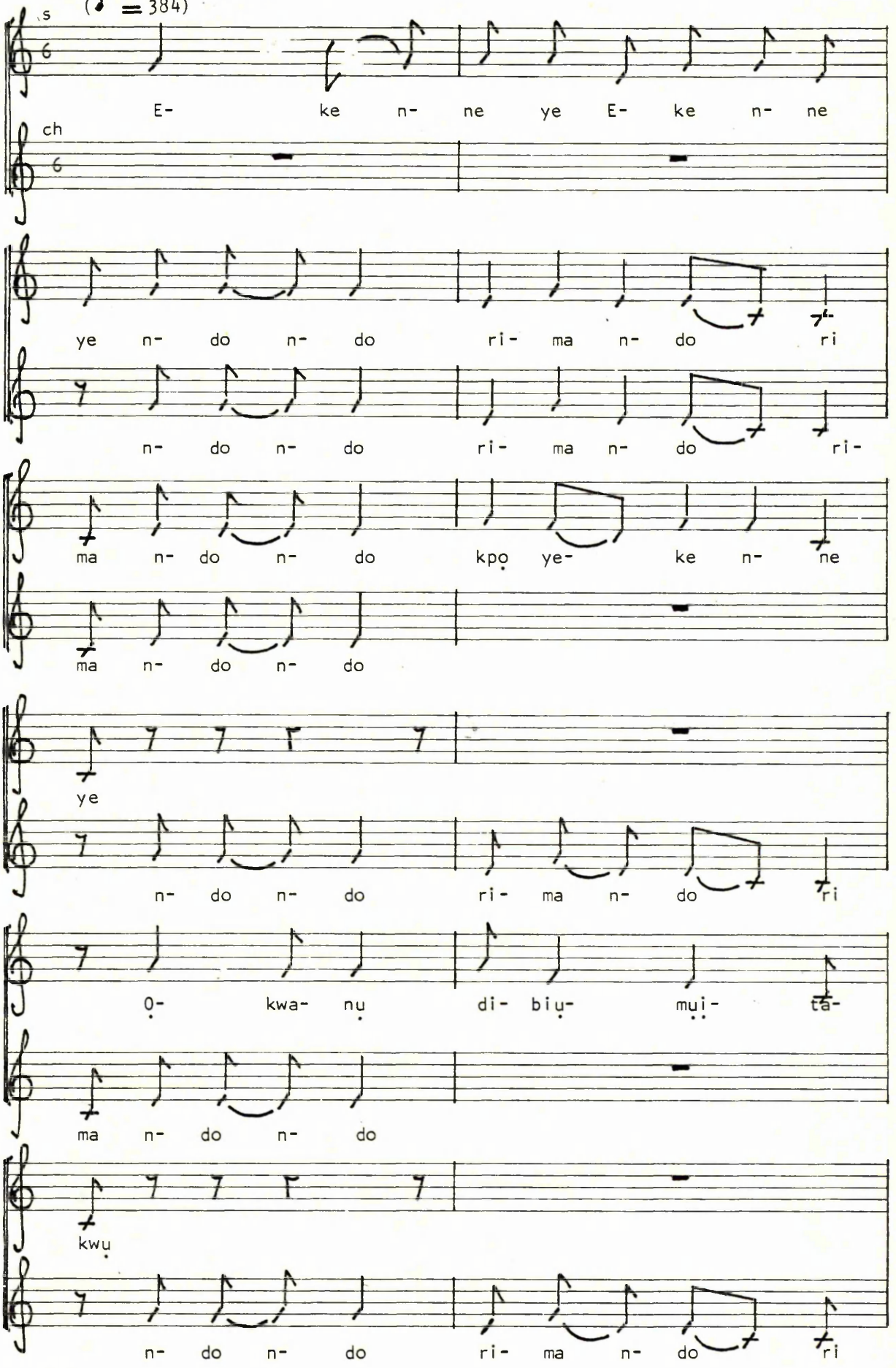

je nye- re- nye kwa- nụ a- gba- hụ a-
gwọ kam- ma
ja a- nwụ- na- ghụ ọ-
ọ- ma- rị- n-
kpọ- kọ- nụ kwa- nụ a- gba- hụ a-
gwọ kam- ma
ja a- nwụ- na- ghụ ụ-
ọ- ma- rị- n-
ta tọ- ra- tọ kwa- nụ a- gba- hụ a-
gwọ kam- ma
ja a- nwụ- na ghụ ị-
ọ- ma- rị- n-

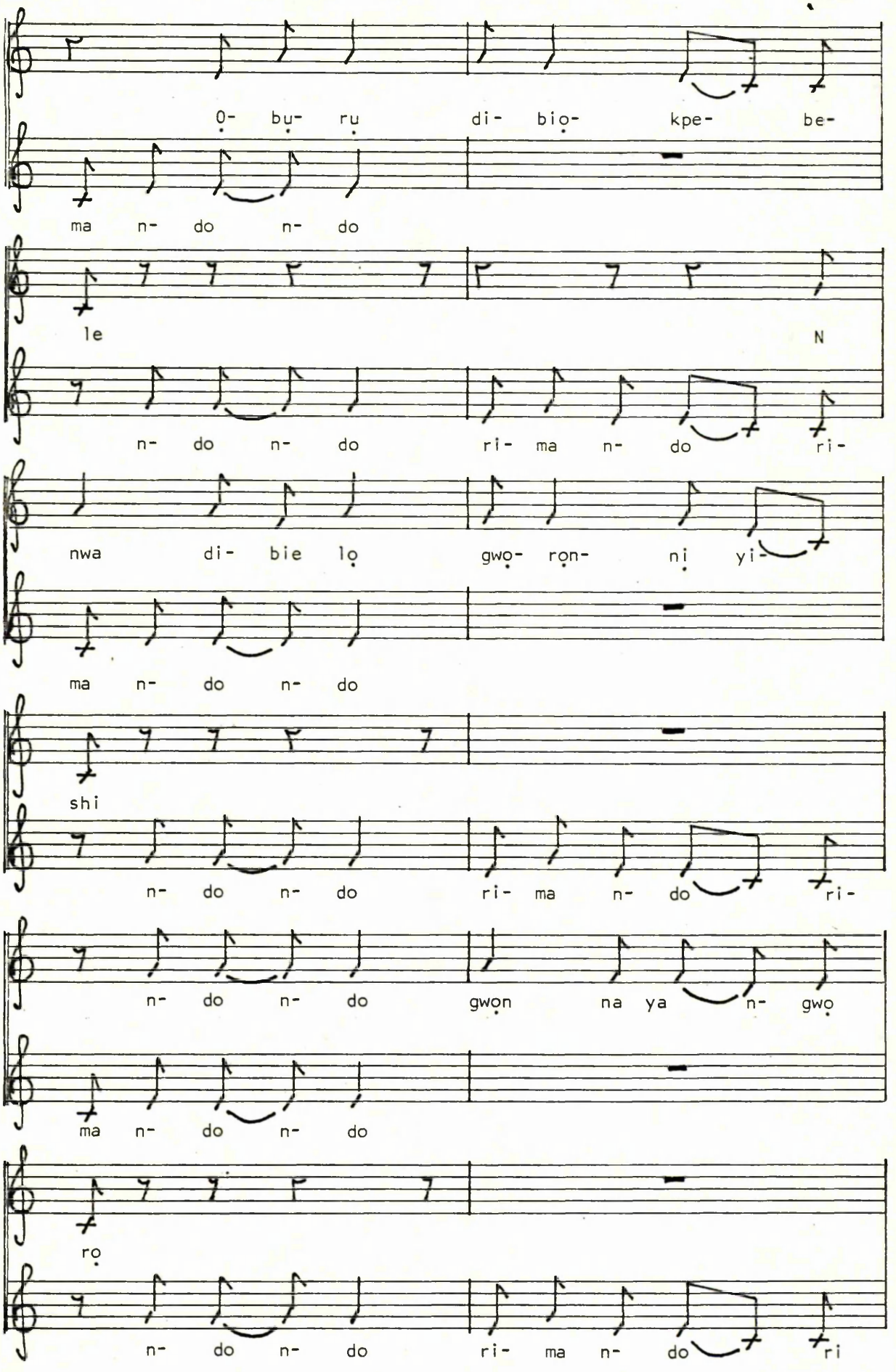

he ghu- re- ghu kwa- nụ a- gba- hụ a-
gwọ kam- ma
ja a- nwụ- na- ghụ !-
0- ma- rị- n-
ṅa do n- tị nụ- rụ i- hu- ne
gwọ kam- ma
na a- kọ- rọ ghụ
0- ma- rị- n-
0- ma- rị n- gwọ nwa di-
gwọ kam- ma
m we- re- re 0- ma- rị- n-
0- ma- rị- n-

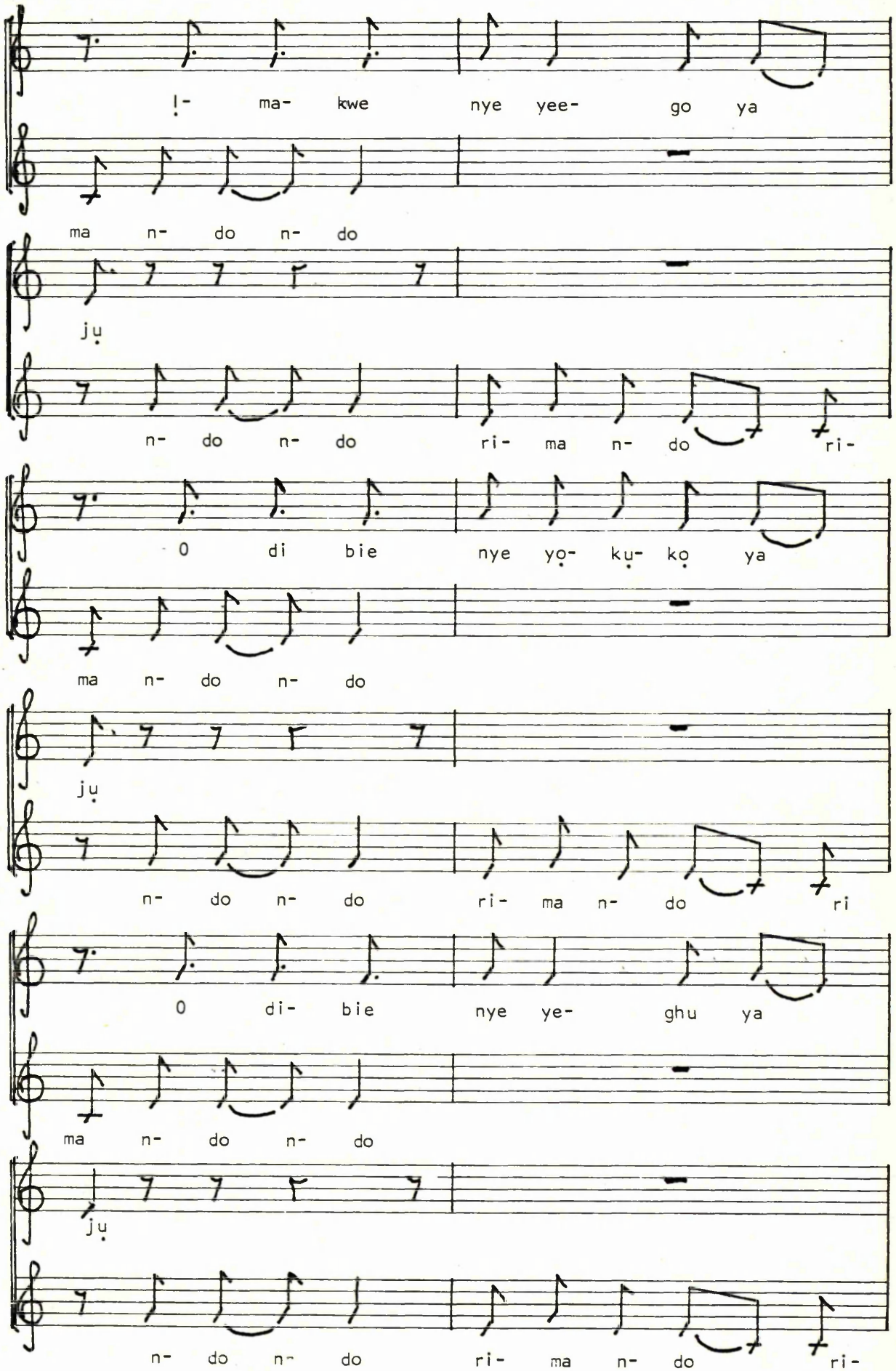

gwo kam- ma, ii, nwa di
gwo kam- ma, ii, nwa di
m we- re- re o- ma- ri- n-
m we- re- re o- ma- ri- n-
gwo kam- ma
g wo kam- ma

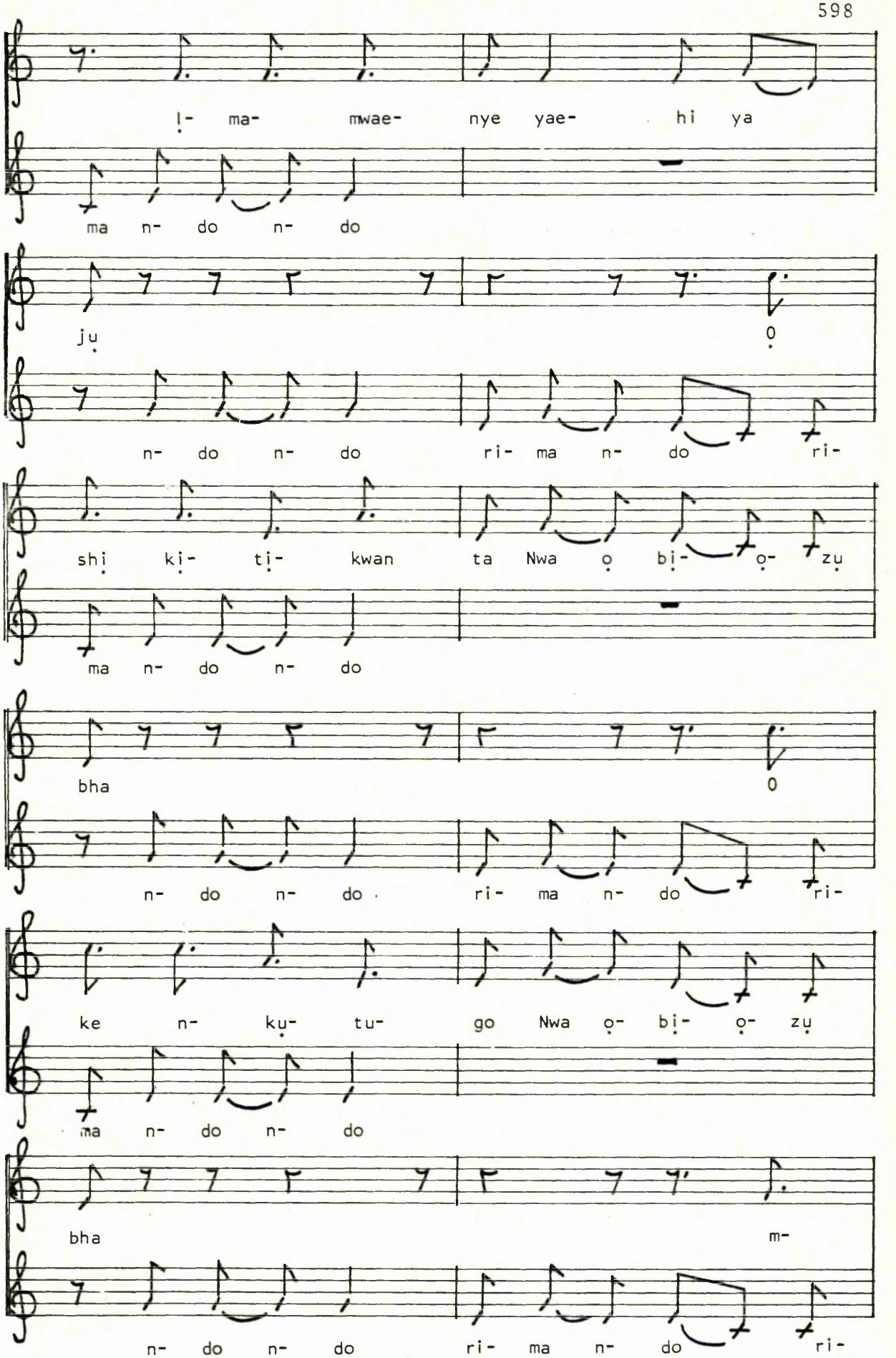
15. Eke nne ye, Eke nne ye (Eziagụ All) Akụezue Onyeje

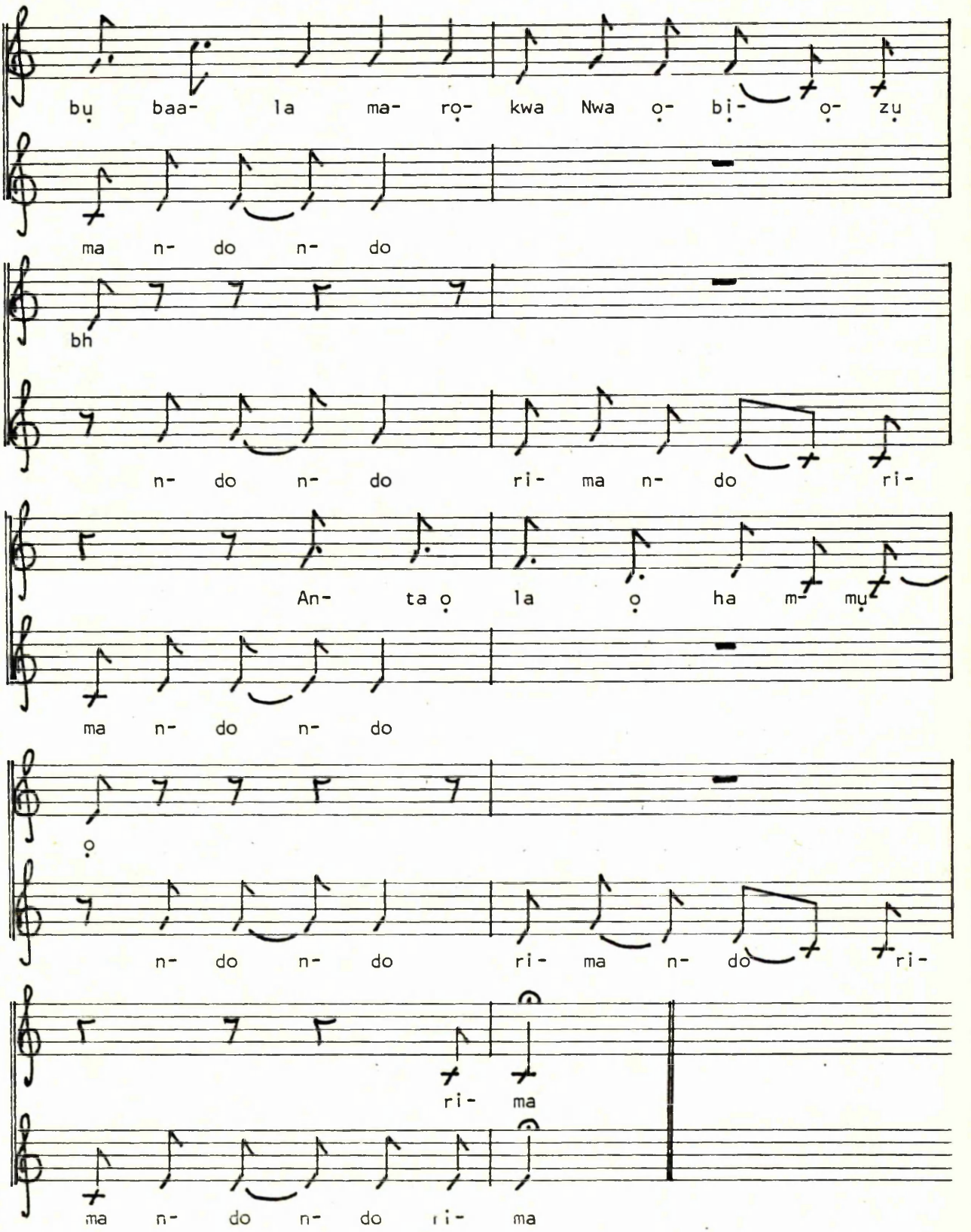
(♩ = 384)




O- bu- ru di- bio- kpe- be-
ma n- do n- do
le N
n- do n- do ri- ma n- do ri-
nwa di- bie lọ gwọ- rọn- ni yi-
ma n- do n- do
shi
n- do n- do ri- ma n- do ri-
n- do n- do gwọn na ya n- gwọ
ma n- do n- do
ro
n- do n- do ri- ma n- do ri

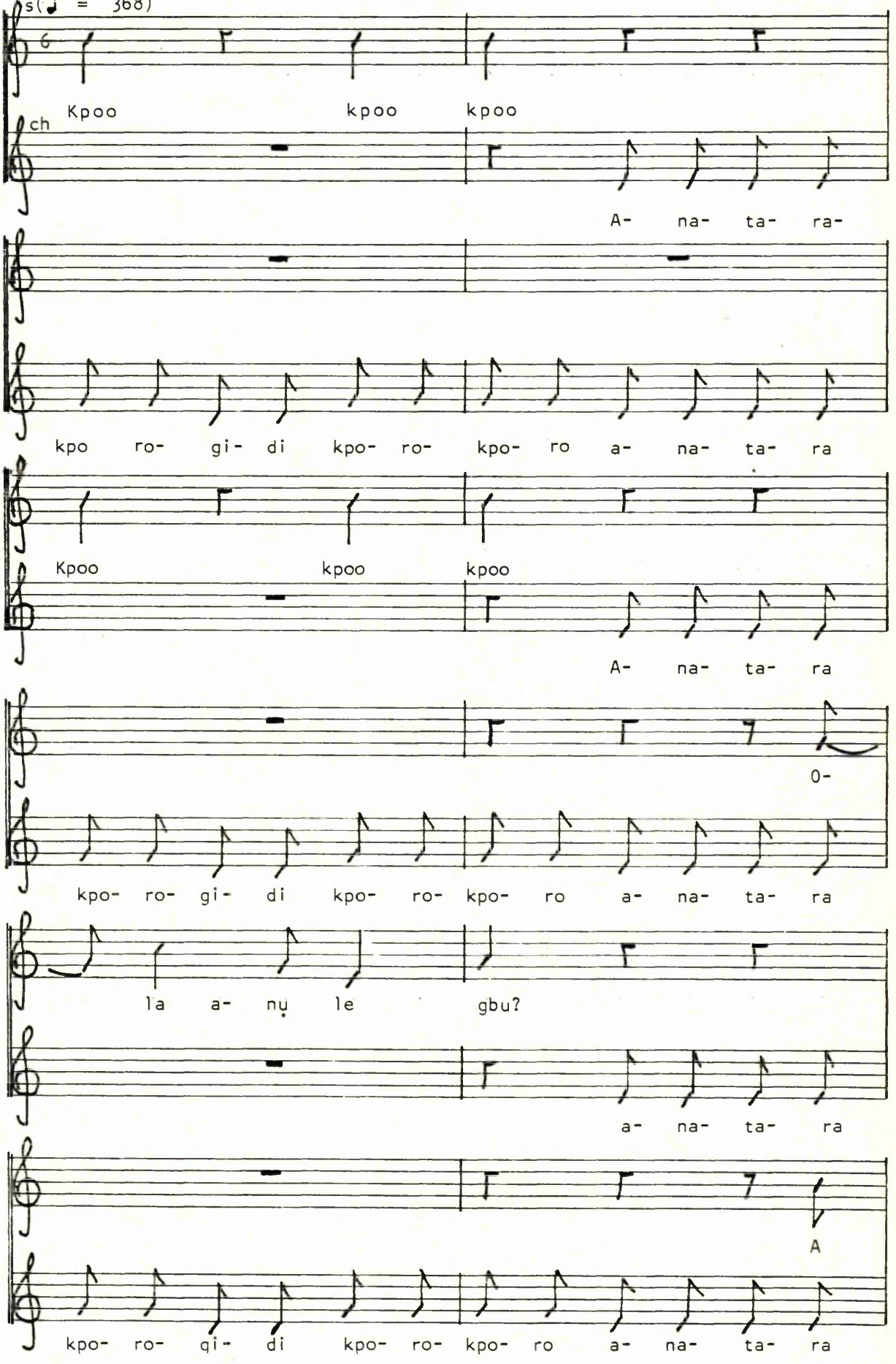

!- ma- kwe nye yee- go ya
ma n- do n- do
ju
n- do n- do ri- ma n- do ri-
O di bie nye yo- ku- ko ya
ma n- do n- do
ju
n- do n- do ri- ma n- do ri
O di- bie nye ye- ghu ya
ma n- do n- do
ju
n- do n- do ri- ma n- do ri-

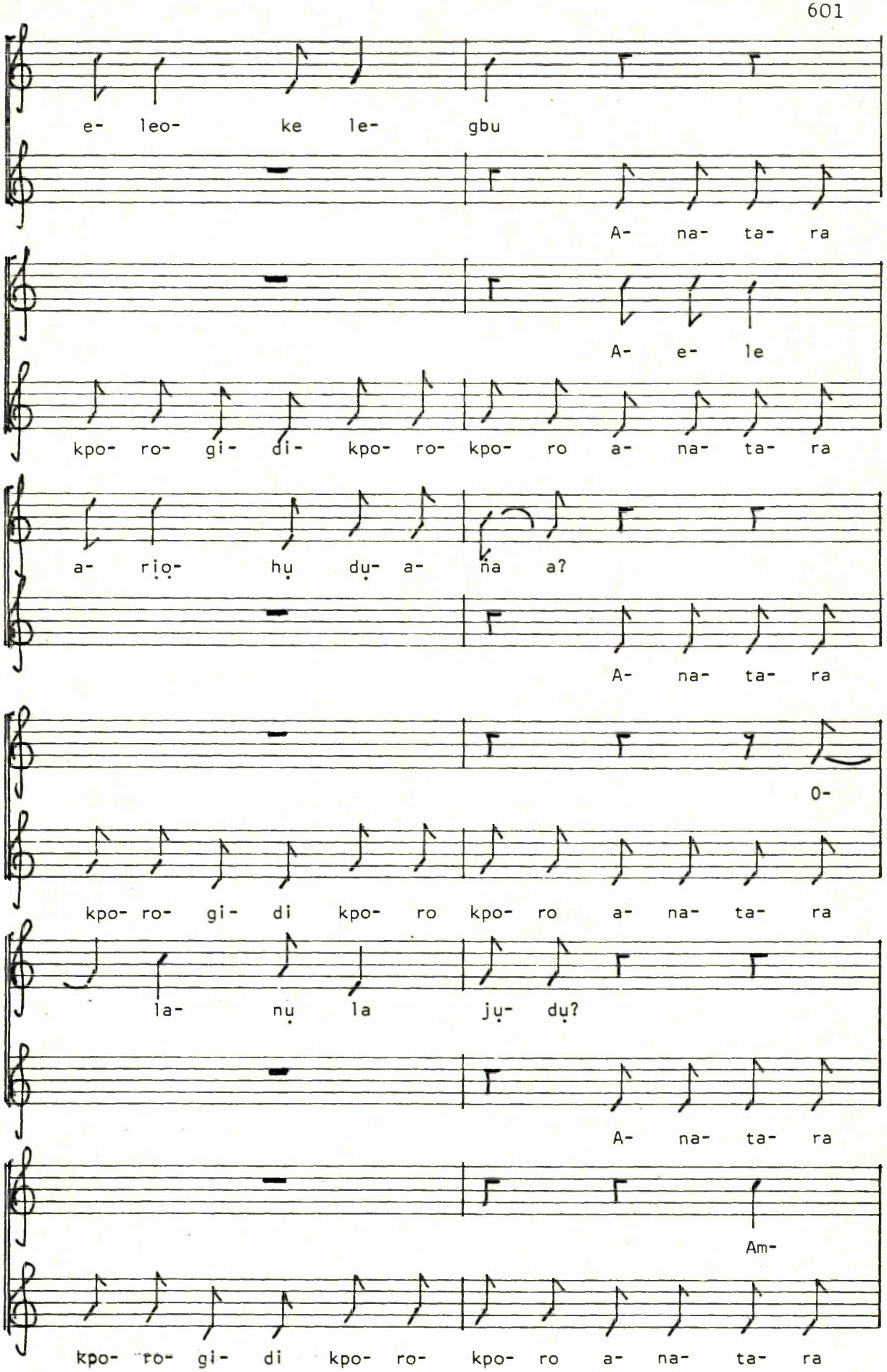

ị- ma- mwae- nye yae- hi ya
ma n- do n- do
ju
0
n- do n- do ri- ma n- do ri-
shị kị- tị- kwan ta Nwa ọ bị- ọ- zụ
ma n- do n- do
bha
0
n- do n- do ri- ma n- do ri-
ke n- kụ- tu- go Nwa ọ- bị- ọ- zụ
ma n- do n- do
bha
m-
n- do n- do ri- ma n- do ri-

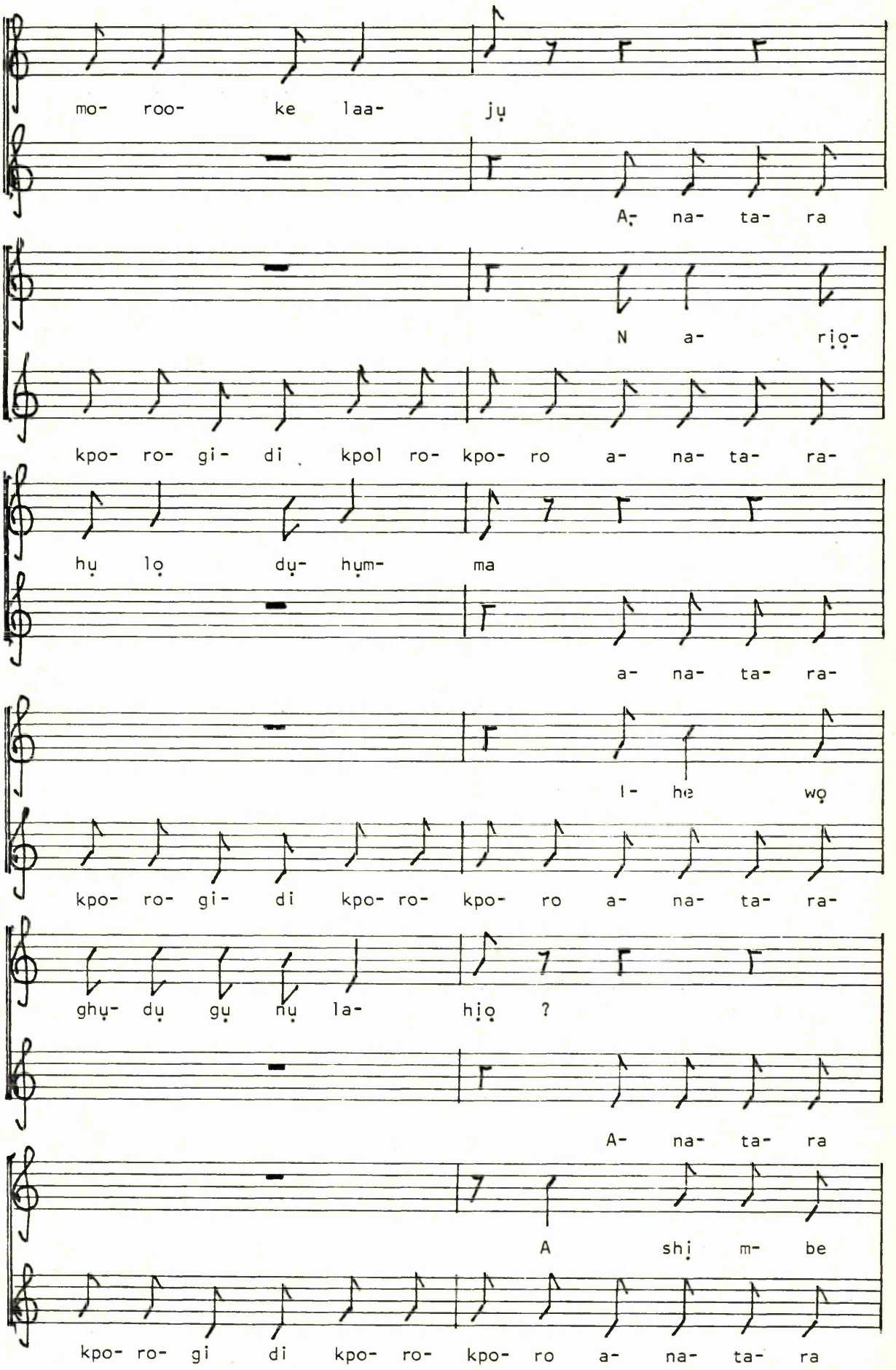

bụ baa- la ma- ọ- kwa Nwa ọ- bị- ọ- zụ
ma n- do n- do
bh
n- do n- do ri- ma n- do ri-
An- ta ọ la ọ ha m- mụ
ma n- do n- do
ọ
n- do n- do ri- ma n- do ri-
ri- ma
ma n- do n- do ri- ma

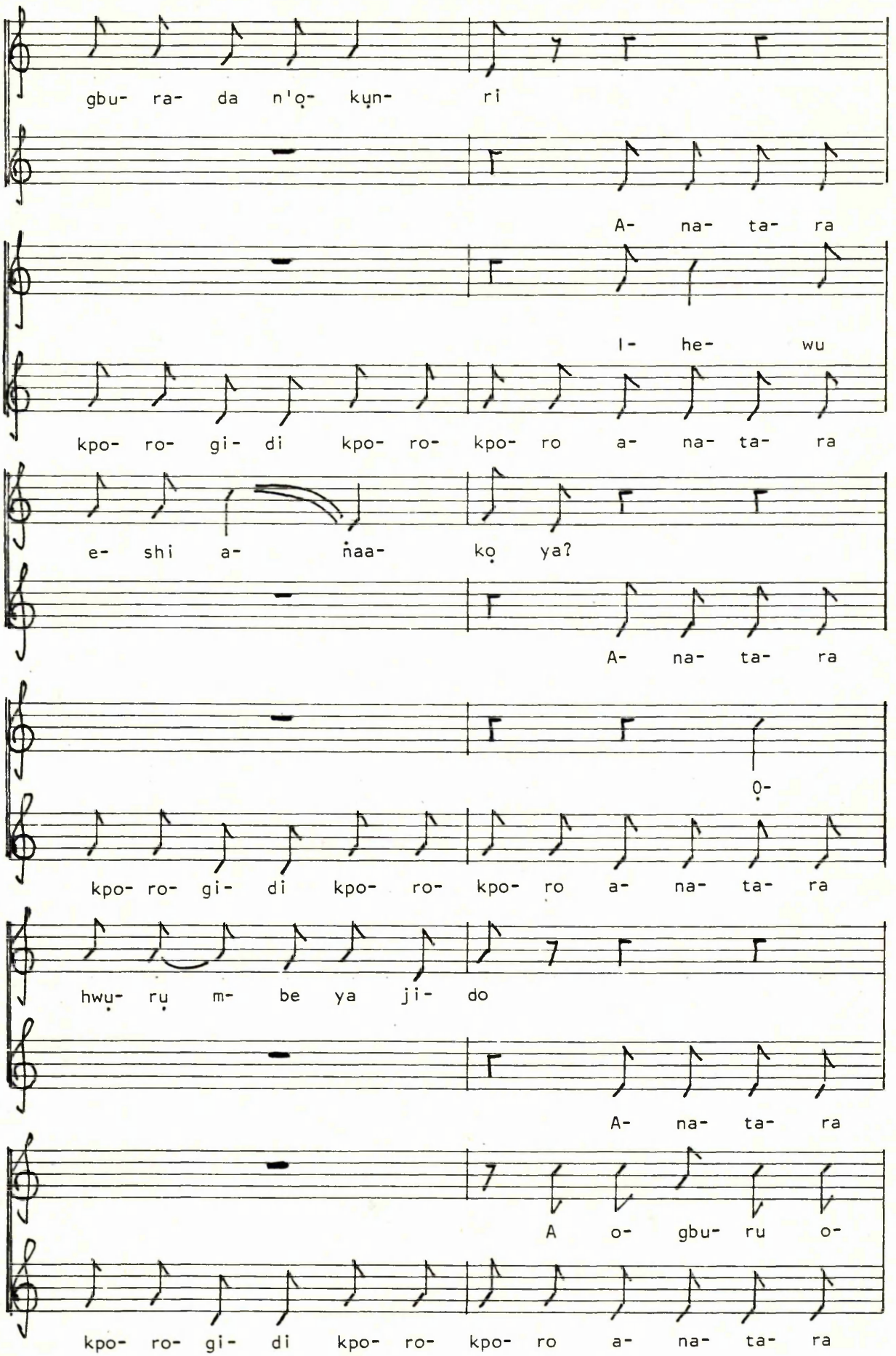
16. Kpoo, kpoo, kpoo! (Eziagụ A23) Akụezue Onyeje

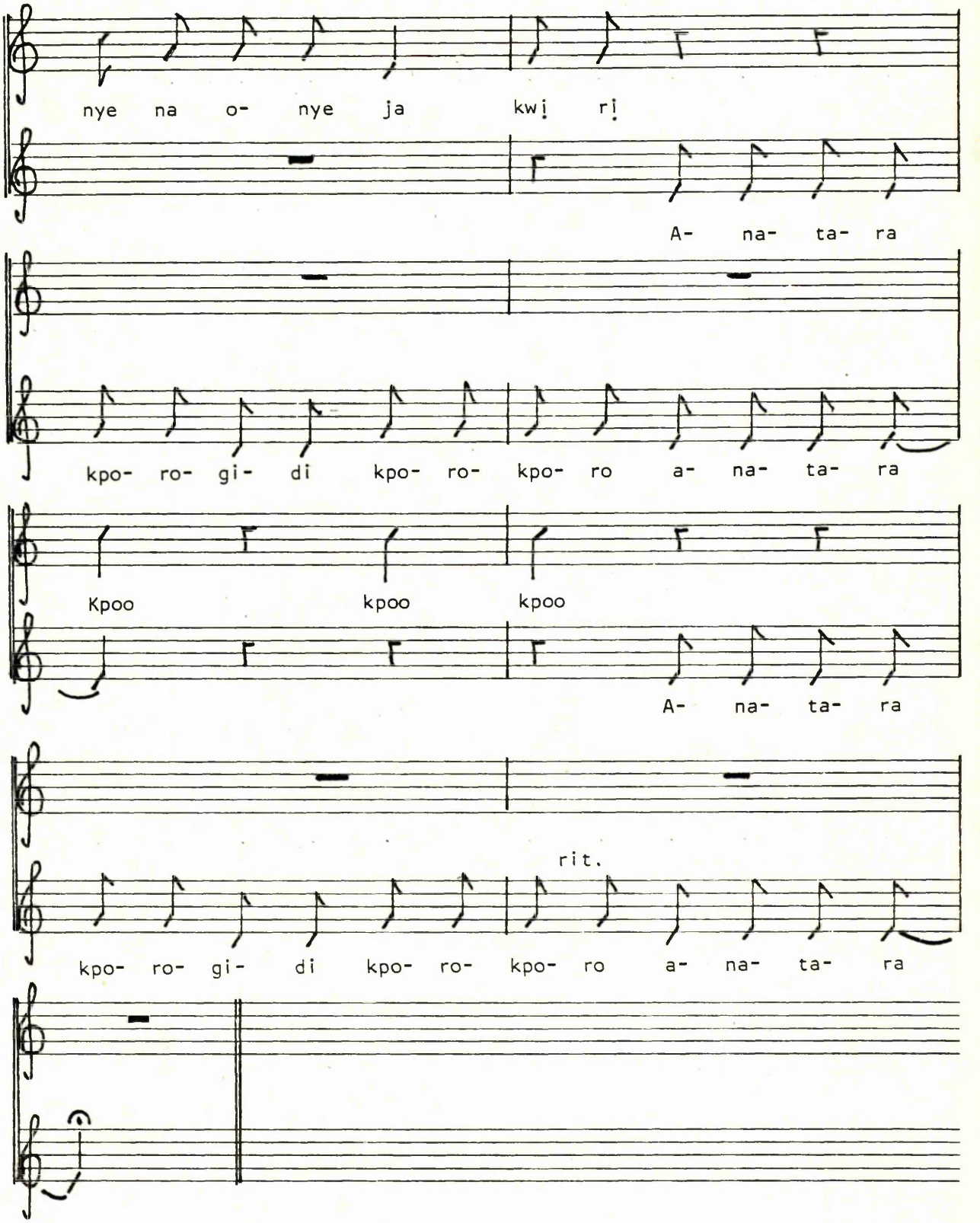
s(♪ = 368)

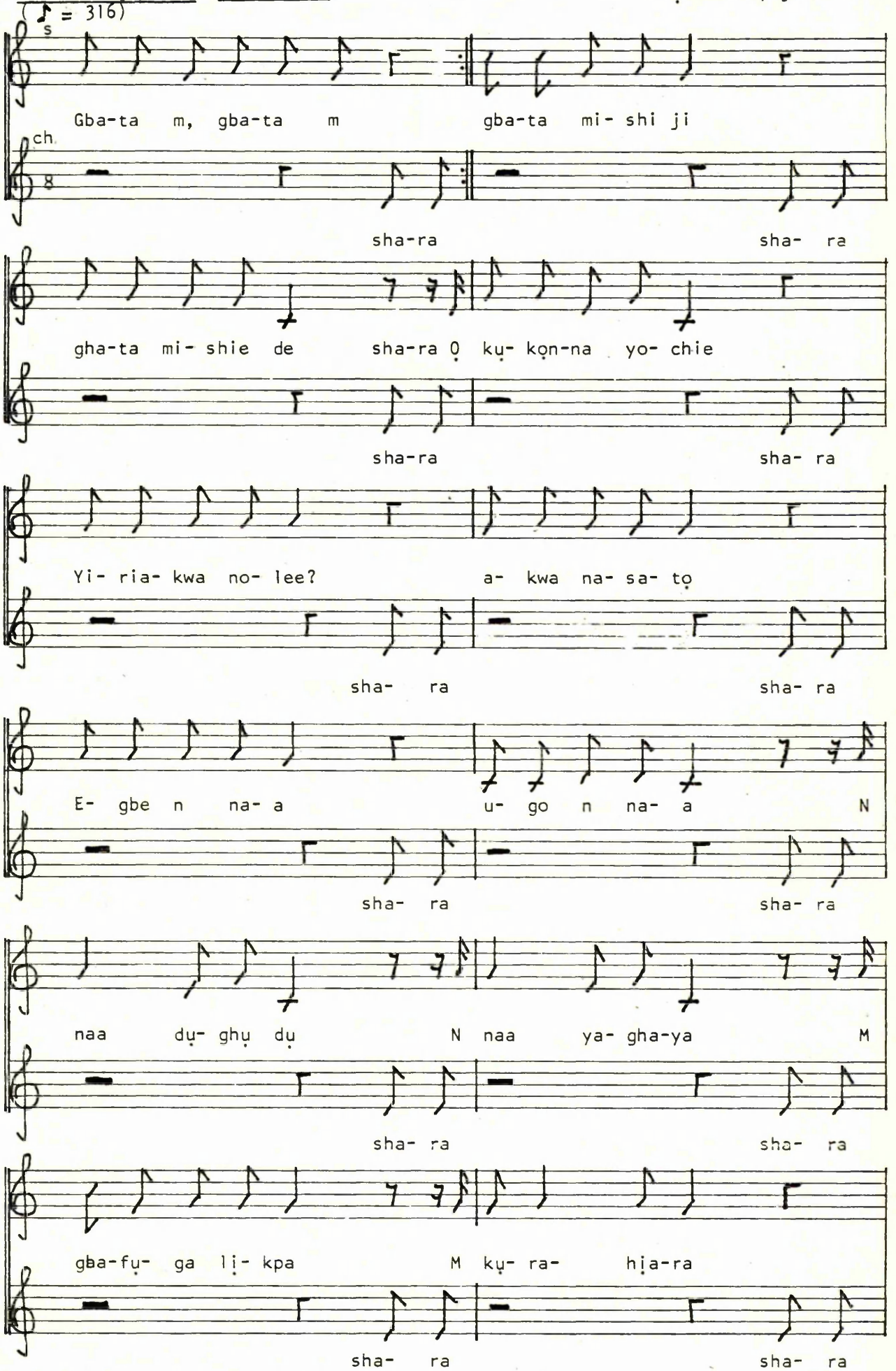


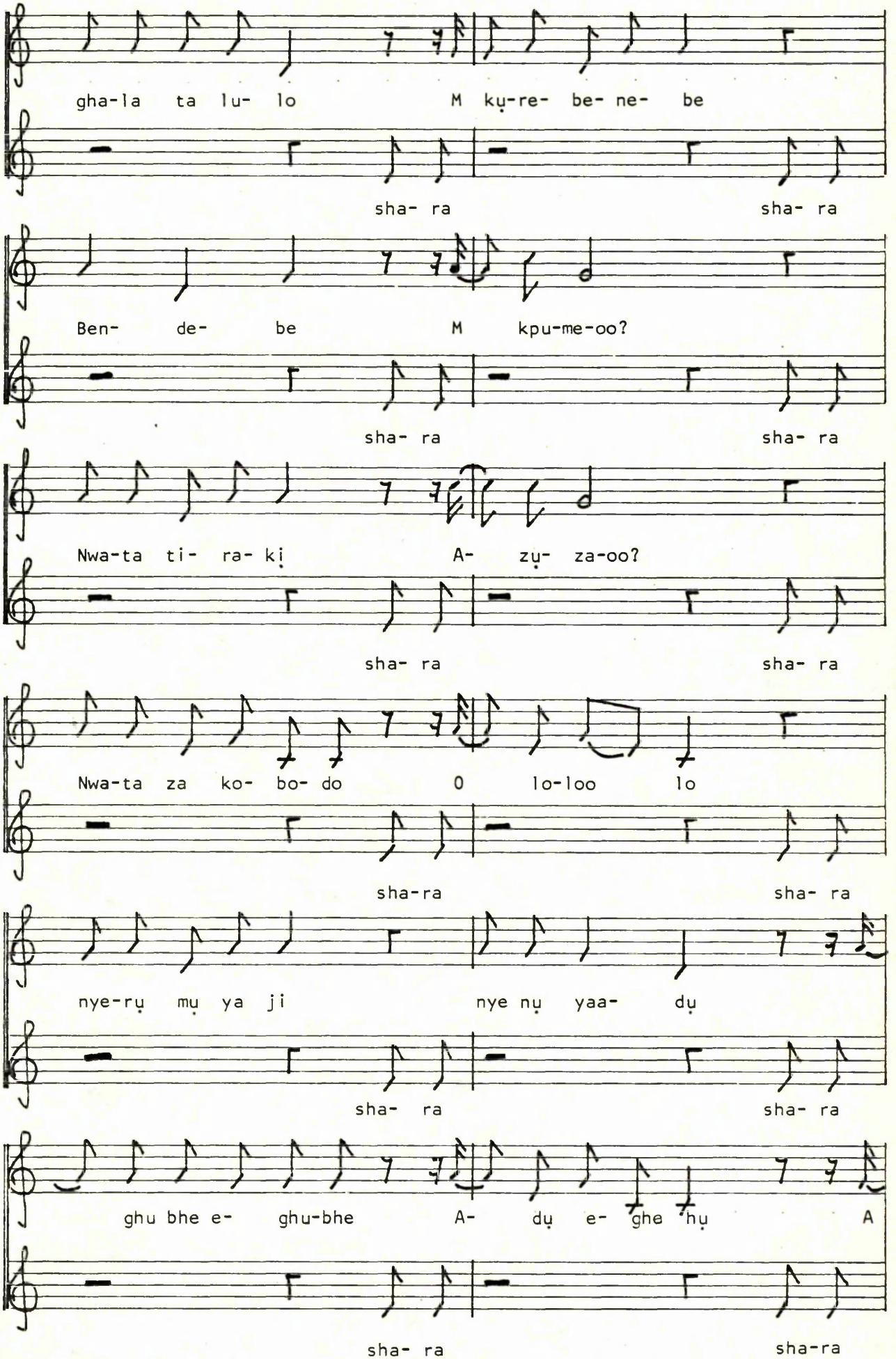

e- leo- ke le- gbu
A- na- ta- ra
A- e- le
kpo- ro- gi- di- kpo- ro- kpo- ro a- na- ta- ra
a- rịọ- hụ dụ- a- ña a?
A- na- ta- ra
O-
kpo- ro- gi- di kpo- ro kpo- ro a- na- ta- ra
la- nụ la jụ- dụ?
A- na- ta- ra
Am-
kpo- ro- gi- di kpo- ro- kpo- ro a- na- ta- ra

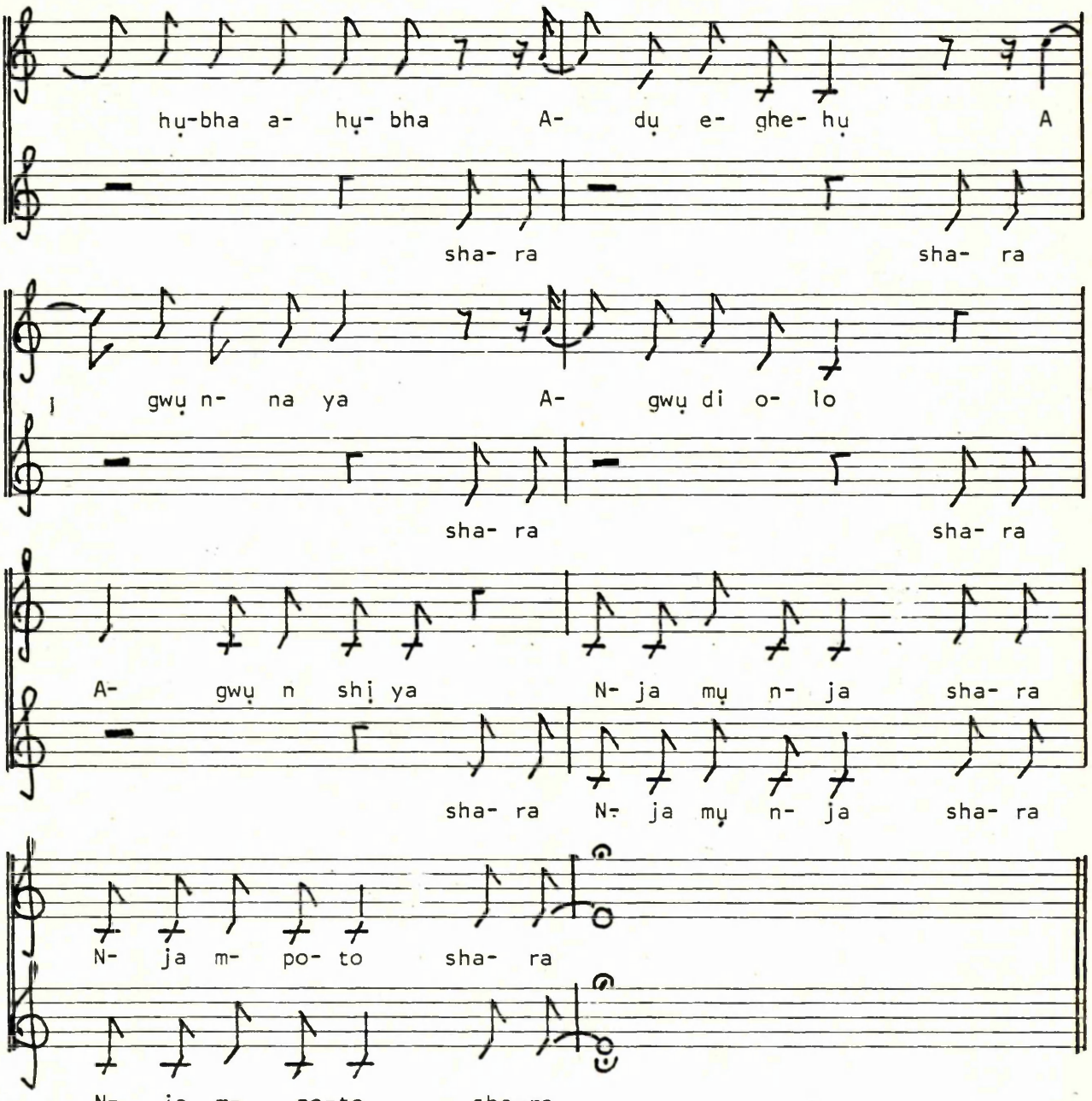

mo- roo- ke laa- jụ
A- na- ta- ra
N a- rịọ-
kpo- ro- gi- di kpol ro- kpo- ro a- na- ta- ra-
hụ lọ dụ- hụm- ma
a- na- ta- ra-
I- he wọ
kpo- ro- gi- di kpo- ro- kpo- ro a- na- ta- ra-
ghụ- dụ gụ nụ la- hịọ ?
A- na- ta- ra
A shị m- be
kpo- ro- gi di kpo- ro- kpo- ro a- na- ta- ra

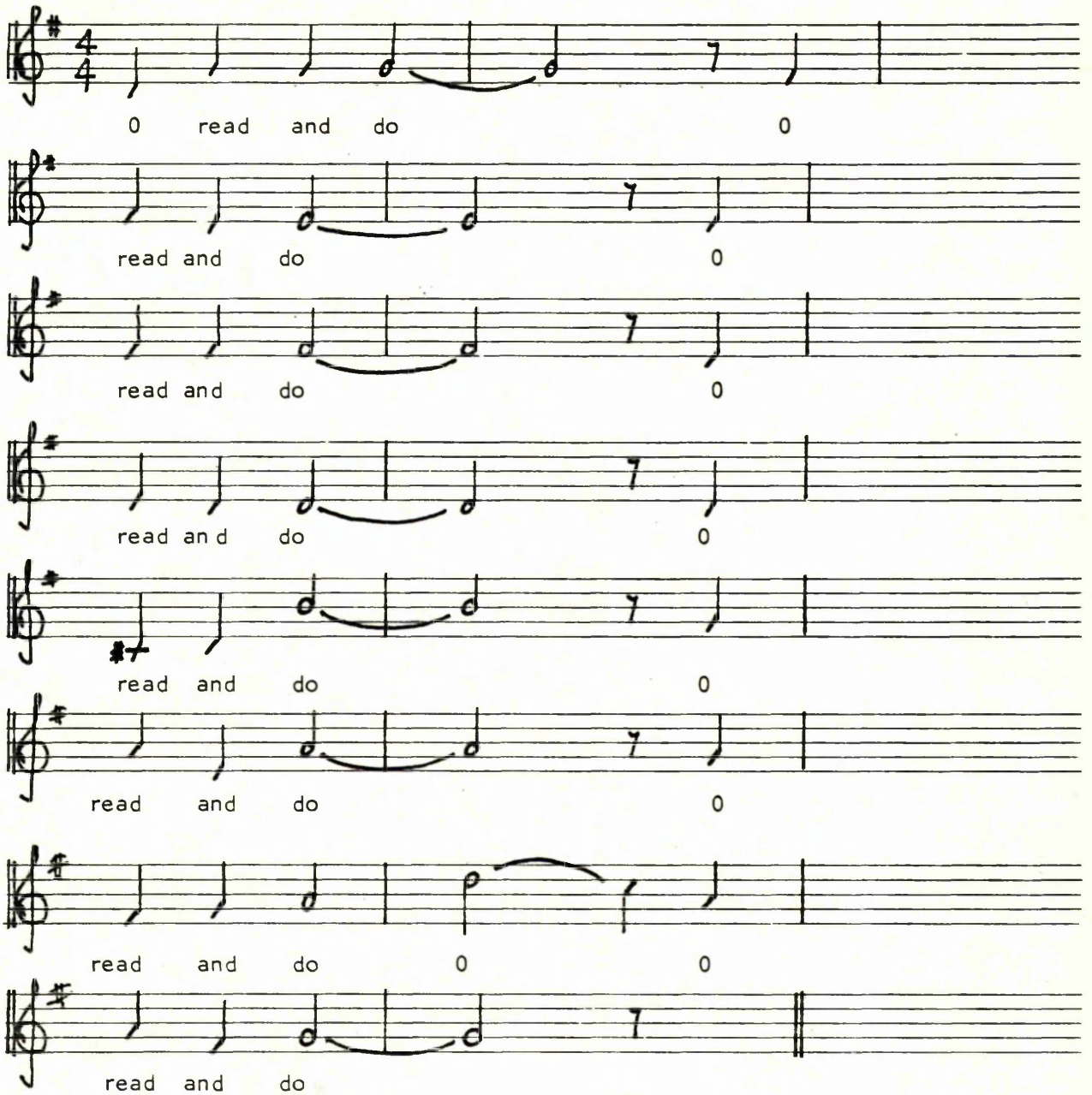

gbu- ra- da n'ọ- kụn- ri
A- na- ta- ra
I- he- wu
kpo- ro- gi- di kpo- ro- kpo- ro a- na- ta- ra
e- shi a- ṅaa- kọ ya?
A- na- ta- ra
ọ-
kpo- ro- gi- di kpo- ro- kpo- ro a- na- ta- ra
hwụ- rụ m- be ya ji- do
A- na- ta- ra
A o- gbu- ru o-
kpo- ro- gi- di kpo- ro- kpo- ro a- na- ta- ra


nye na o- nye ja kwị rị
A- na- ta- ra
kpo- ro- gi- di kpo- ro- kpo- ro a- na- ta- ra
Kpoo kpoo kpoo
A- na- ta- ra
rit.
kpo- ro- gi- di kpo- ro- kpo- ro a- na- ta- ra


(♪ = 316)
s
Gba-ta m, gba-ta m gba-ta mi- shi ji
ch
8
sha-ra sha- ra
gha-ta mi- shie de sha-ra Ọ kụ- kọn-na yo- chie
sha-ra sha- ra
Yi- ria- kwa no- lee? a- kwa na- sa- tọ
sha- ra sha- ra
E- gbe n na- a u- go n na- a N
sha- ra sha- ra
naa dụ- ghụ dụ N naa ya- gha-ya M
sha- ra sha- ra
gba-fụ- ga lị- kpa M kụ- ra- hịa-ra
sha- ra sha- ra


gha-la ta lu- lo M kụ-re- be- ne- be
sha- ra sha- ra
Ben- de- be M kpu-me-oo?
sha- ra sha- ra
Nwa-ta ti- ra- kị A- zụ- za-oo?
sha- ra sha- ra
Nwa-ta za ko- bo- do 0 lo-loo lo
sha-ra sha- ra
nye-rụ mụ ya ji nye nụ yaa- dụ
sha- ra sha- ra
ghu bhe e- ghu-bhe A- dụ e- ghe hụ A
sha- ra sha-ra


hụ-bha a- hụ- bha A- dụ e- ghe- hụ A
sha- ra sha- ra
I gwụ n- na ya A- gwụ di o- lo
sha- ra sha- ra
A- gwụ n shị ya N- ja mụ n- ja sha- ra
sha- ra N- ja mụ n- ja sha- ra
N- ja m- po- to sha- ra
N- ja m- po-to sha-ra


0 read and do 0
read and do 0
read and do 0
read and d do 0
read and do 0
read and do 0
read and do 0 0
read and do

APPENDIX C & D

TONAL FEATURES

APPENDIX C

INTERVALLIC STRUCTURES

Fig. 1.

Ezioru 1134

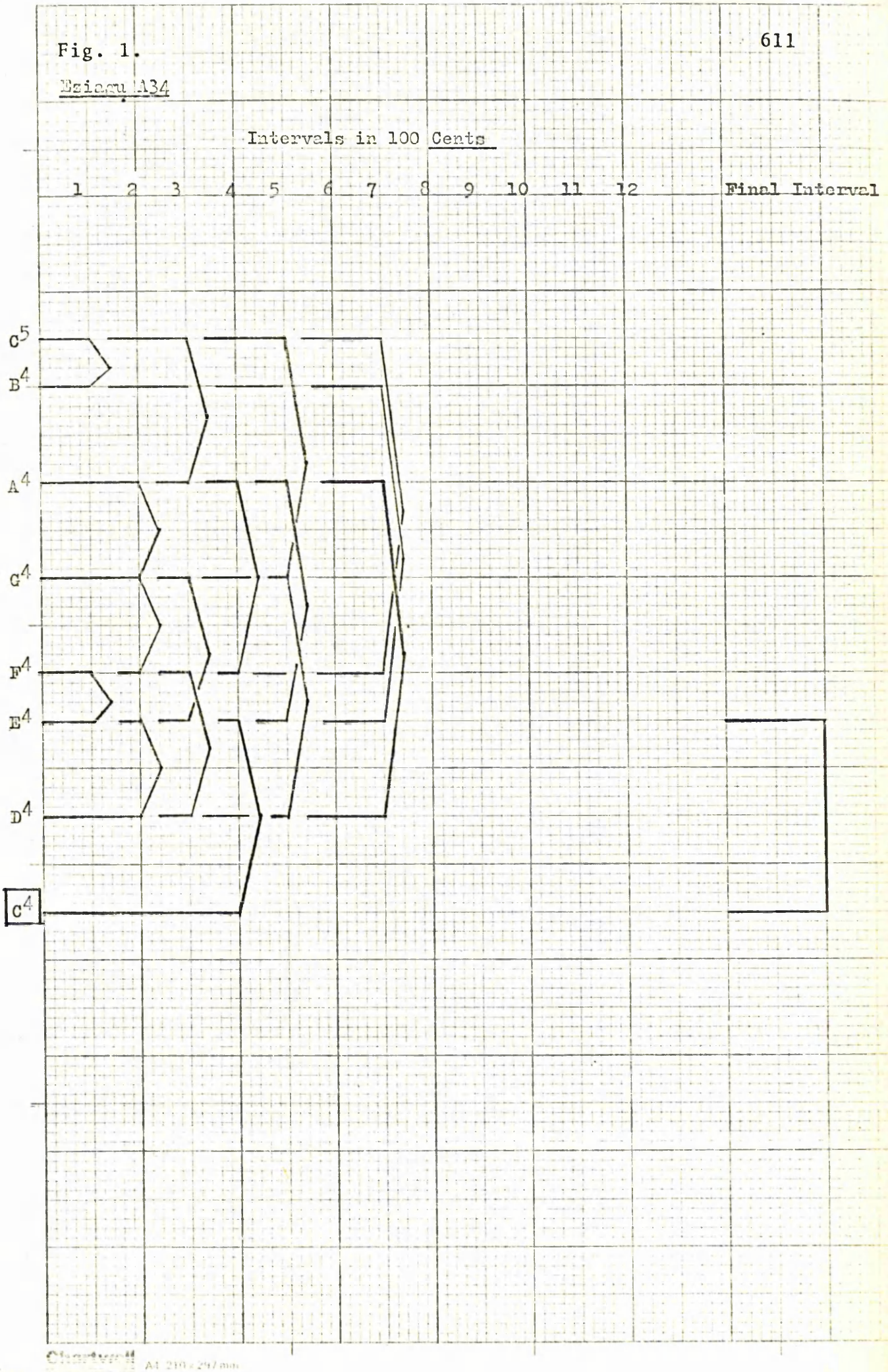


Fig. 2.

Eziaru A57

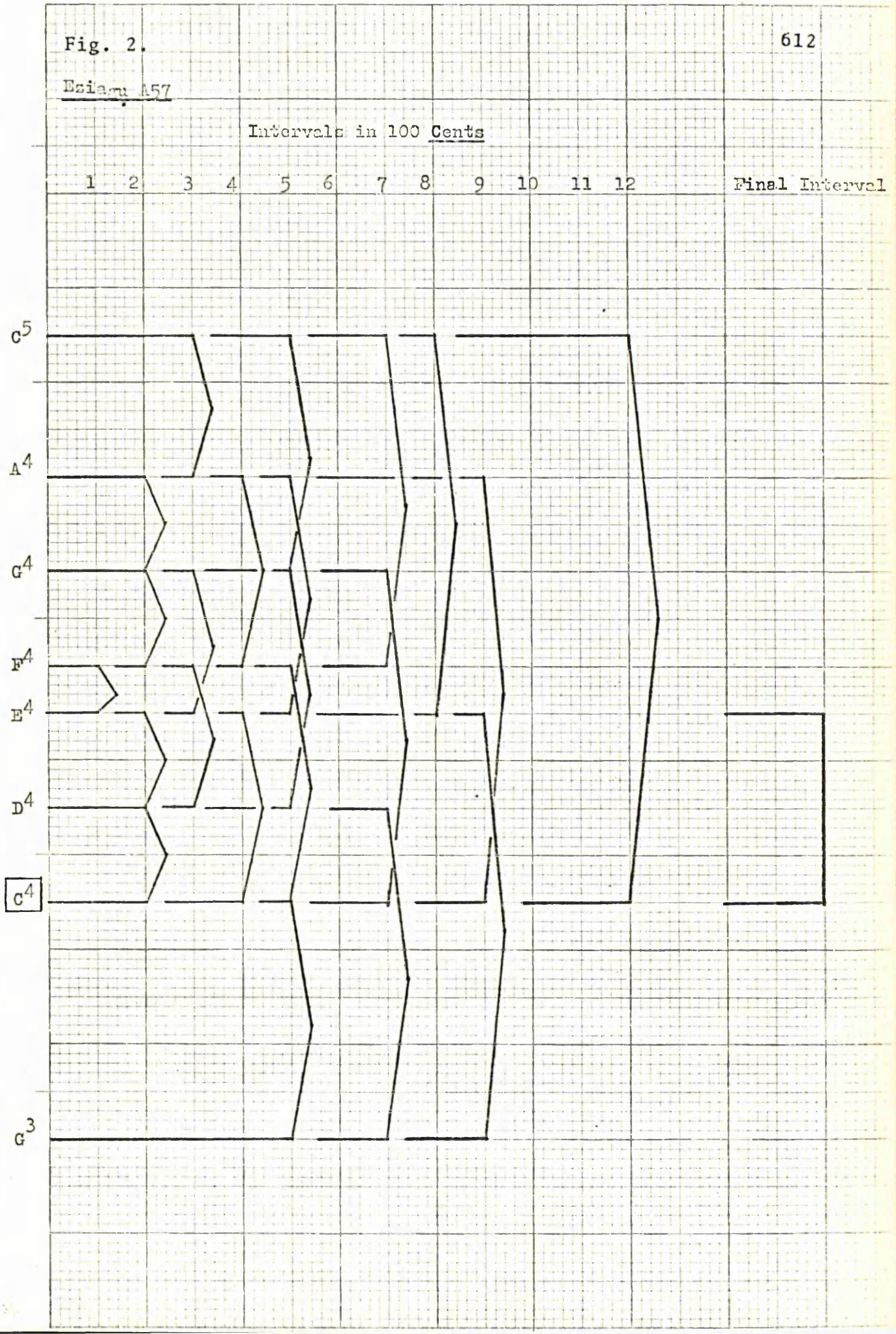


Fig.3.

Intervals common to Enigma A34 and A57

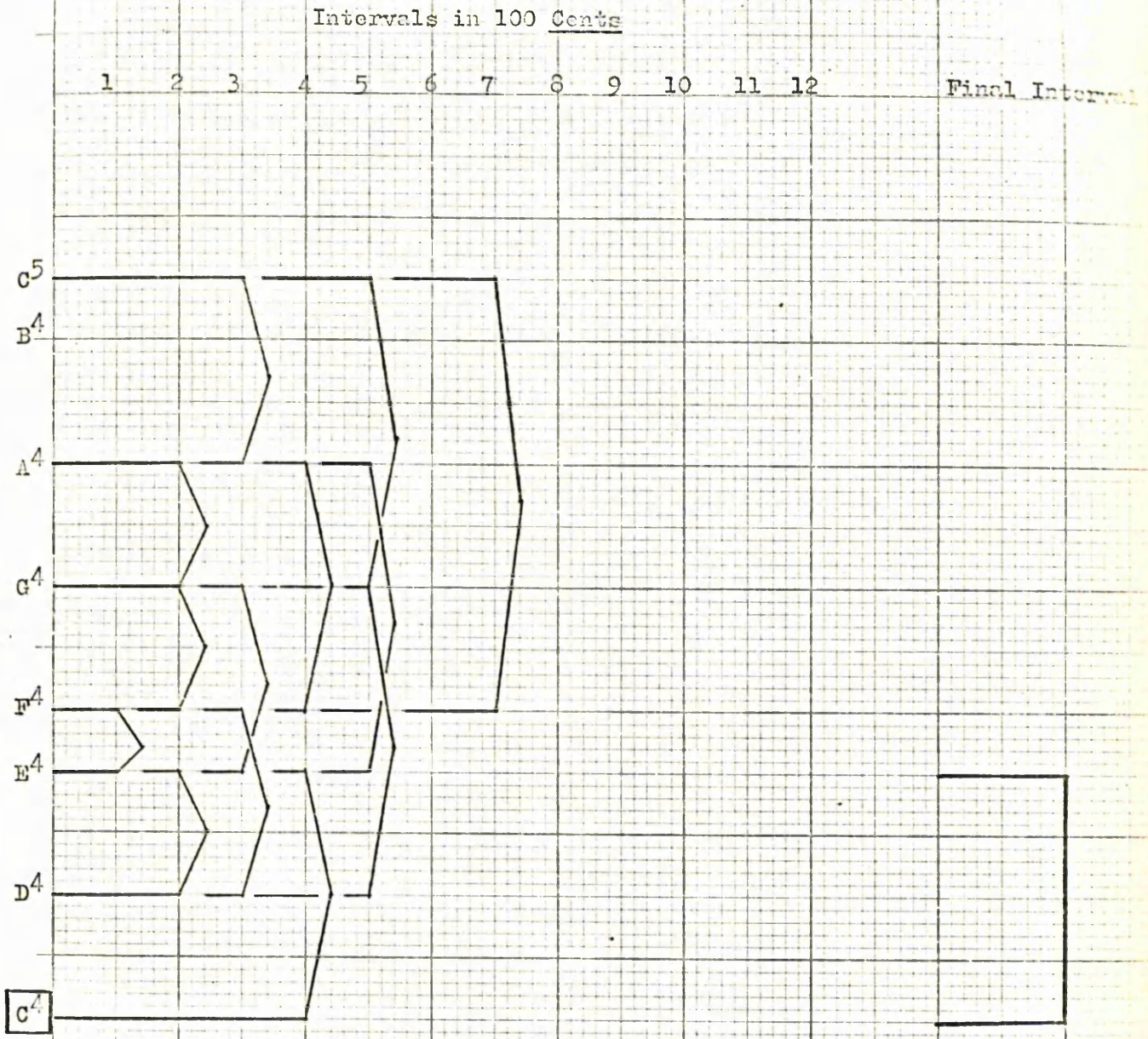


Fig. 4.

Unique intervals of Design A34

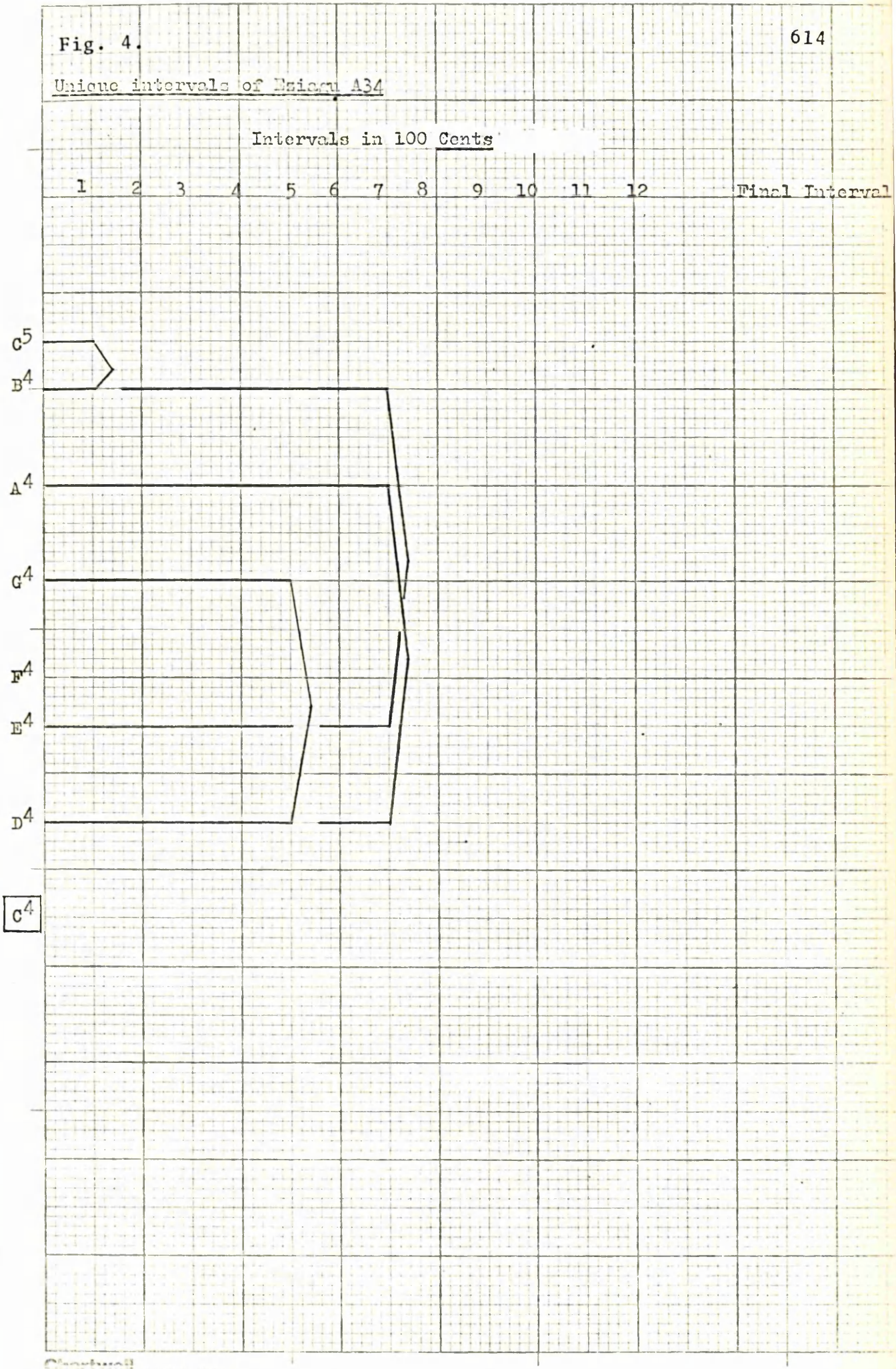


Fig. 5.

Unique intervals of Bziaqu A57

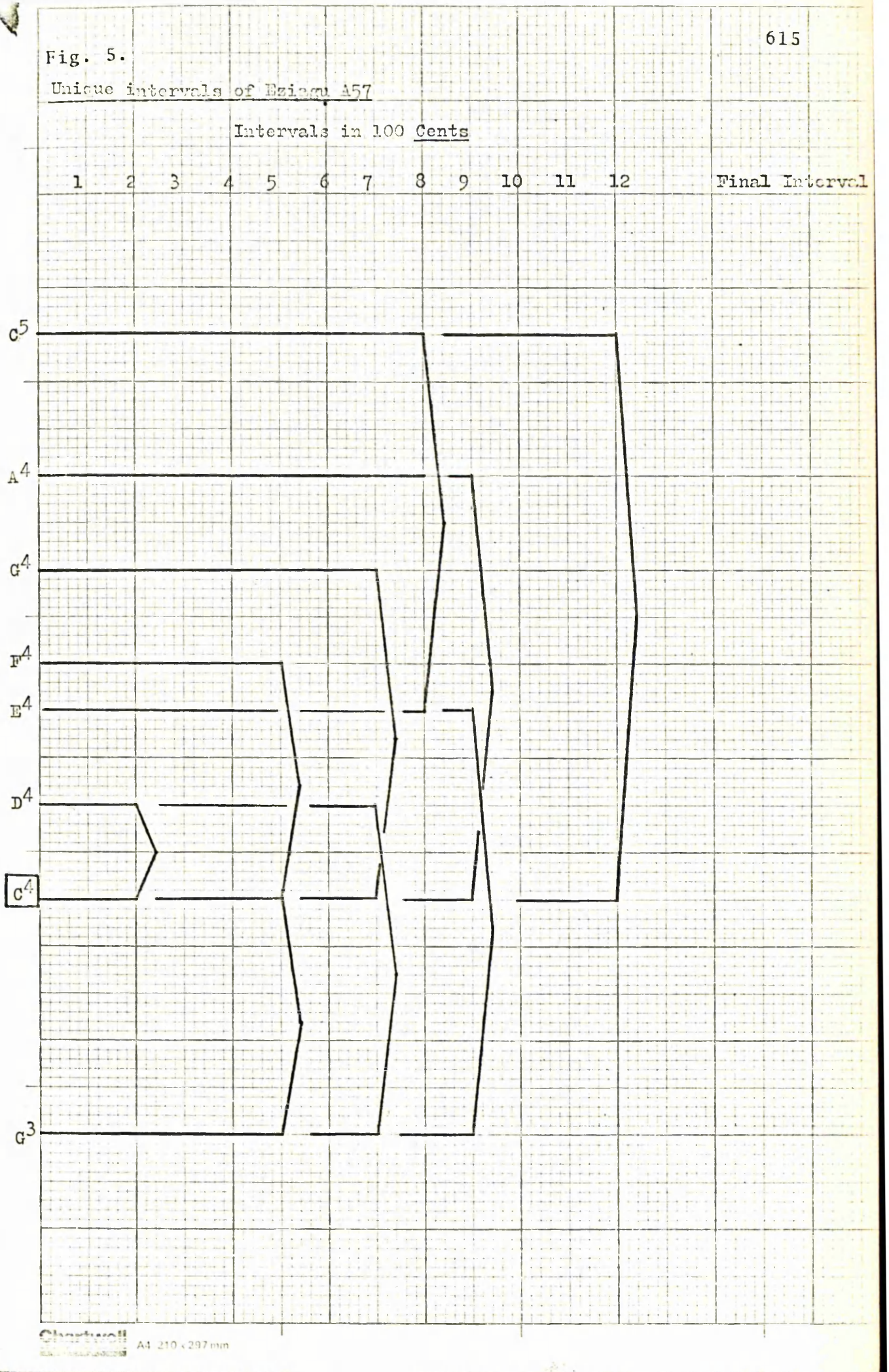


Fig. 6.

Ensemble A12

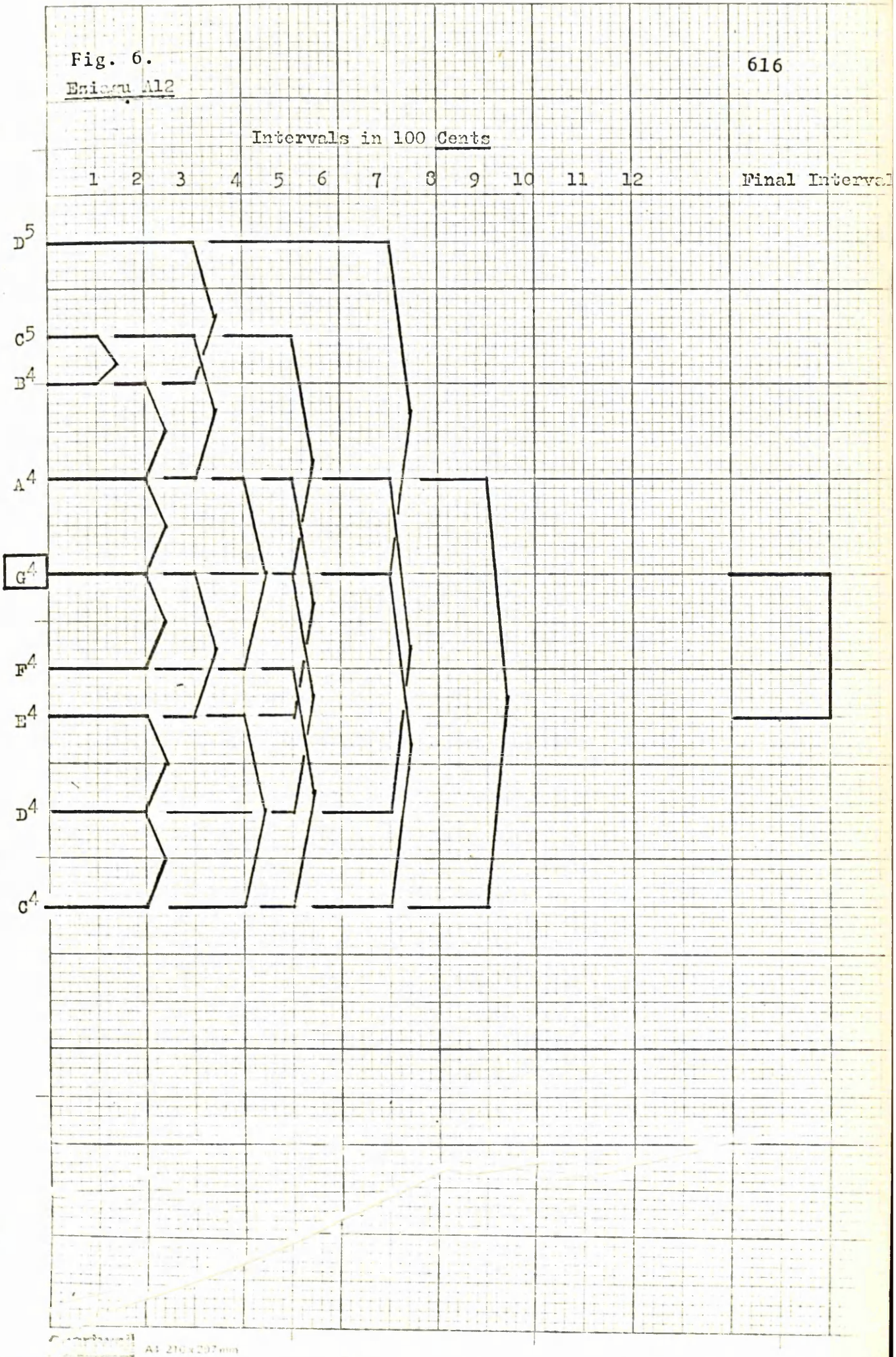


Fig. 7.

Haiaru A33

Intervals in 100 Cents

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 Final Interval

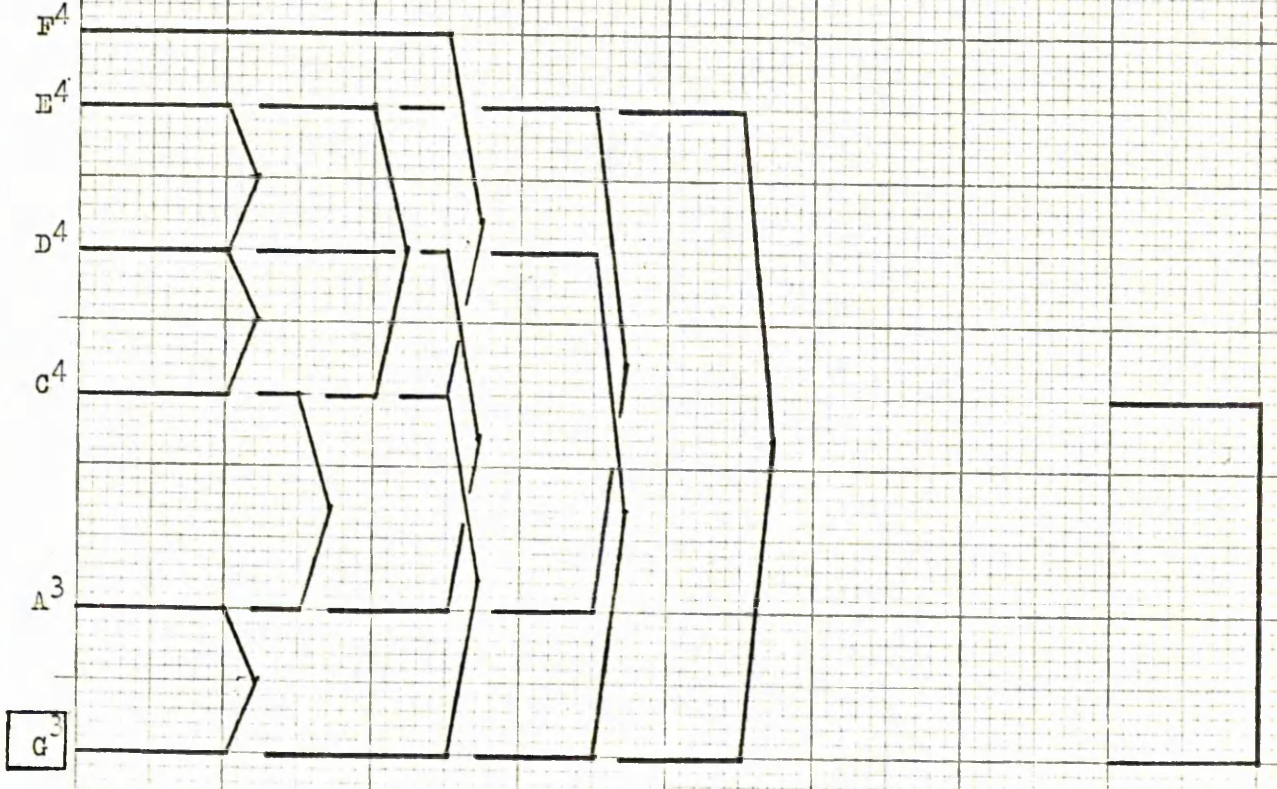


Fig. 8.

Ezigen A78

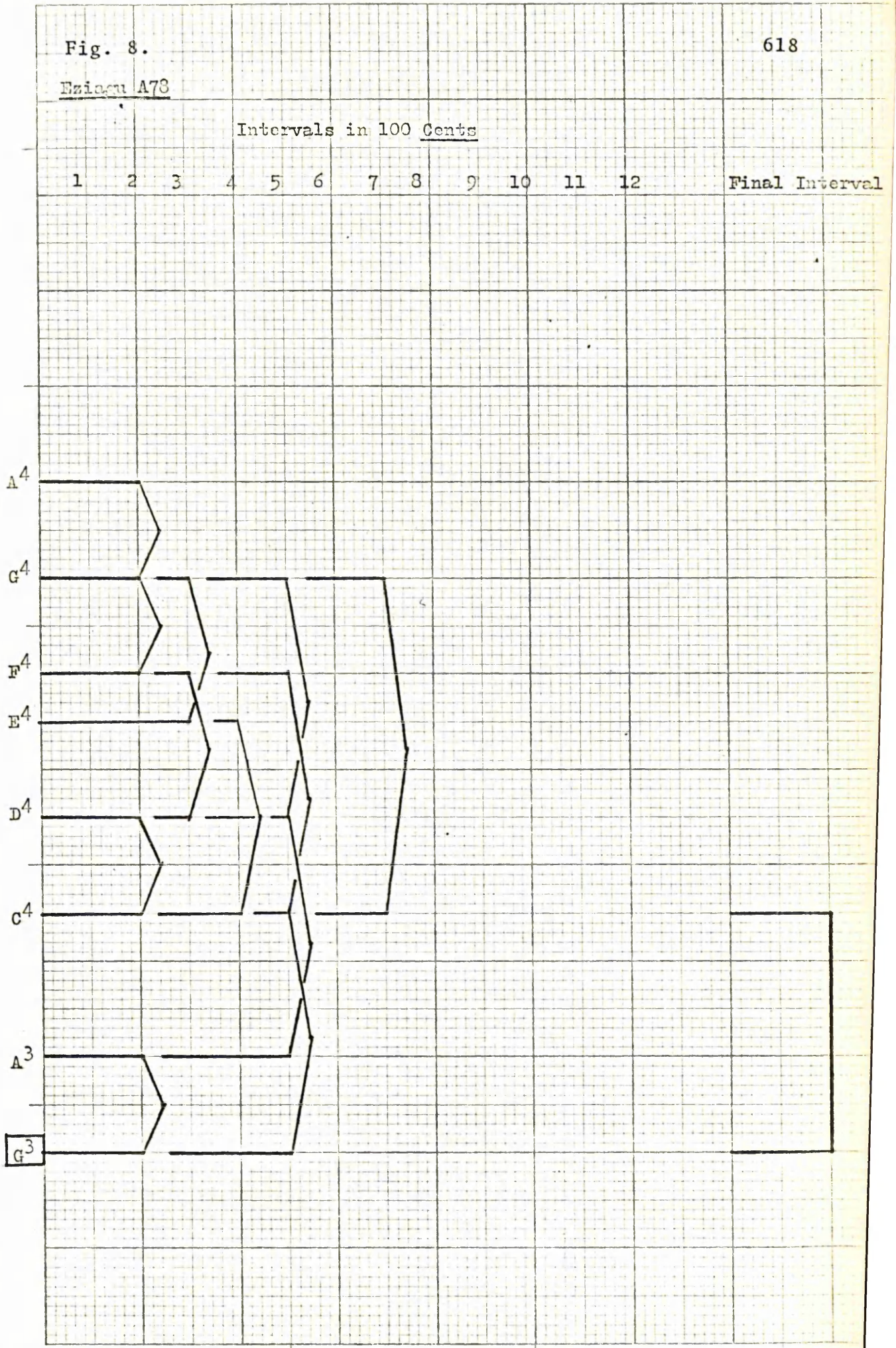
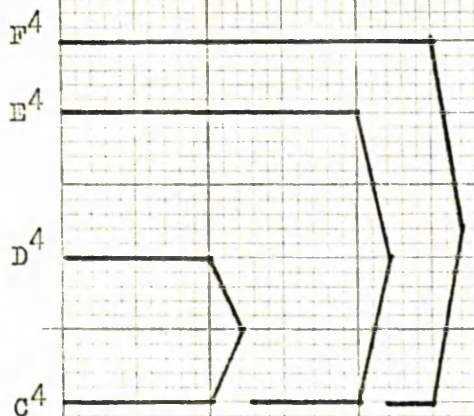


Fig. 9.

Intervals common to Eziamu A12, A33, and A78

Intervals in 100 Cents

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12



G3

Fig. 10.

Intervals common to Eninau A33 and 78

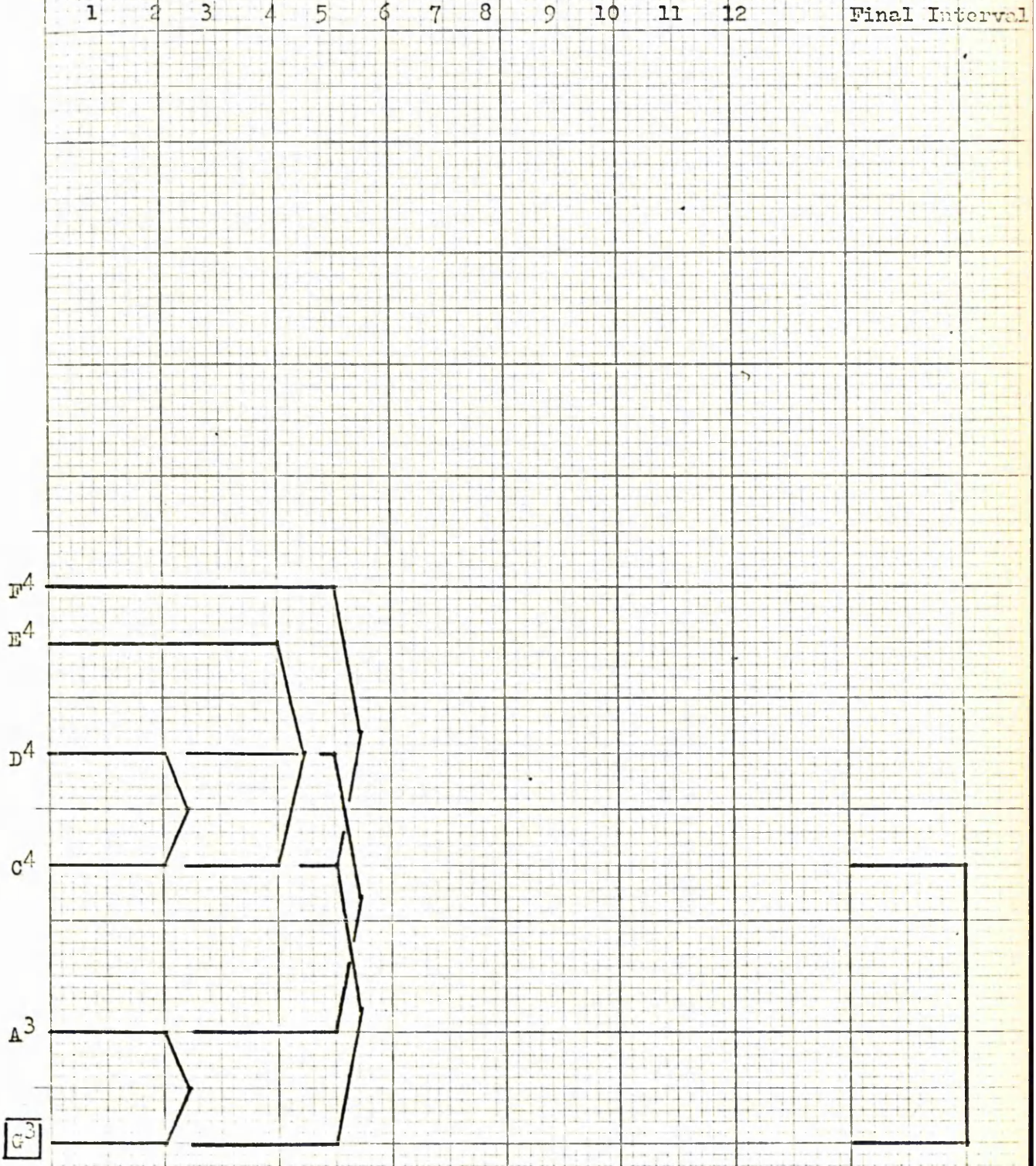


Fig. 11.

Intervals common to Enigma A12 and A33

Intervals in 100 Cents

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

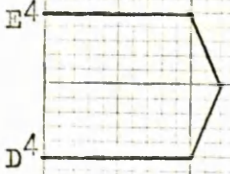


Fig. 12.

Intervals common to Eziagu A12 and A78

Intervals in 100 Cents

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

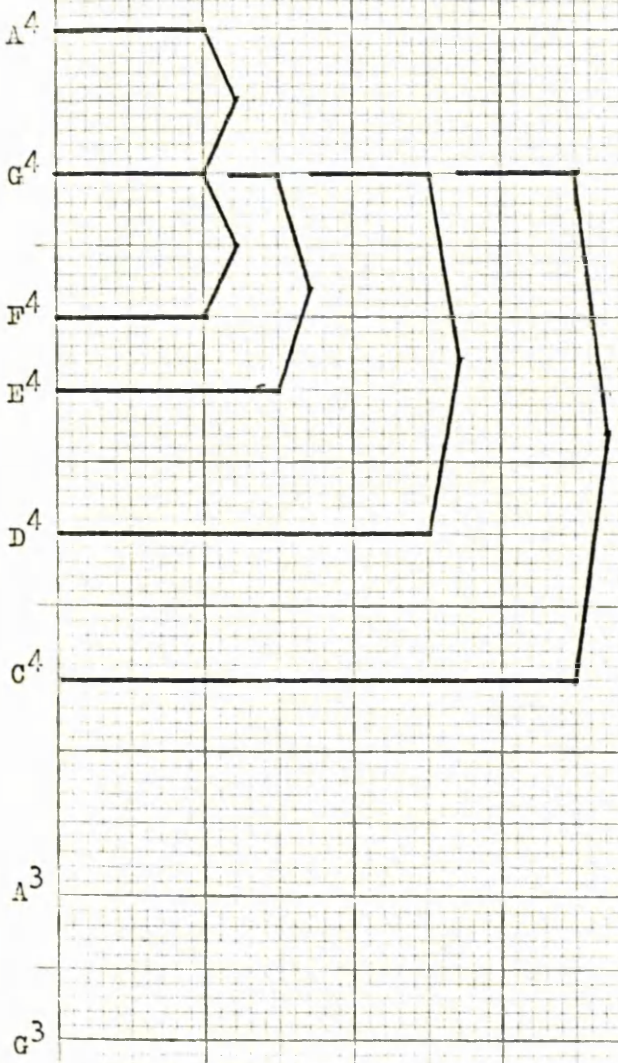


Fig. 13.

Unique intervals of Dziagu A12

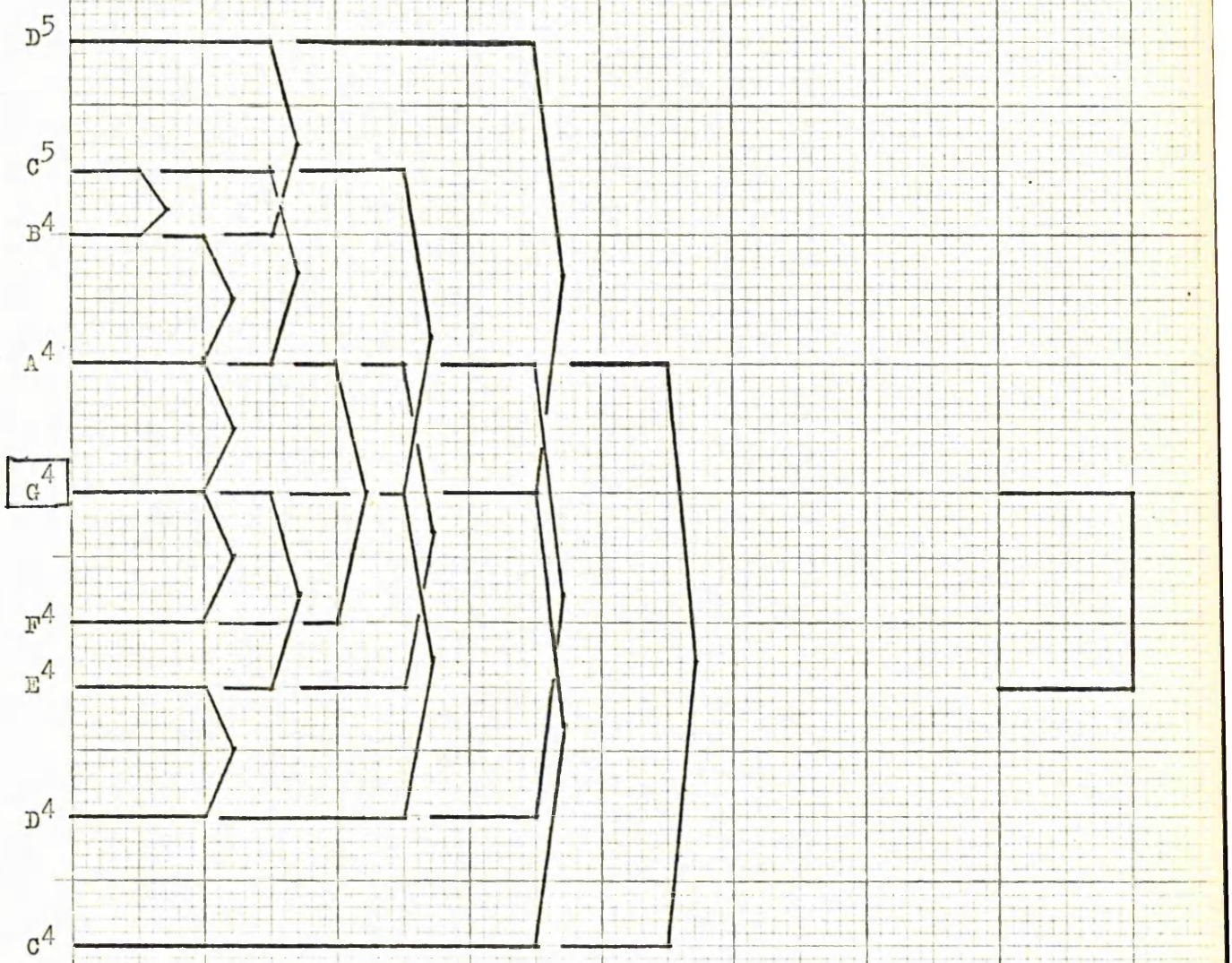


Fig. 14.

Unique intervals of Daiaau A33

Intervals in 100 Cents

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

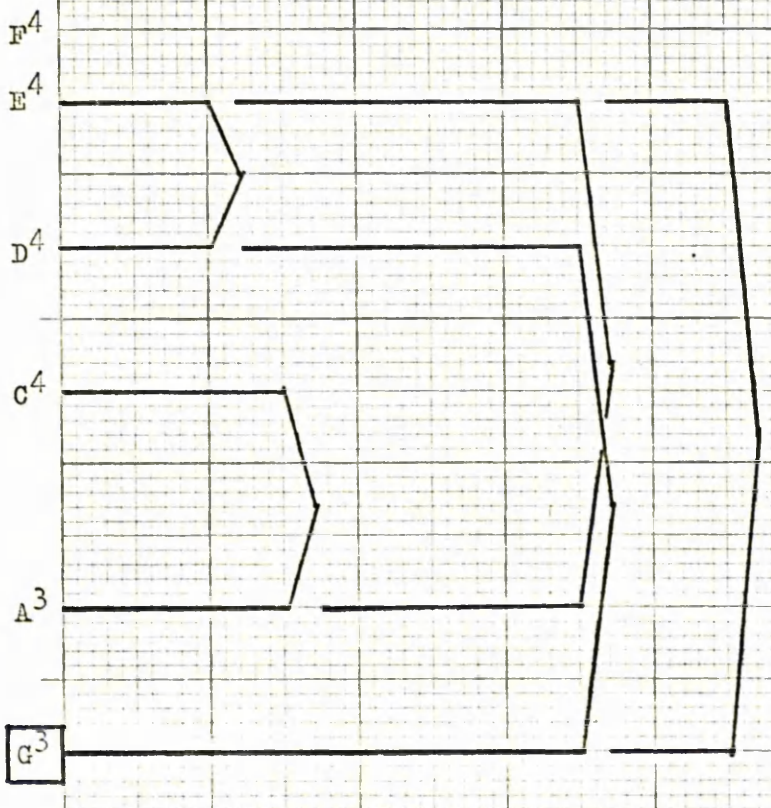
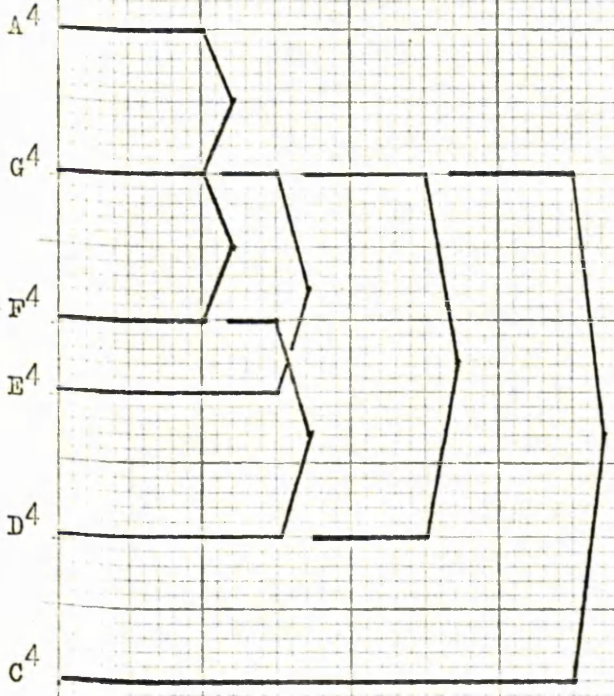


Fig. 15.

Unique intervals of Erlang A78

Intervals in 100 Cents

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12



A4

G3

Fig. 16.

Eziagu 154

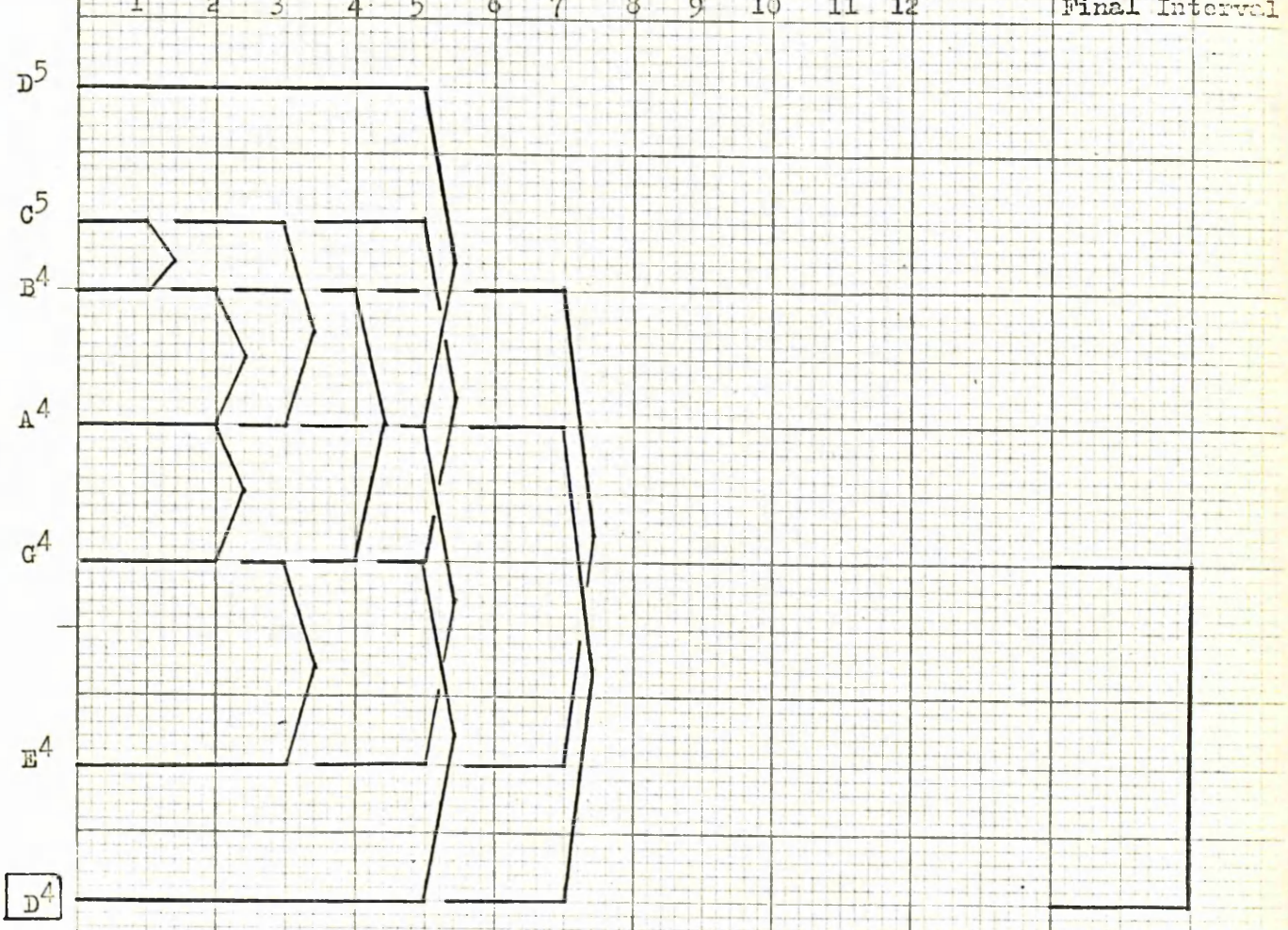


Fig. 17.

Eziaqu A55

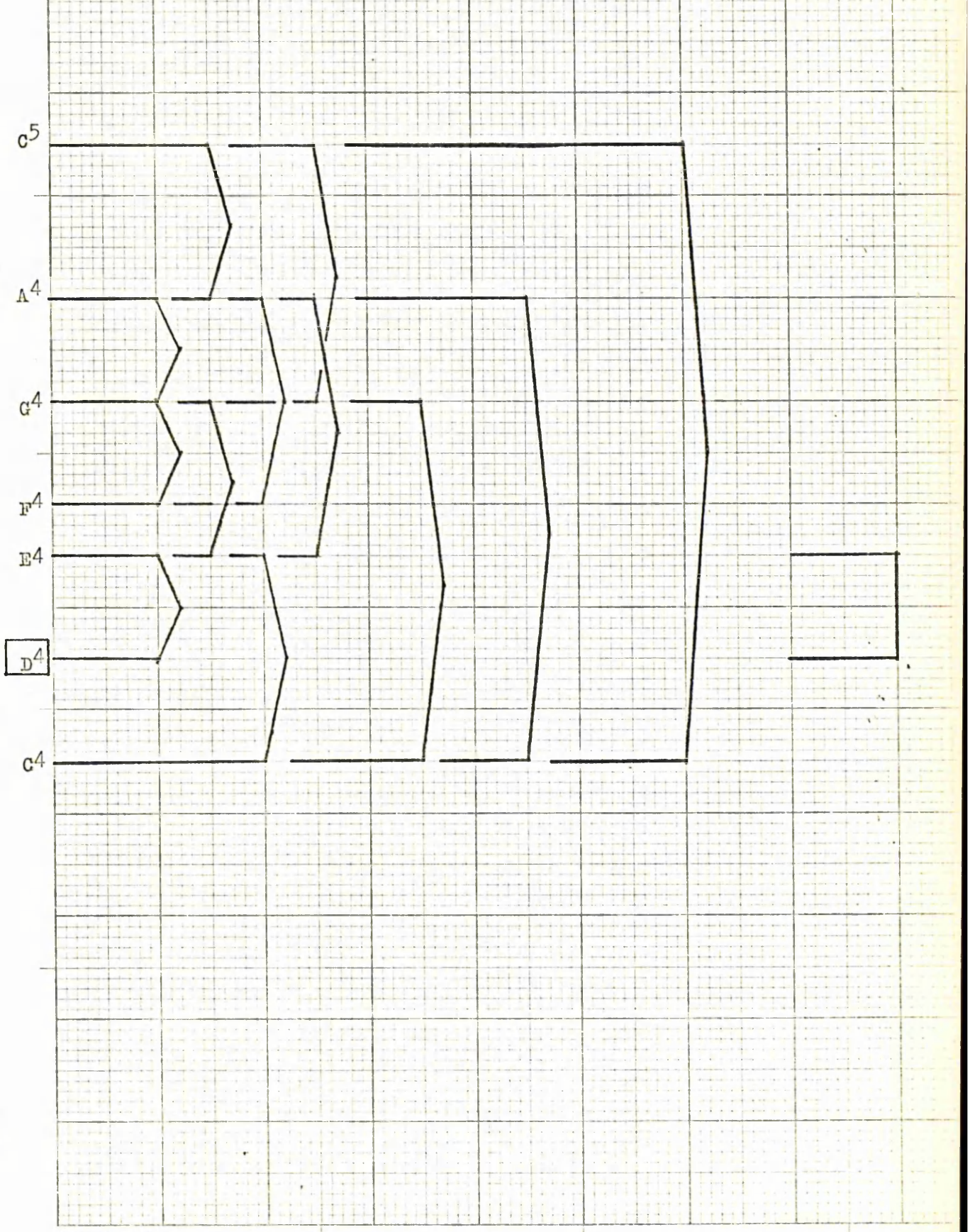


Fig. 18.

Eziagu A56

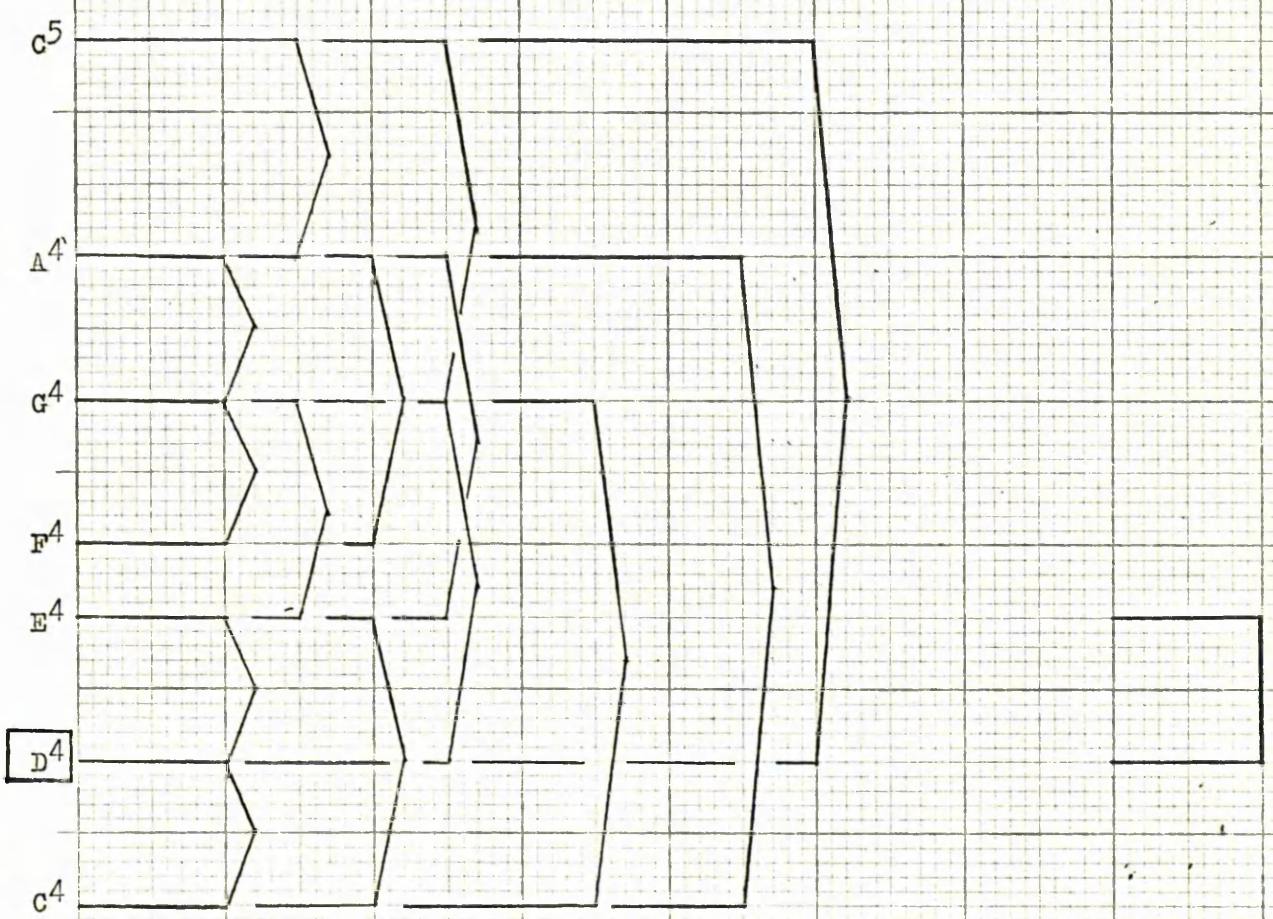


Fig. 19

Eziagu A2a

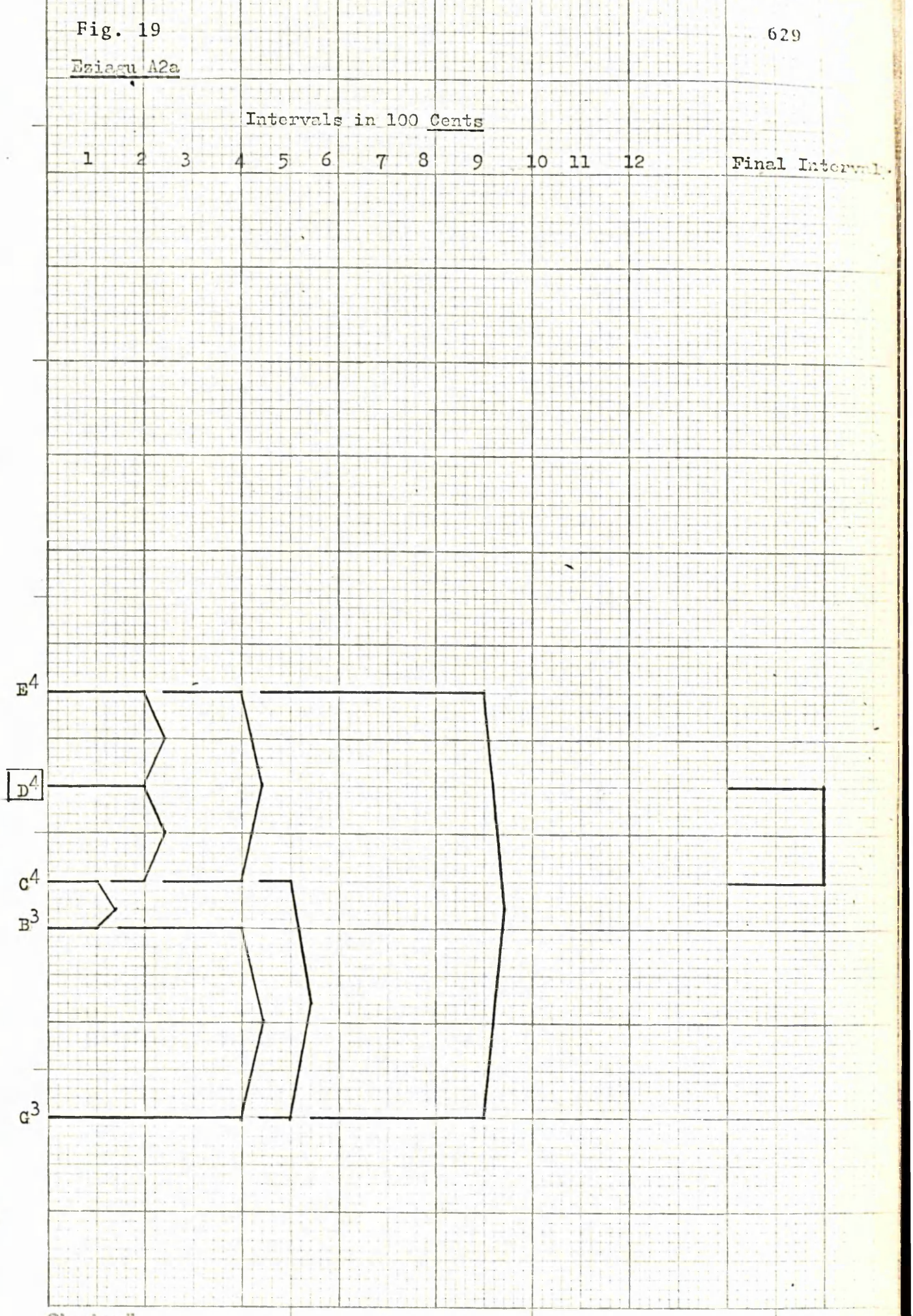


Fig. 20.

Intervals common to Eziasu A54. A55. and A56 (All Hexa-31 scale-type).

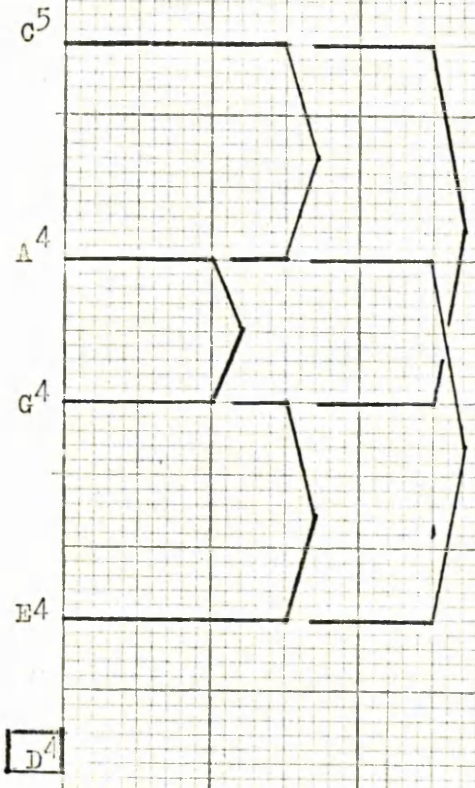


Fig. 21.

Unique intervals of Design A54

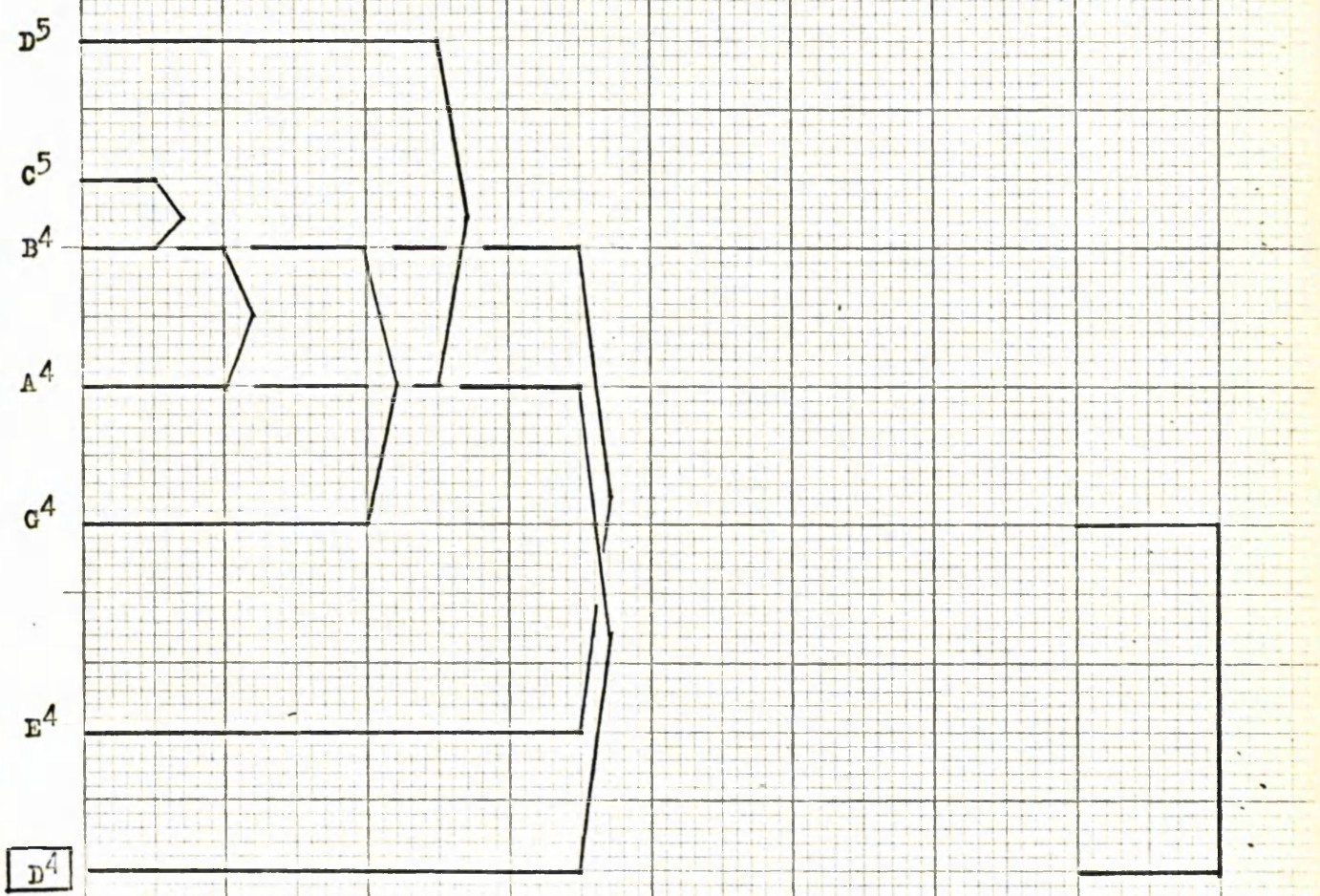


Fig.22.

Intervals common to A55, A56 and A2a

Intervals in 100 Cents

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

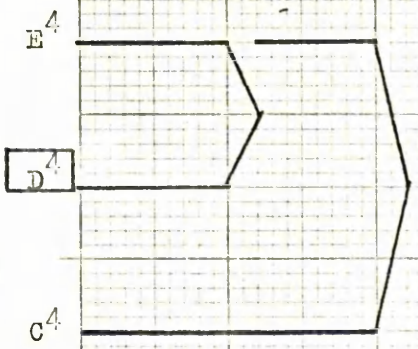


Fig. 23.

Intervals common to Mziaru A55 and A56

Intervals in 100 Cents

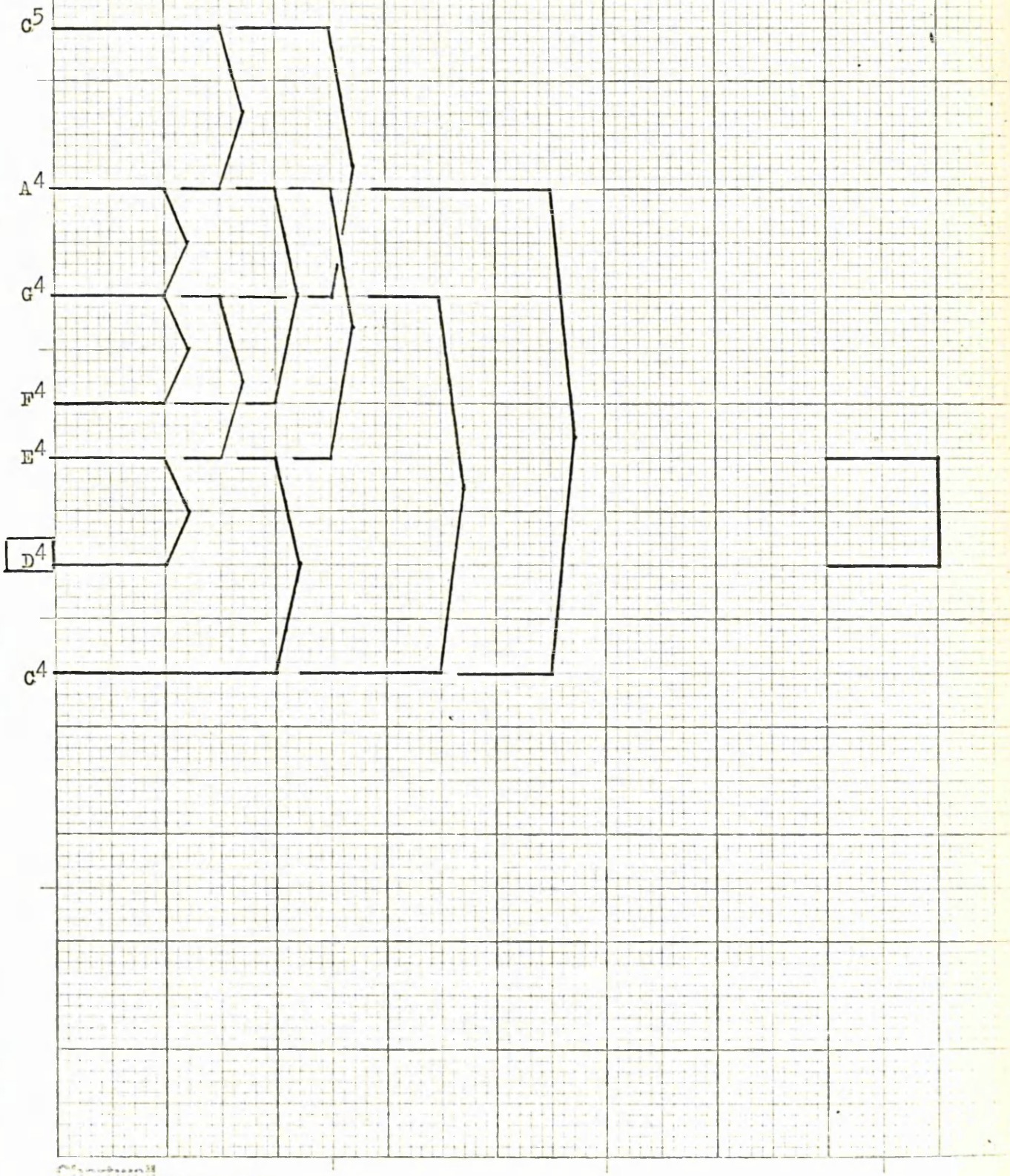


Fig. 24.

Unique intervals of Eziaqu A55

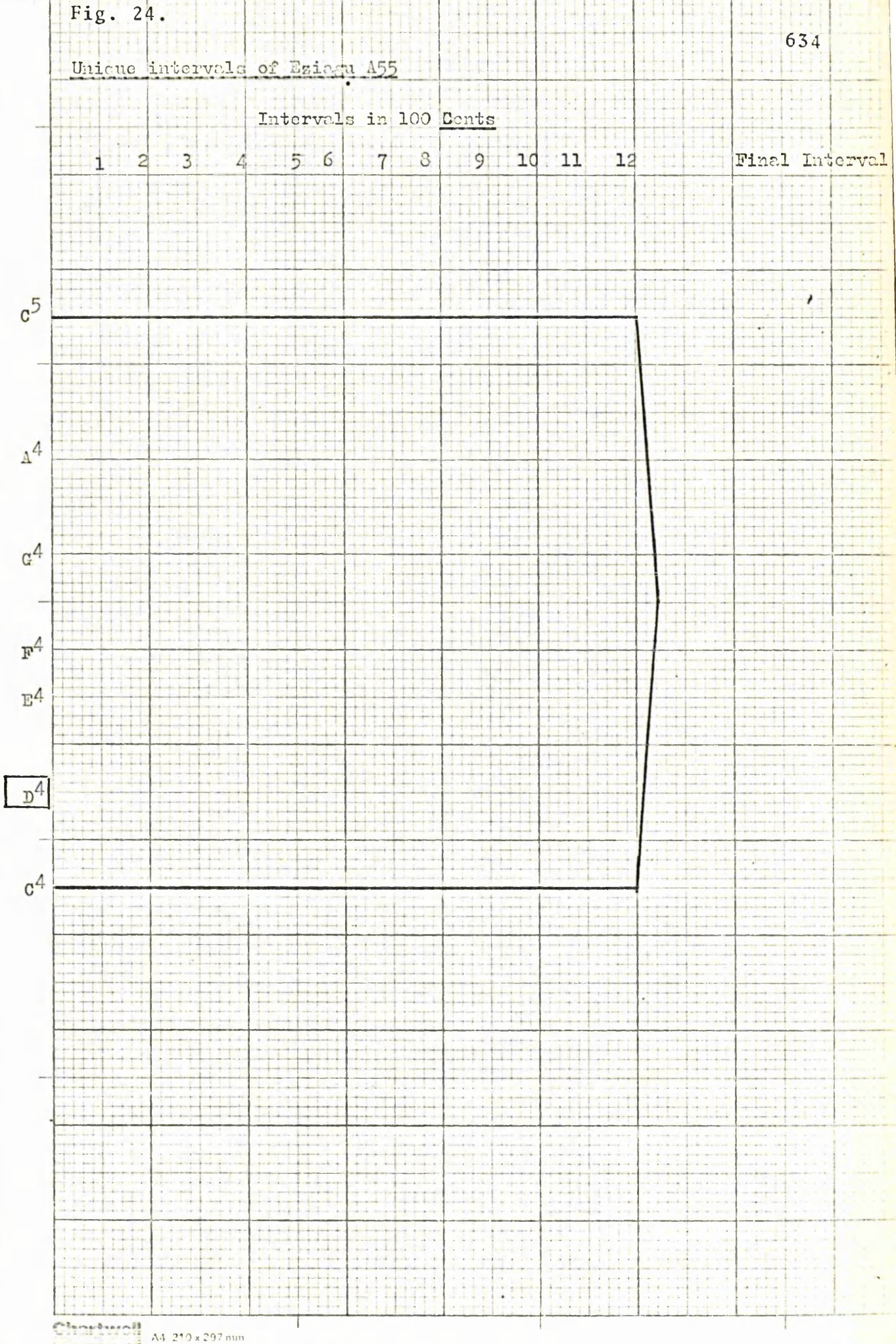


Fig. 25.

Unique intervals of Dziagu A56

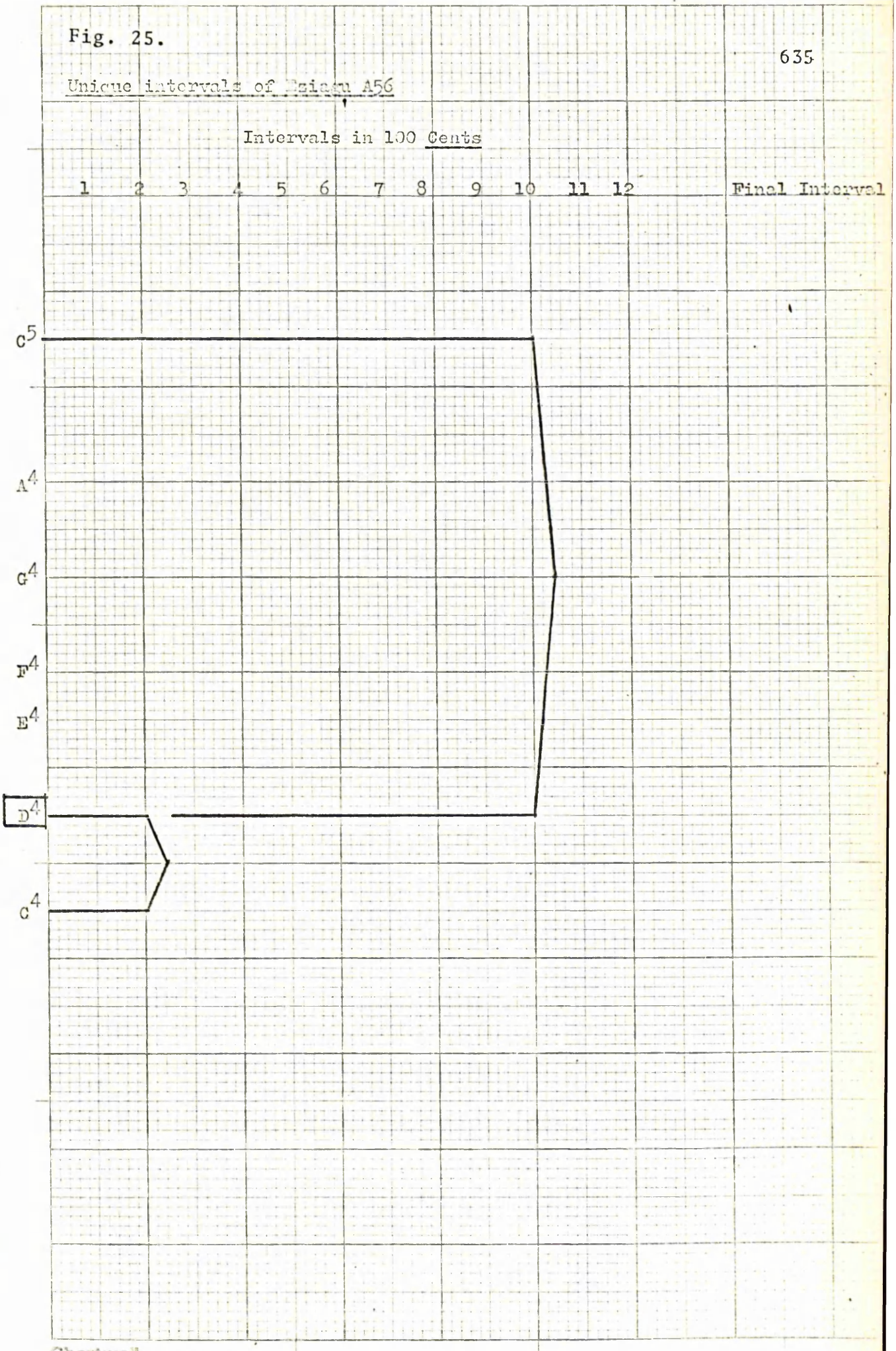


Fig. 26.

Unique intervals of Eziqu A2a

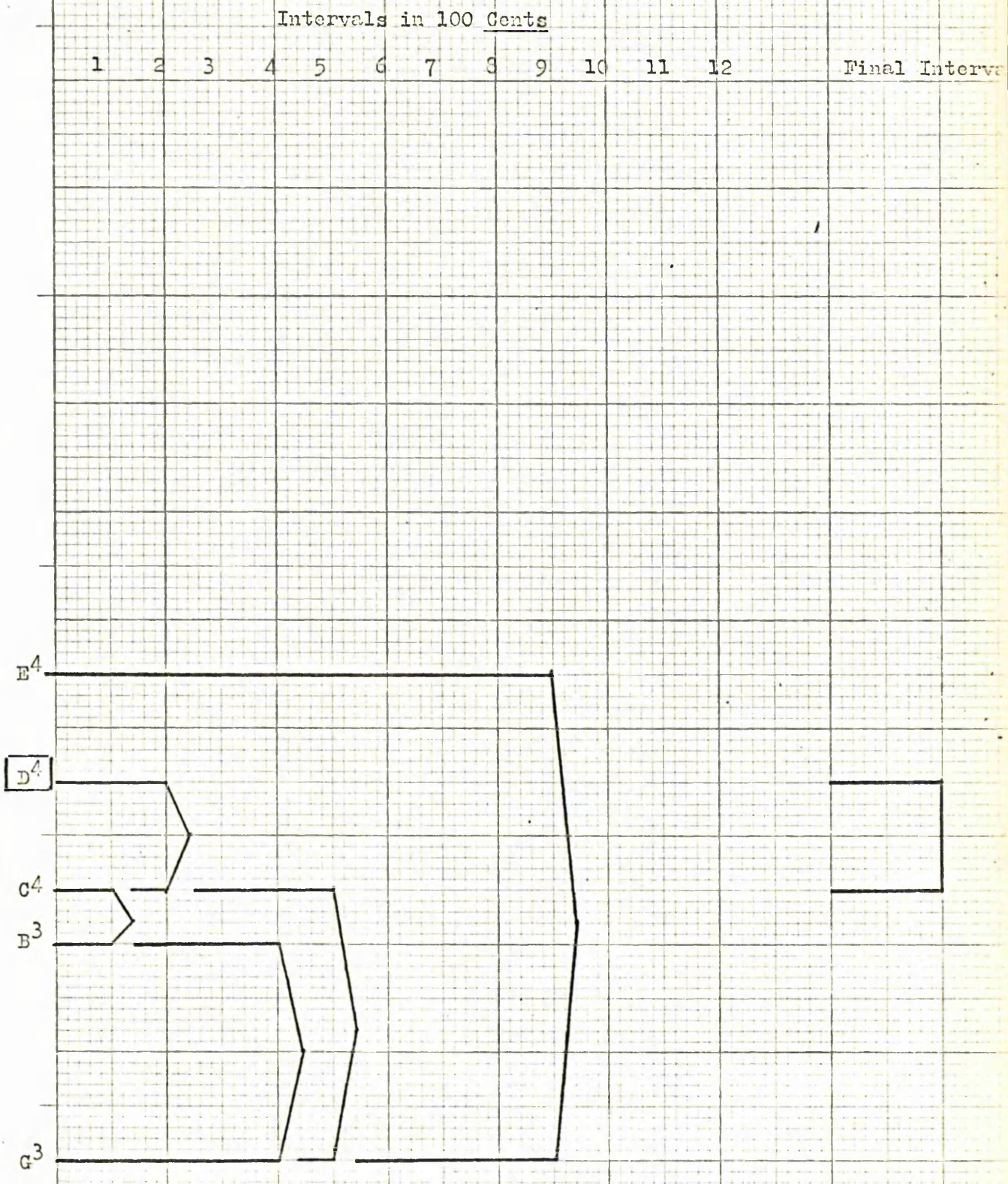


Fig. 27.

Enigma A2b

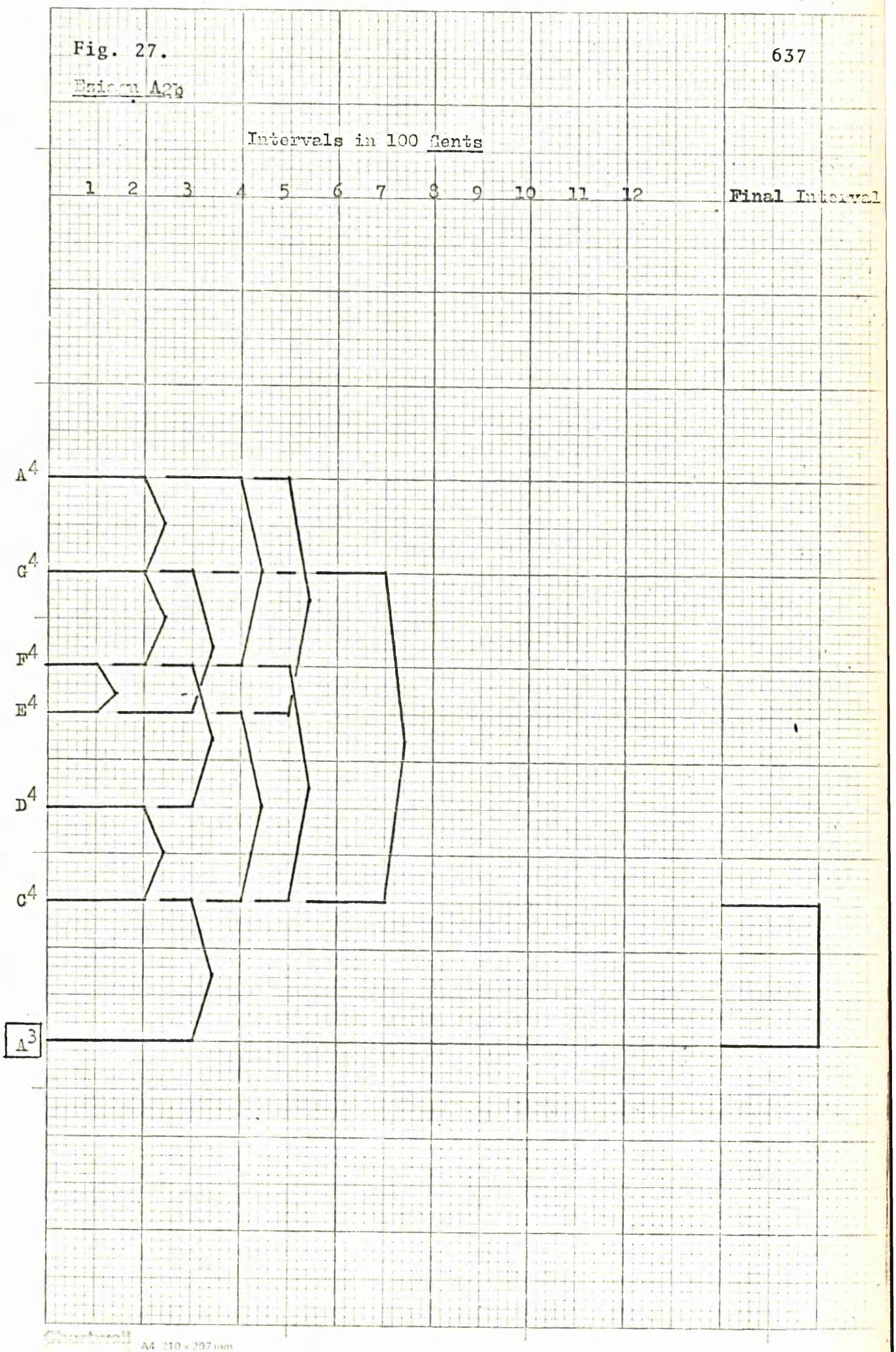


Fig. 28.

Ziegu A32

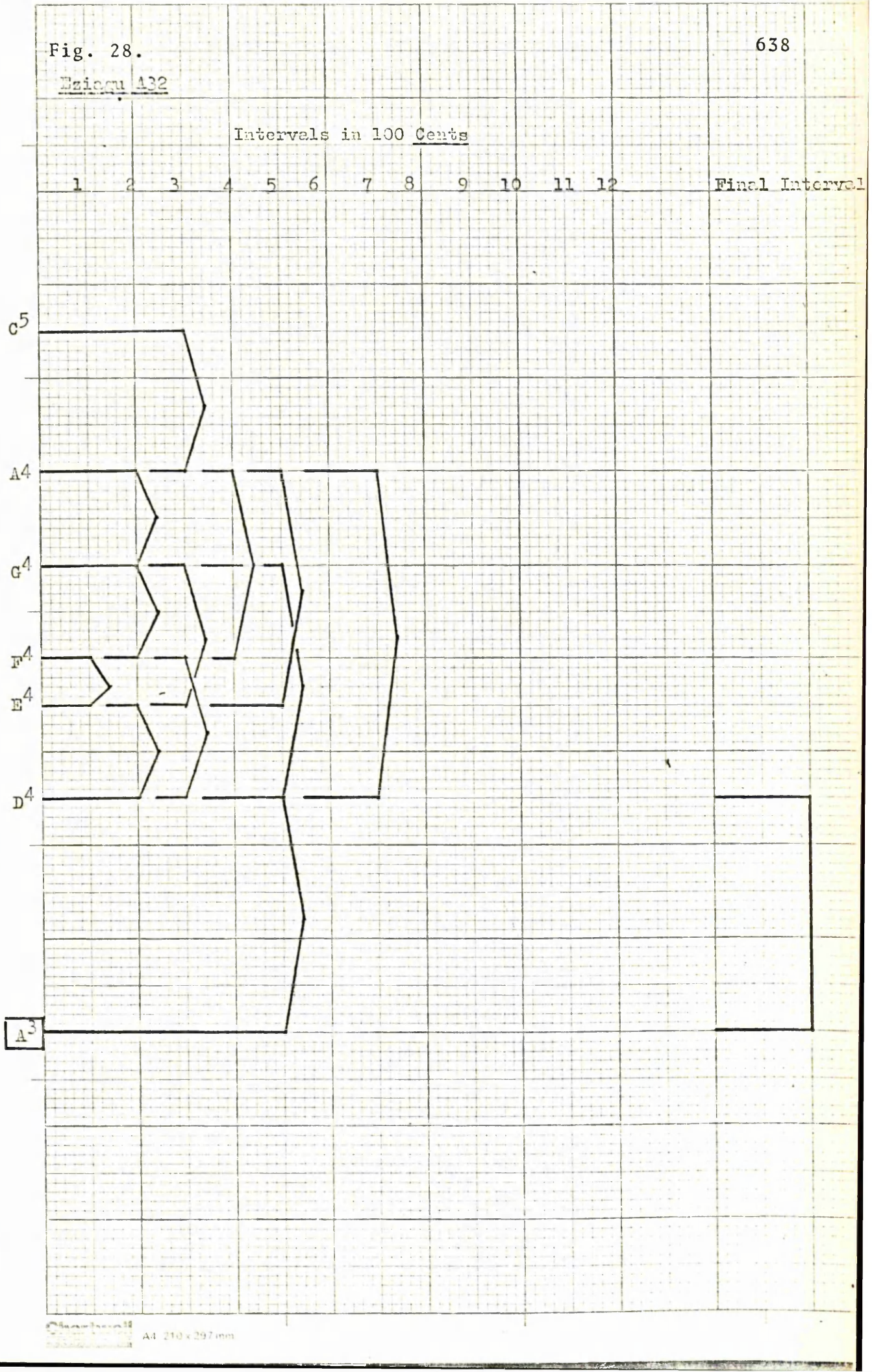


Fig. 29.

Intervals common to Eziogu A2b and A32

Intervals in 100 Cents

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 Final Interval

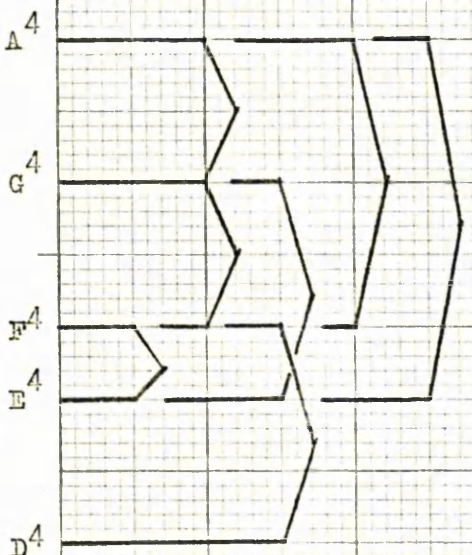


Fig. 30.

Unique intervals of Dziaru A2b

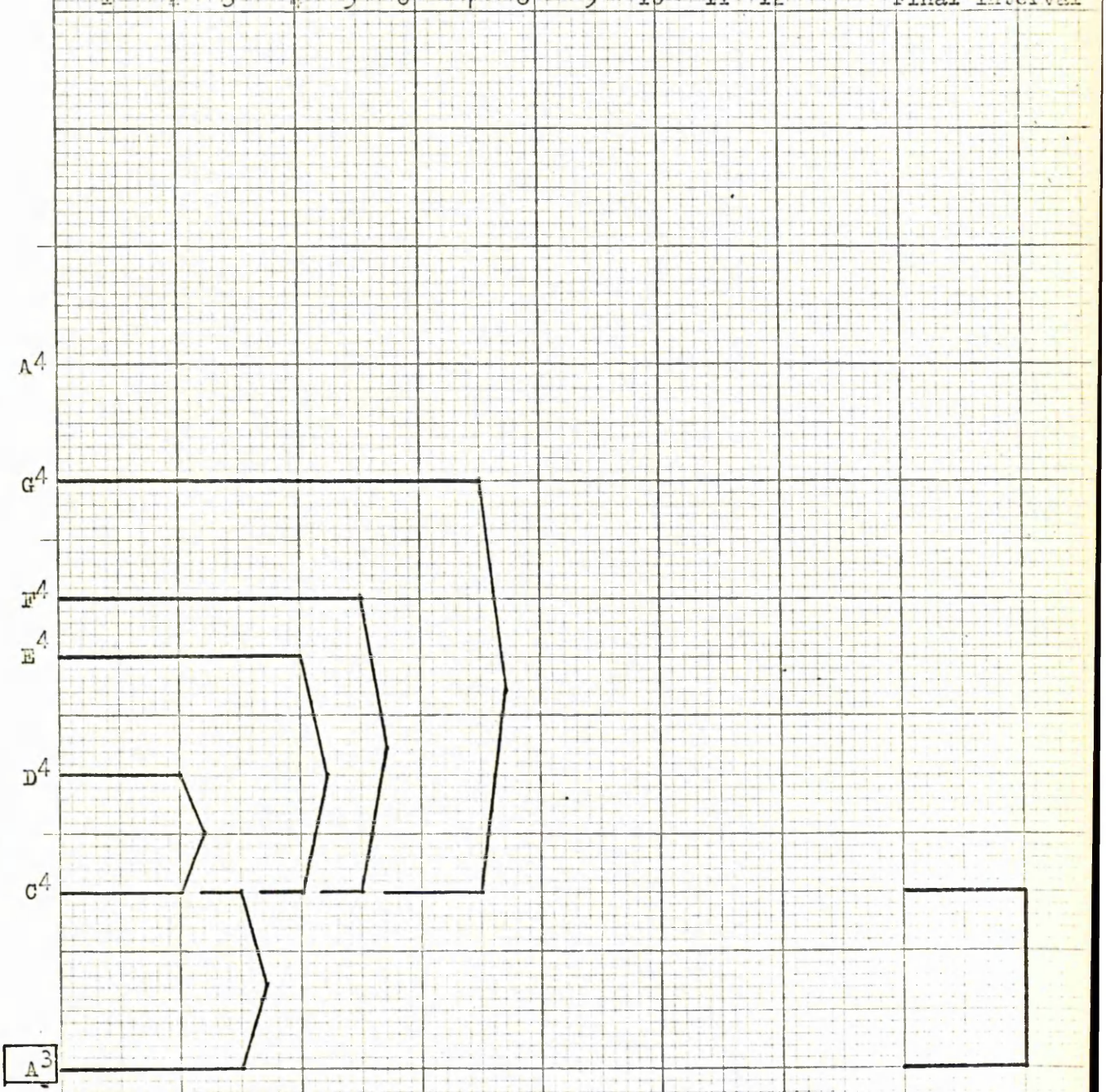


Fig. 31.

Unique intervals of Ezicgu A32

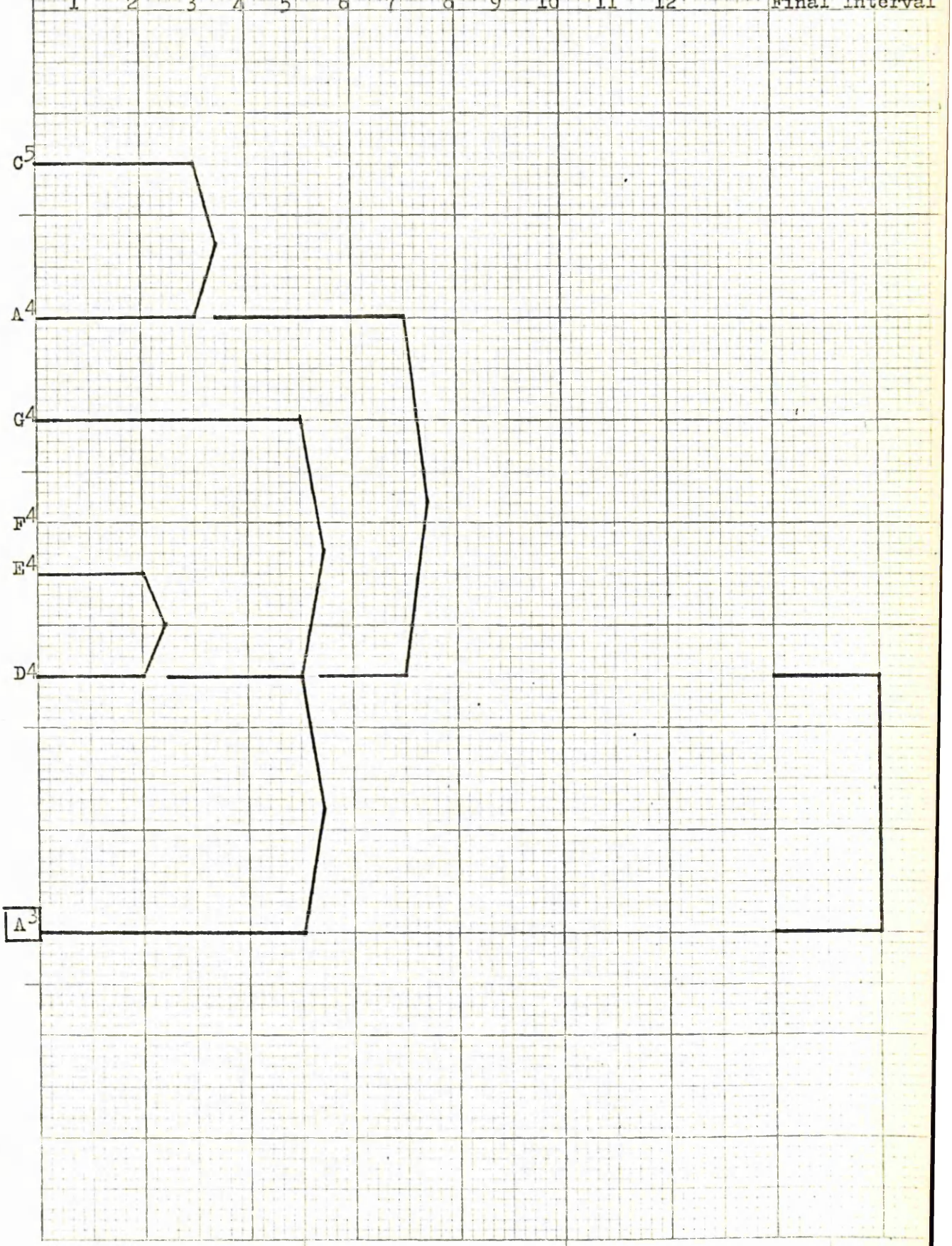


Fig. 32.

Eziacu A16

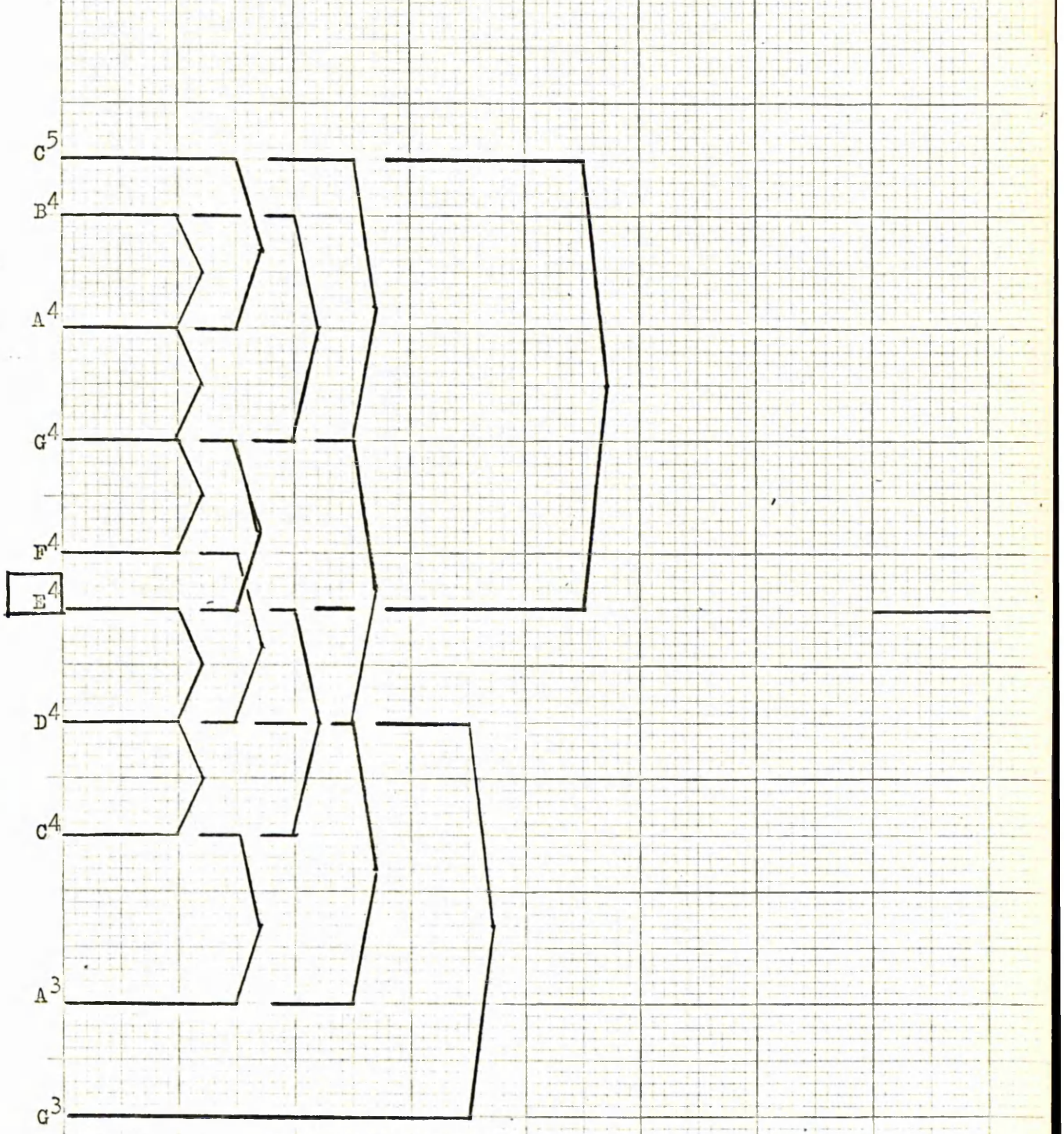


Fig. 33.

Eziegu A24

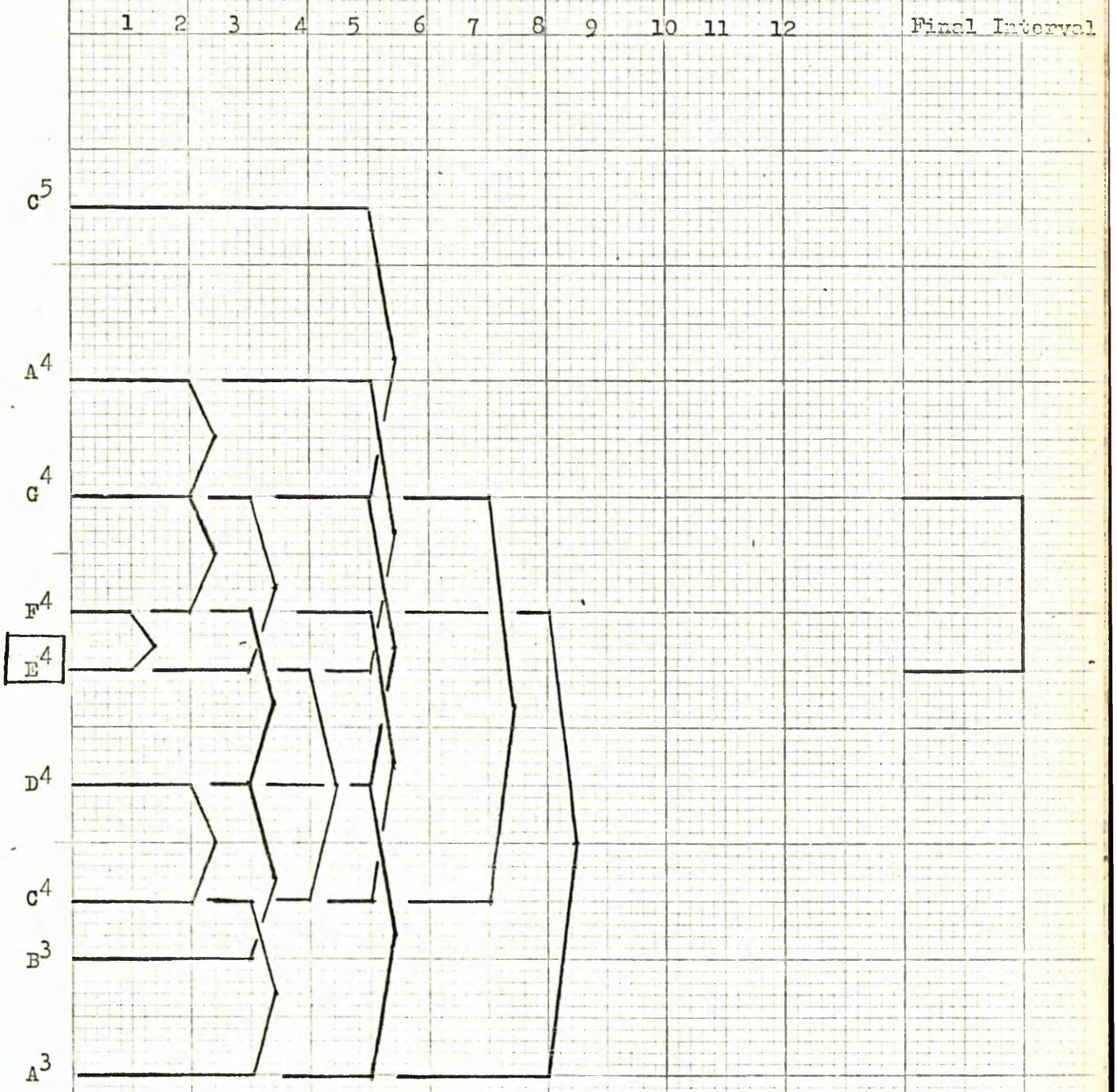


Fig. 34.

Daiagu 153

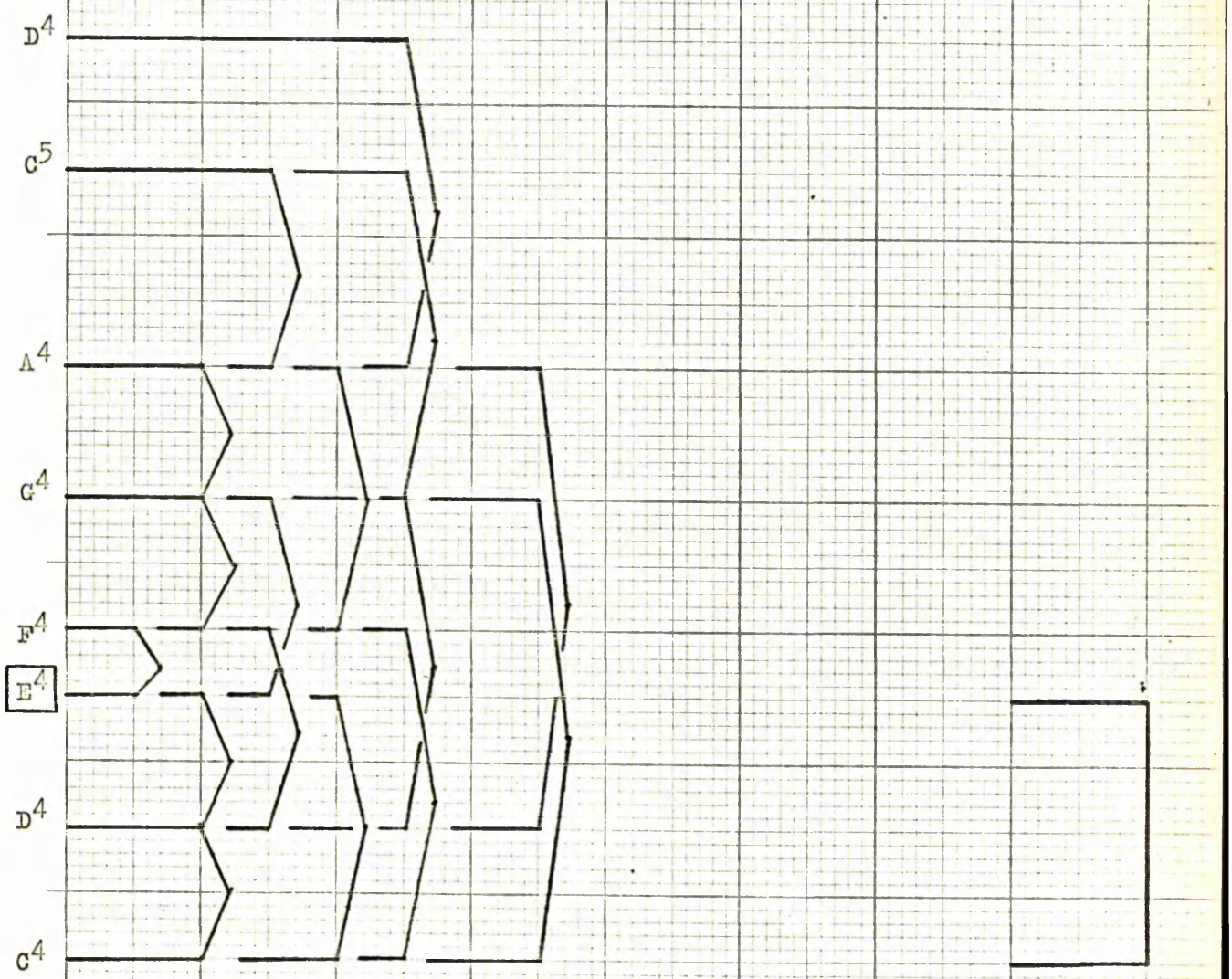


Fig. 35.

Ezinau All

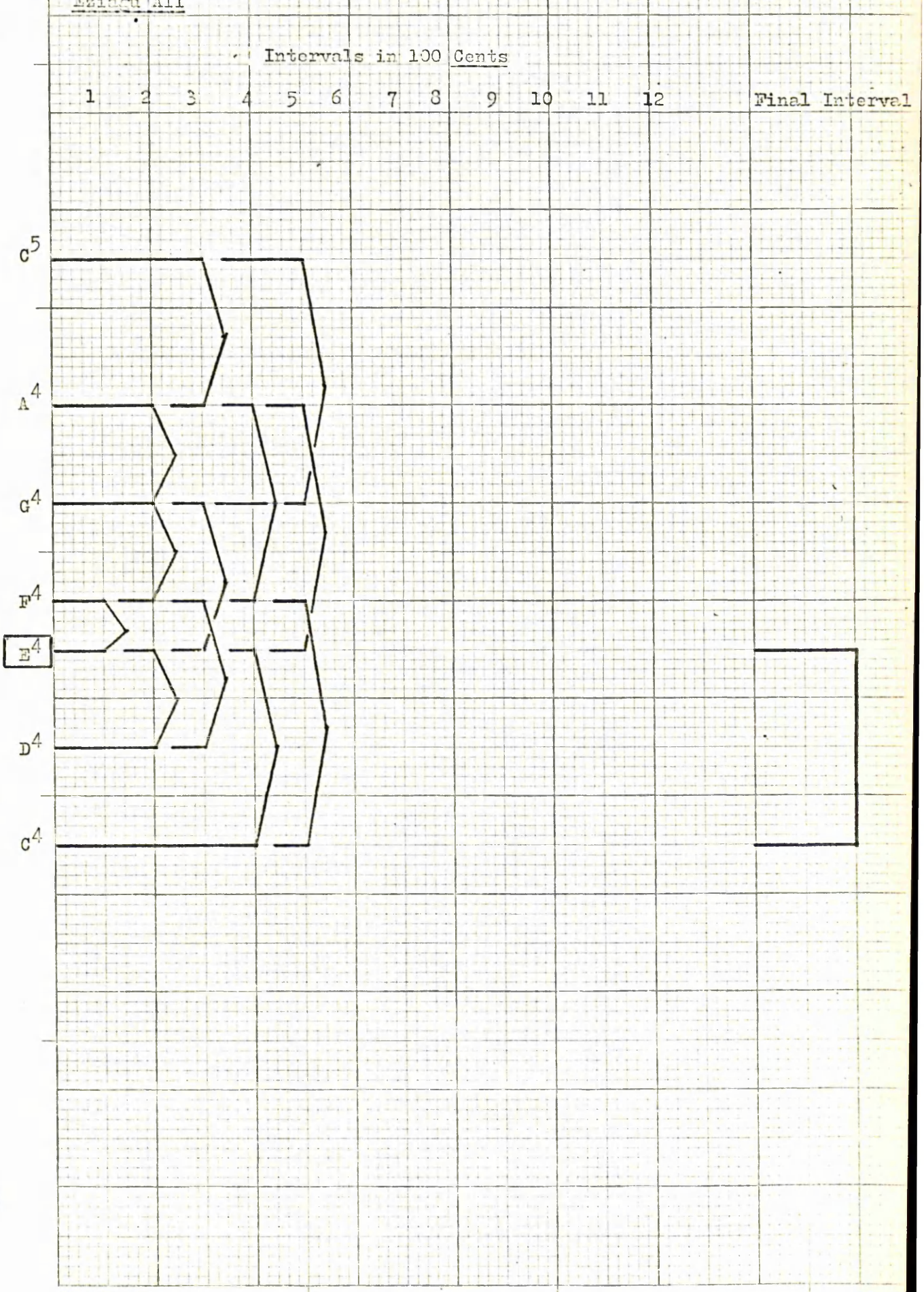


Fig. 36.

Eziacu A23

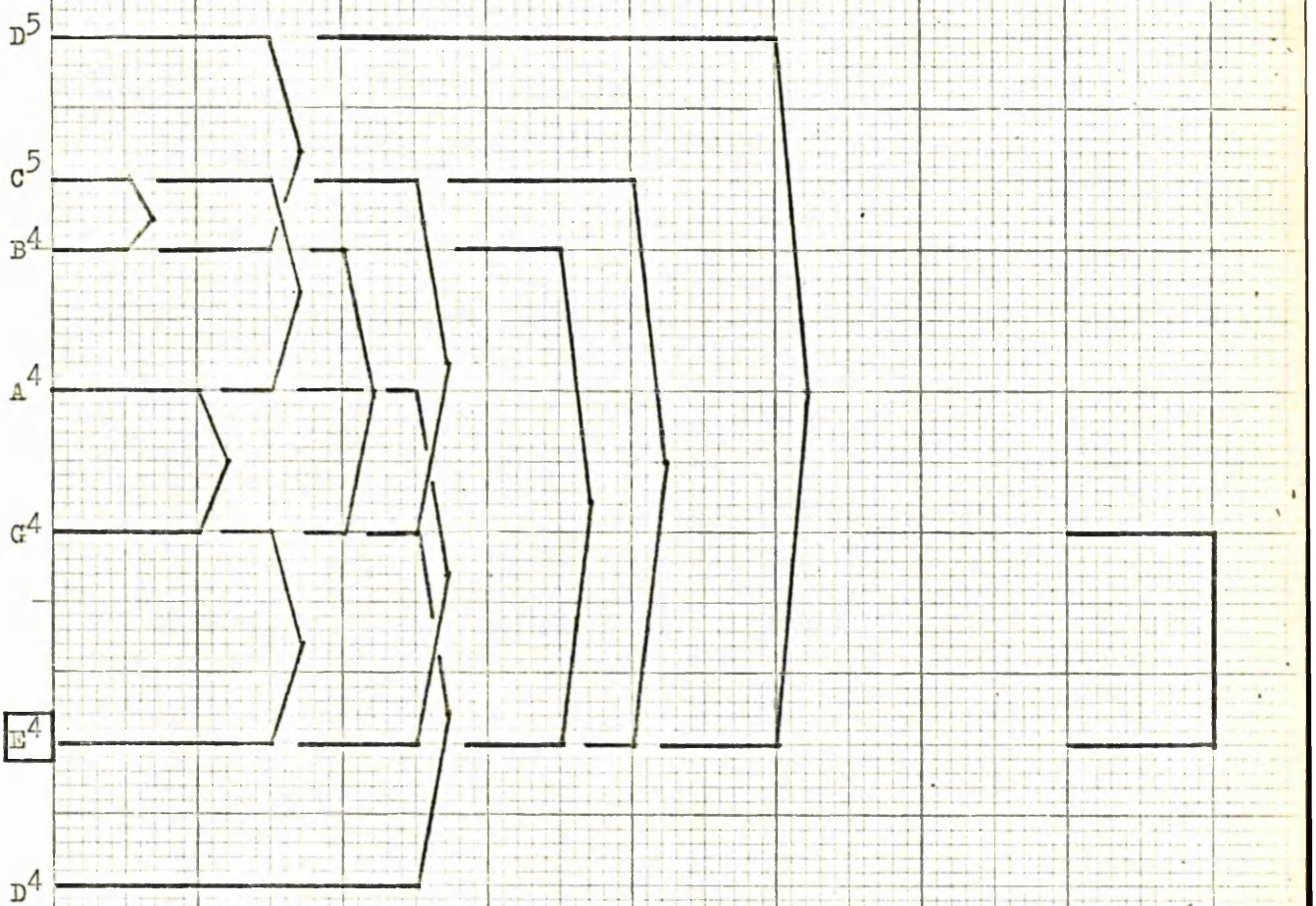


Fig. 37.

Egisecu A15

Intervals in 100 Cents

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 Final Interval

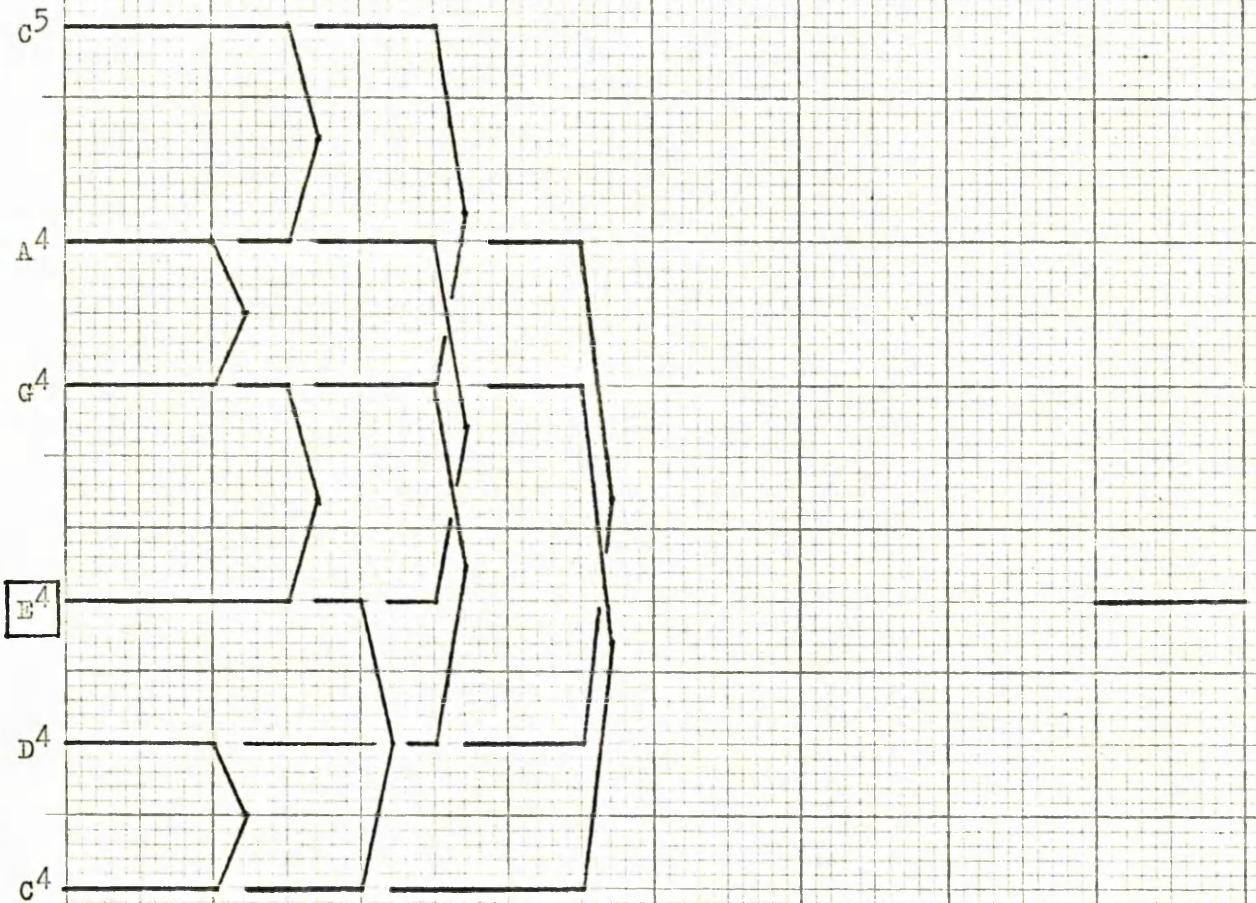


Fig. 38.

Intervals common to Daiagu A16, A24, A53, A11, A23 and A15.

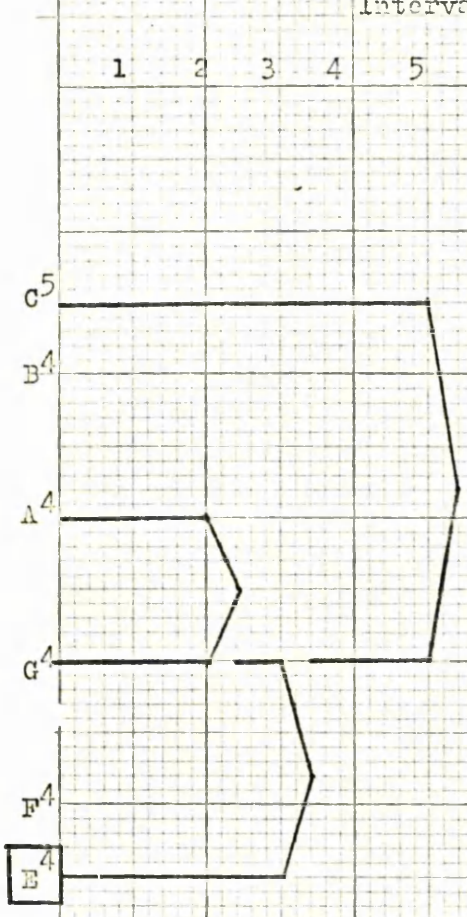


Fig. 39.

Unique intervals of Ezion, A16

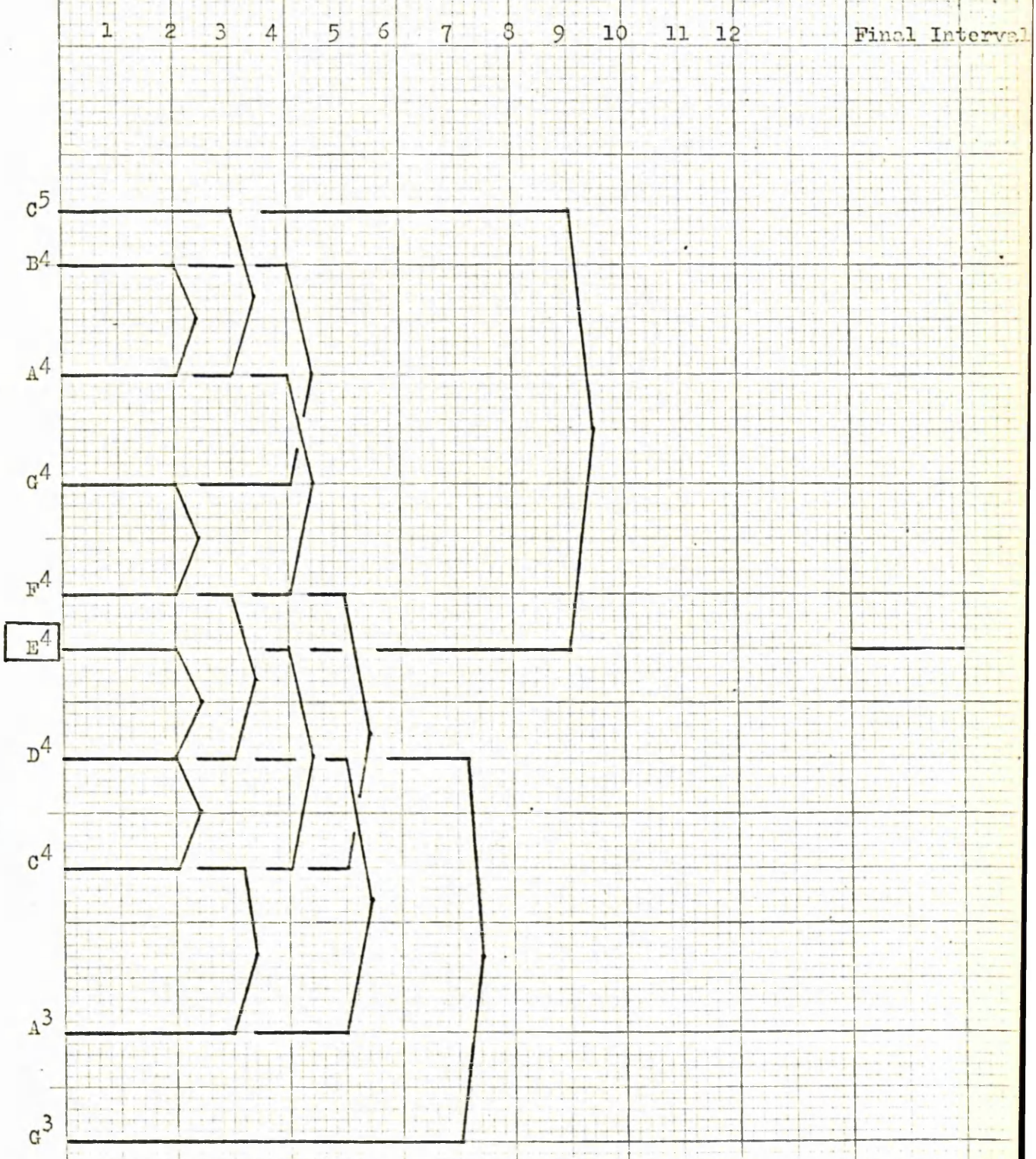


Fig. 40

Unique intervals of Ezigu A24

Intervals in 100 Cents

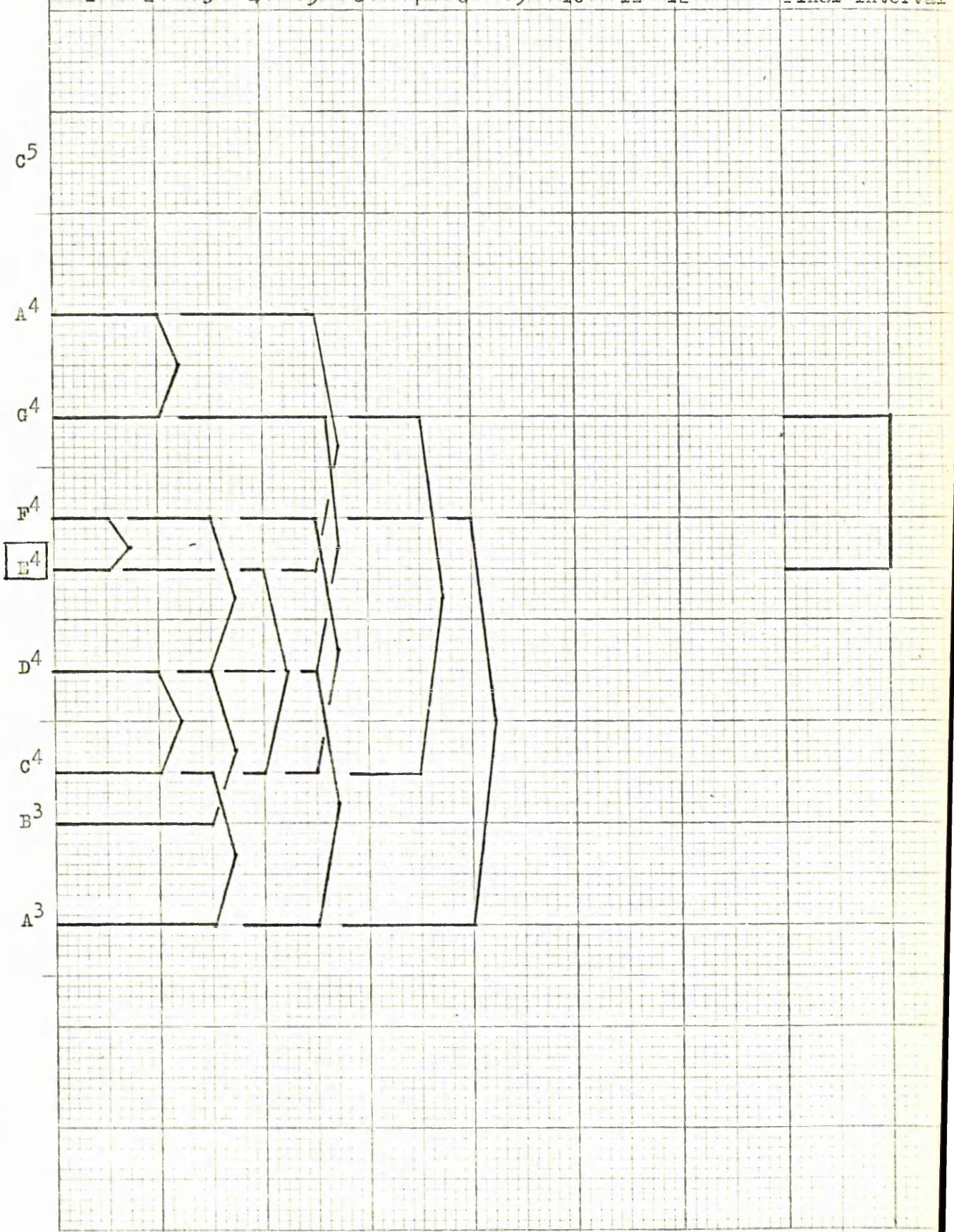


Fig.41

Unique Intervals of Enigma A53

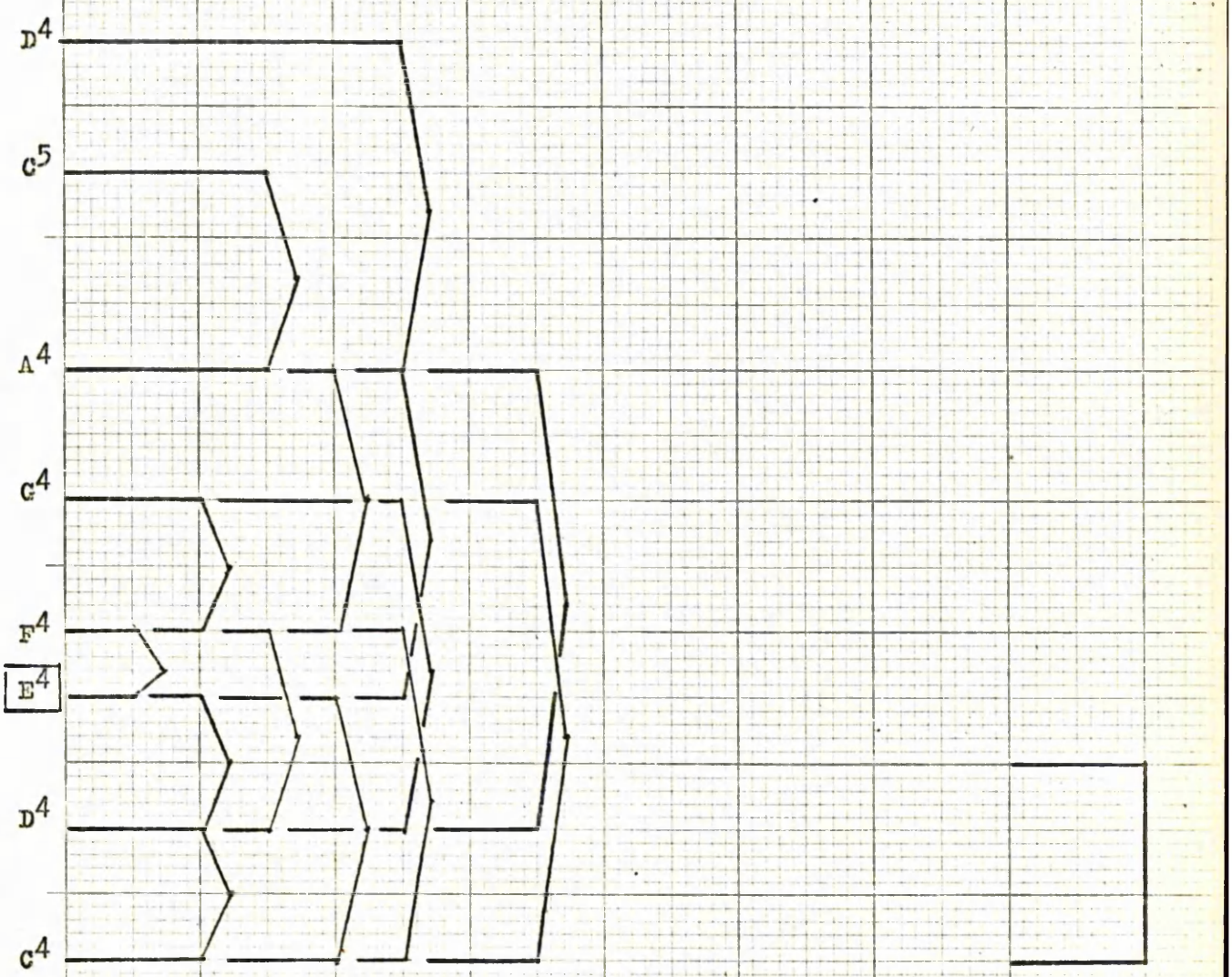


Fig. 42.

Unique Intervals of Esiegu All

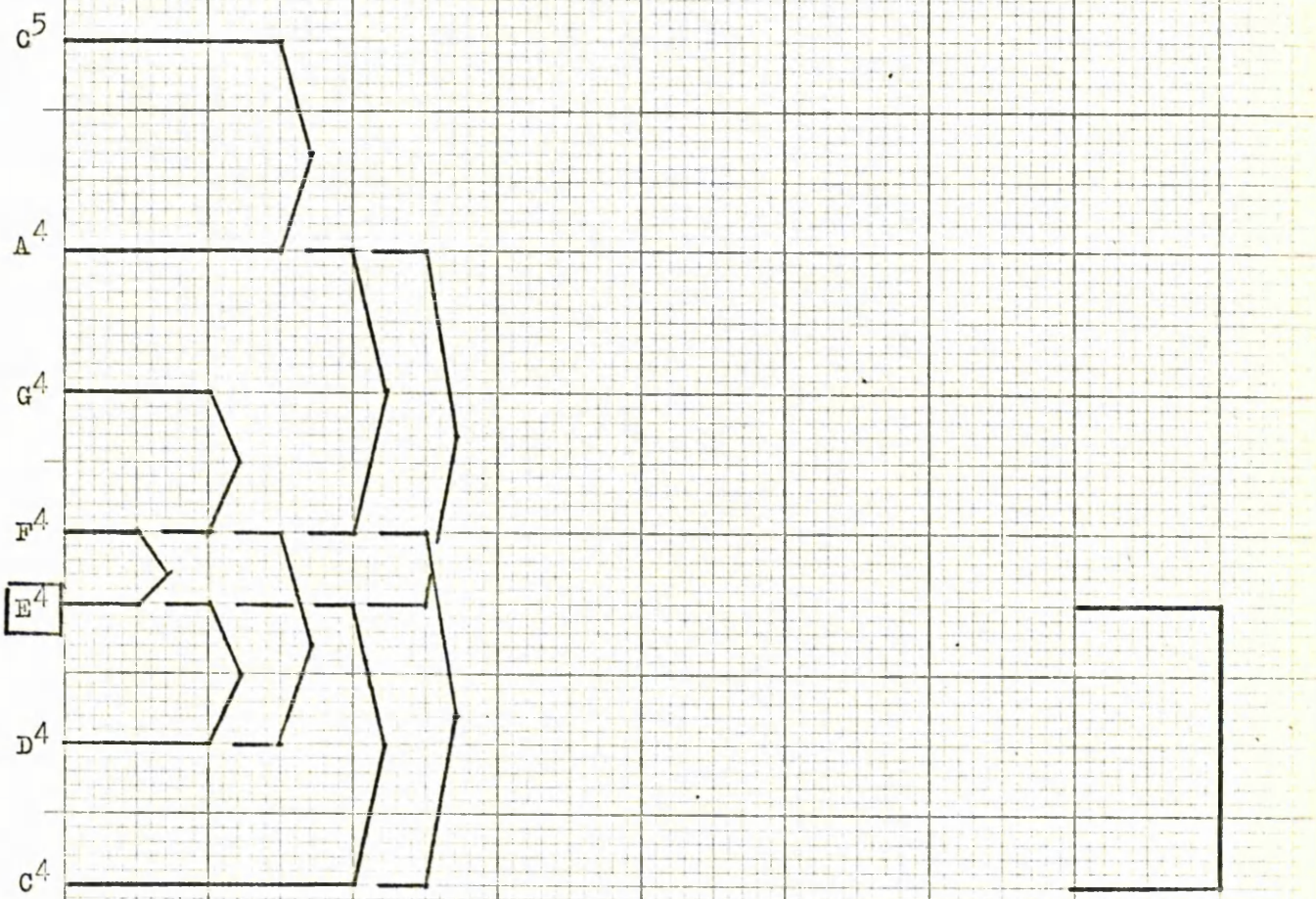


Fig. 43.

Unique Intervals of Eziaqu A23

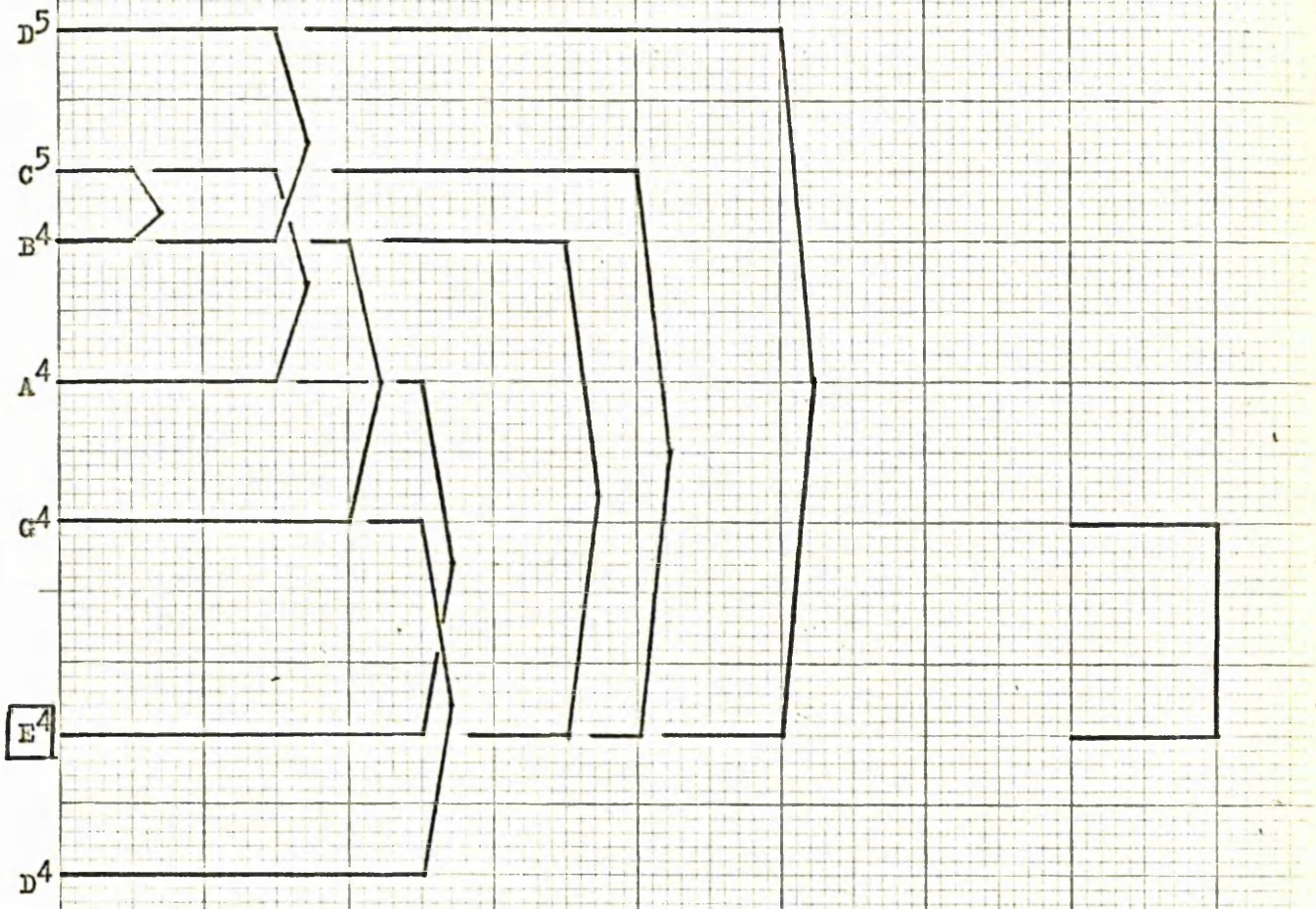


Fig. 44.

Unique intervals to Eziaqu Al5

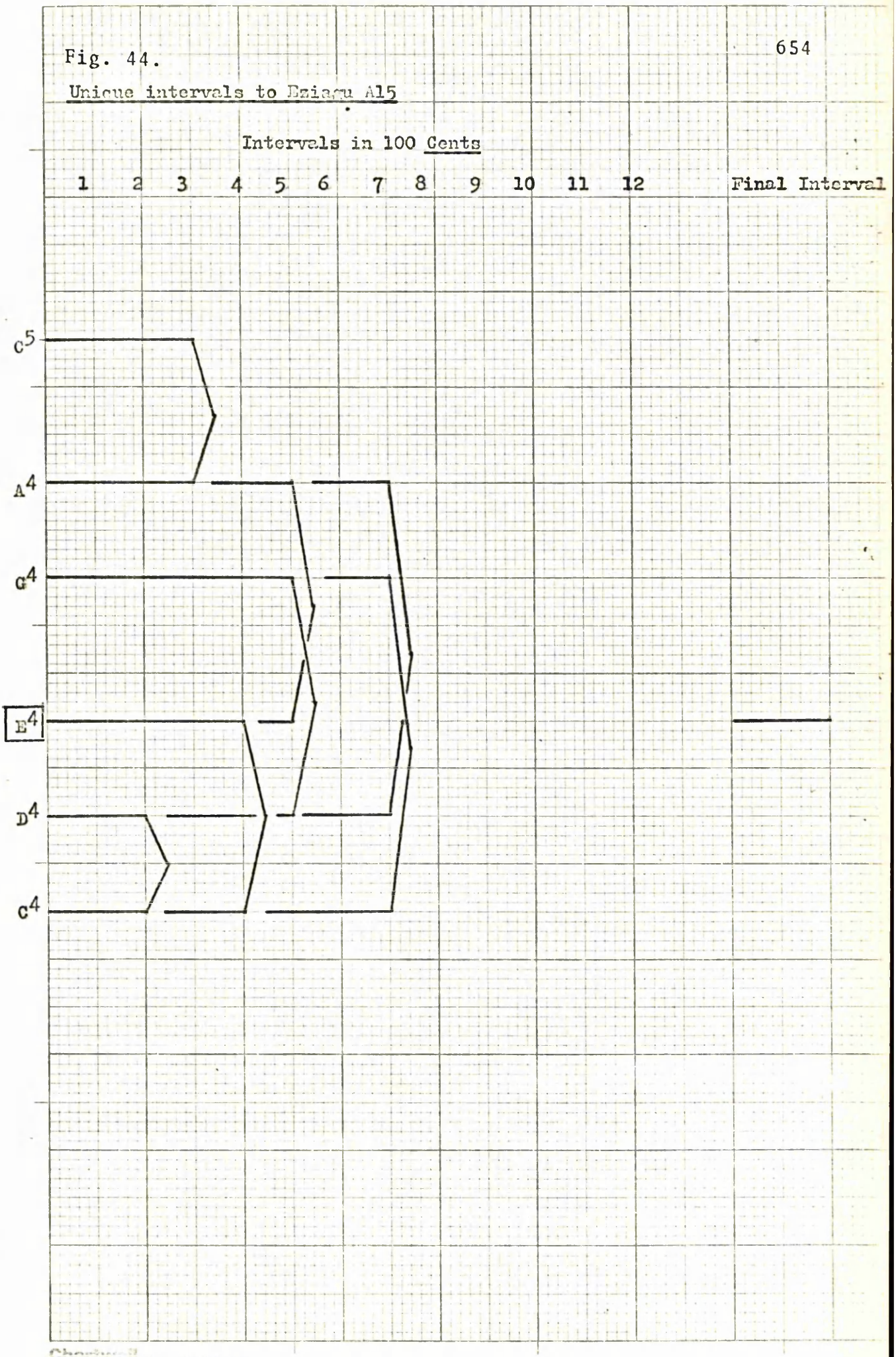


Fig. 45.

Intervals common to Ezioca A16 and A24

Intervals in 100 Cents

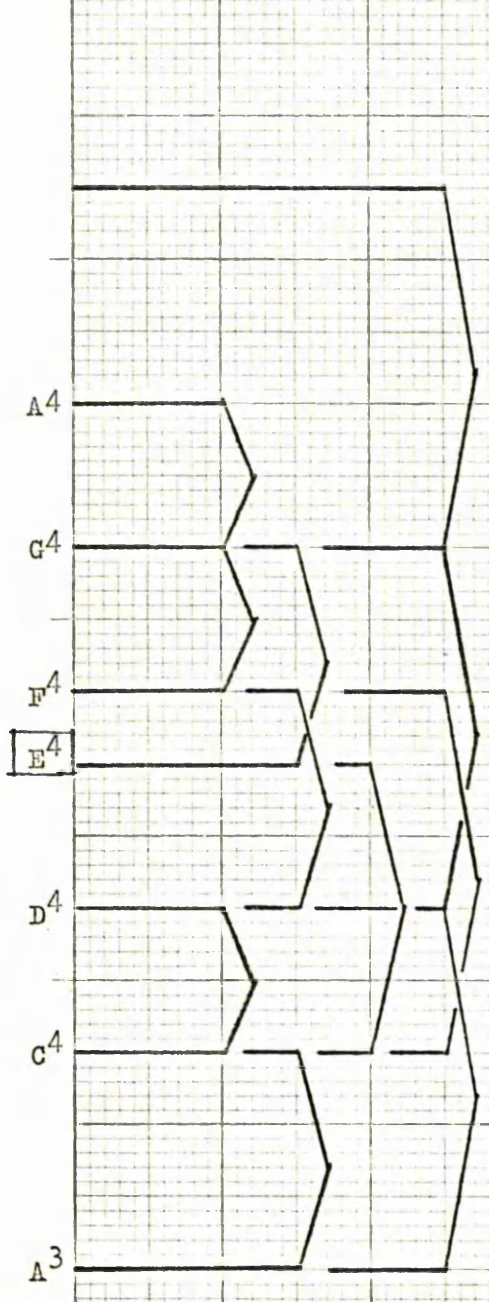
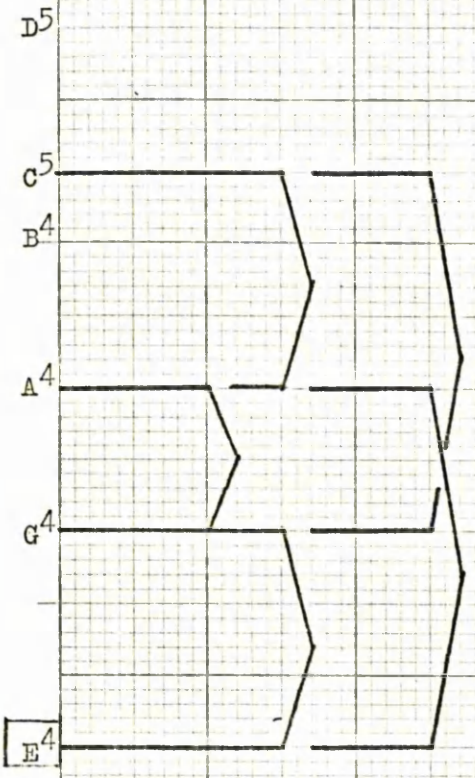


Fig. 46.

Intervals common to Dziagu A11, A23, and A53

Intervals in 100 Cents

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12



APPENDIX D

MELODIC CONTOURS

Figure 1.

Melodic contours of Ezion: A34

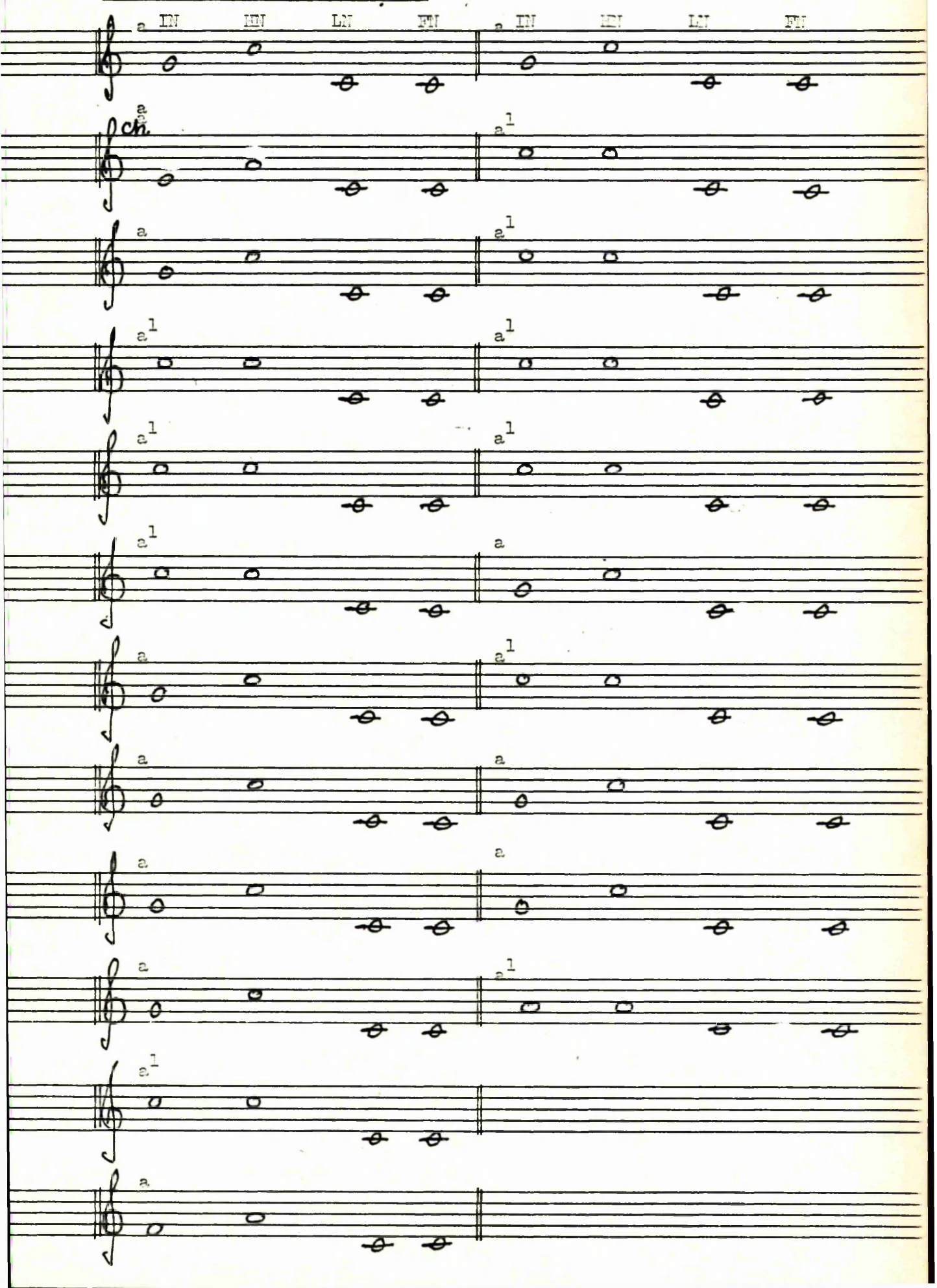


Figure 2.

Melodic contours of Uniqu A57

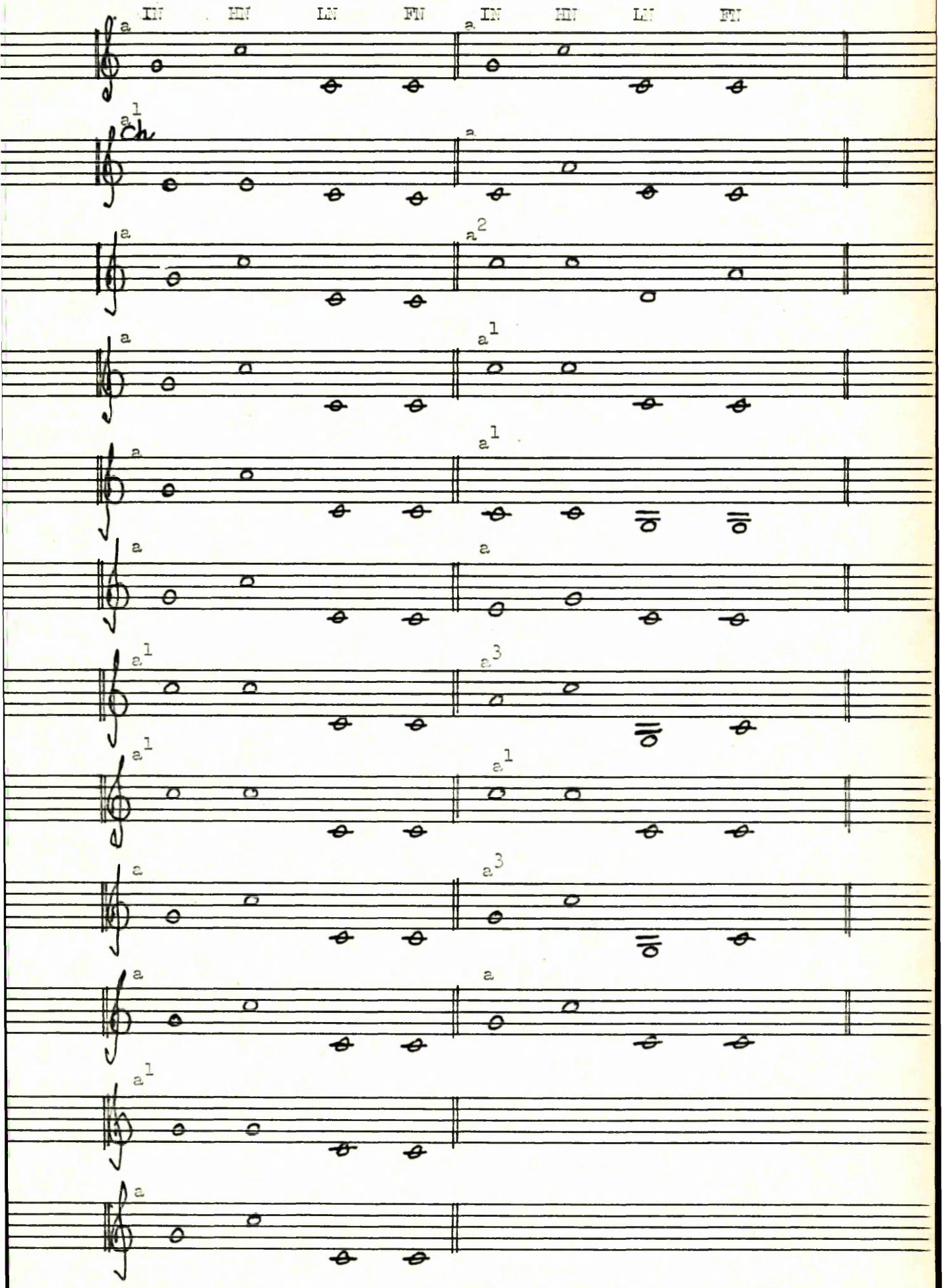


Figure 3.

Melodic contours of Eziaru A /2

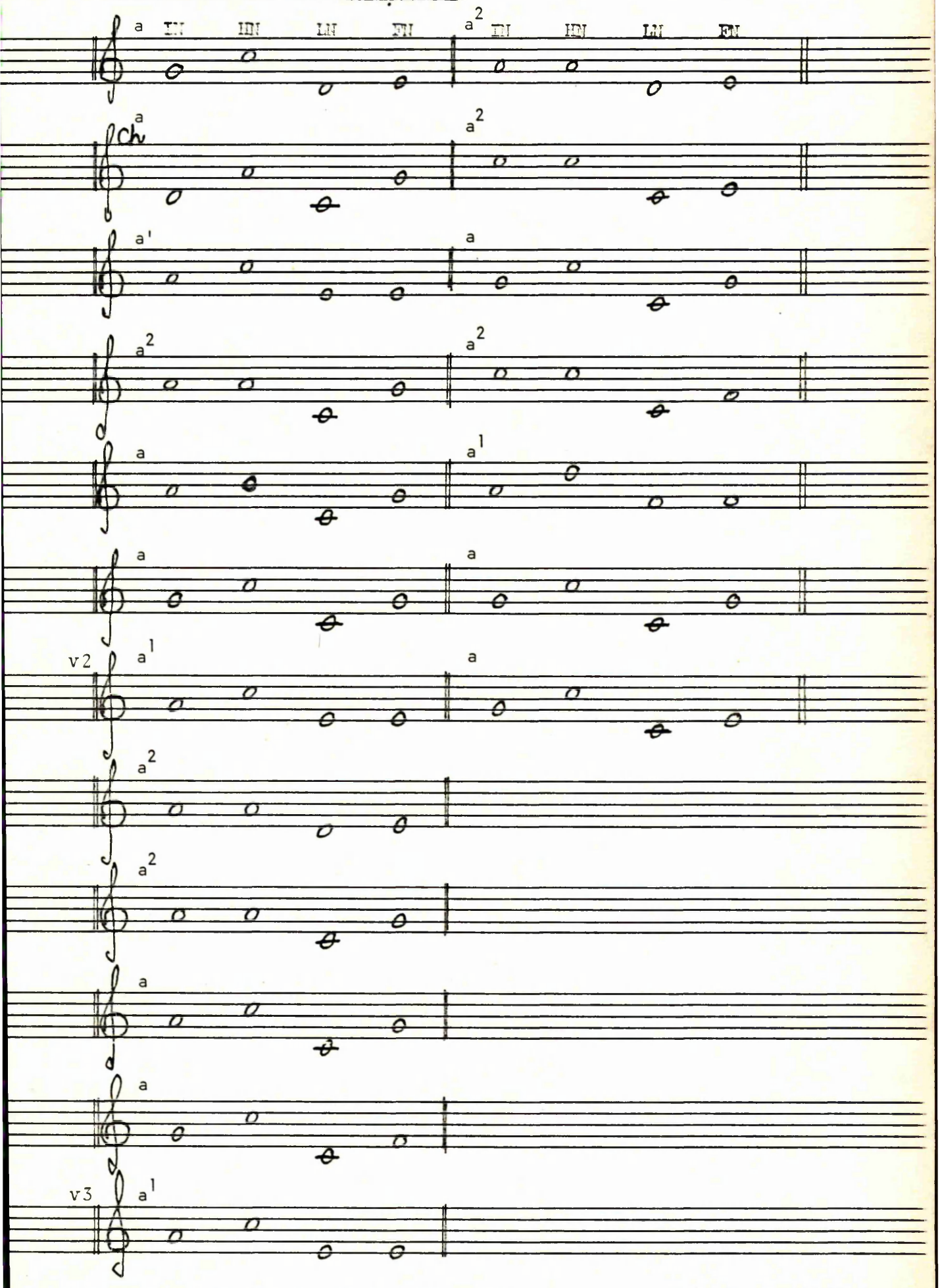


Figure 4a

Melodic contours of Eziamu A33

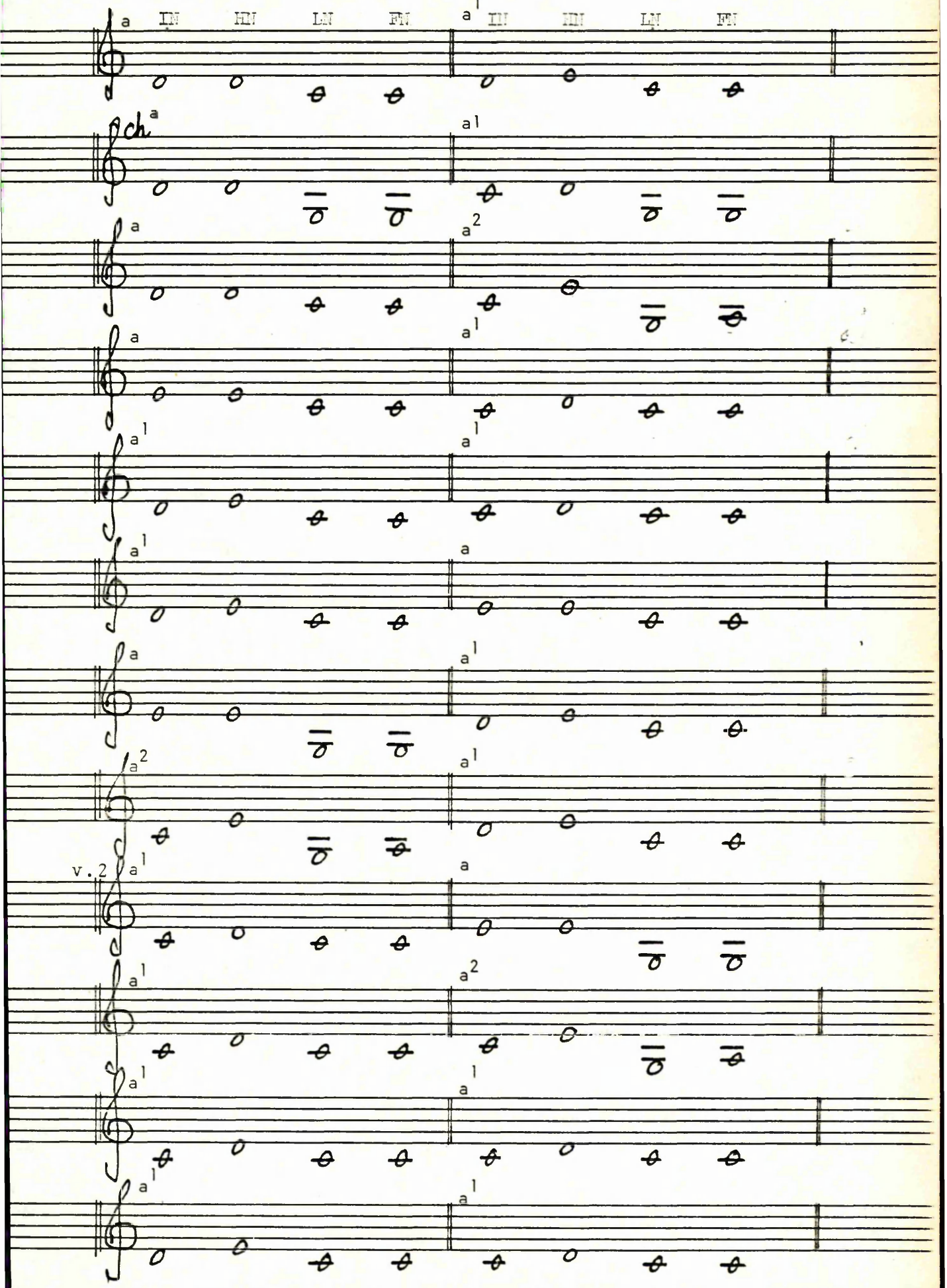


Figure 4b

Melodic contours of Eziagu A 33

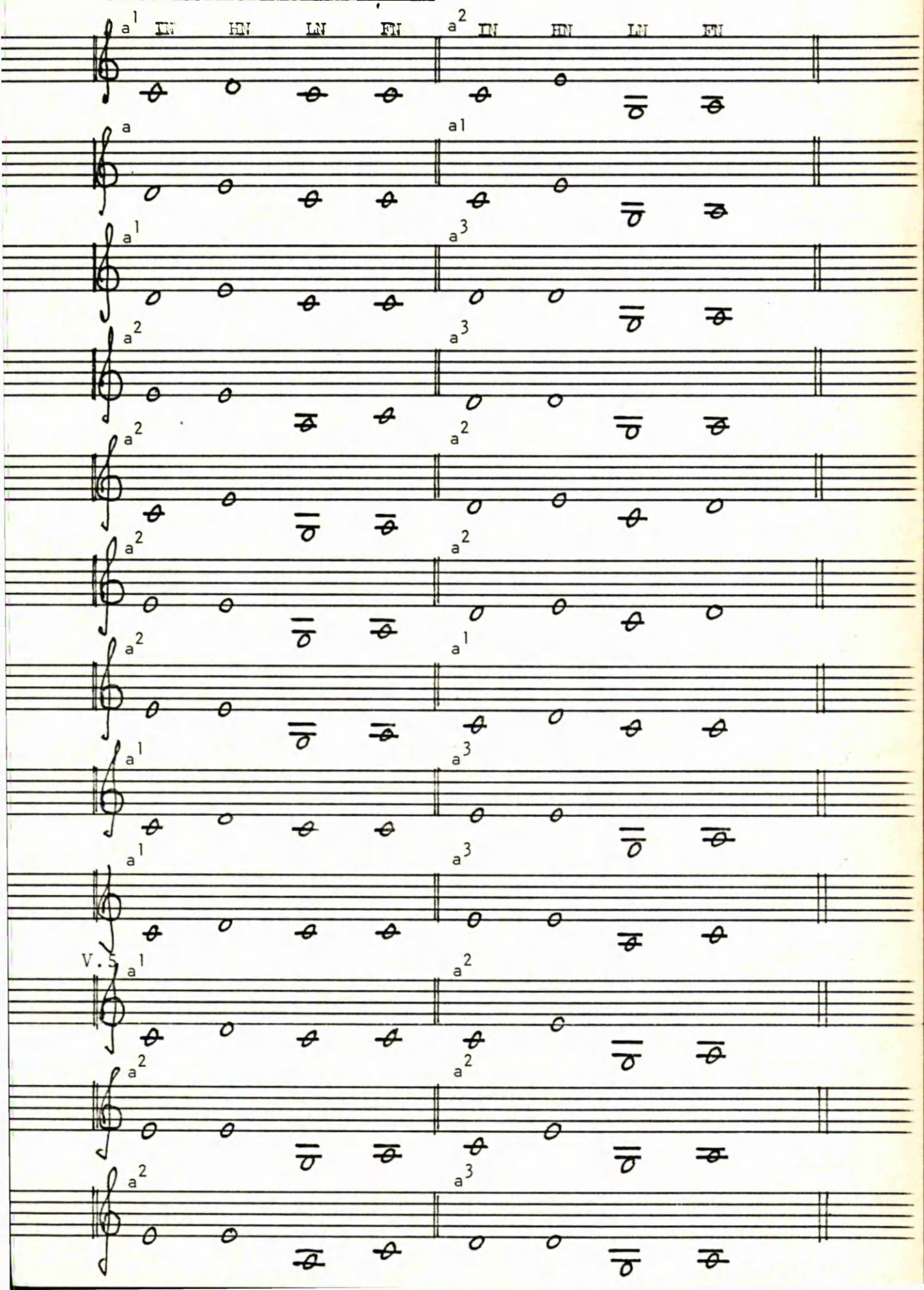


Figure 4c

Melodic contours of Eziagu A33

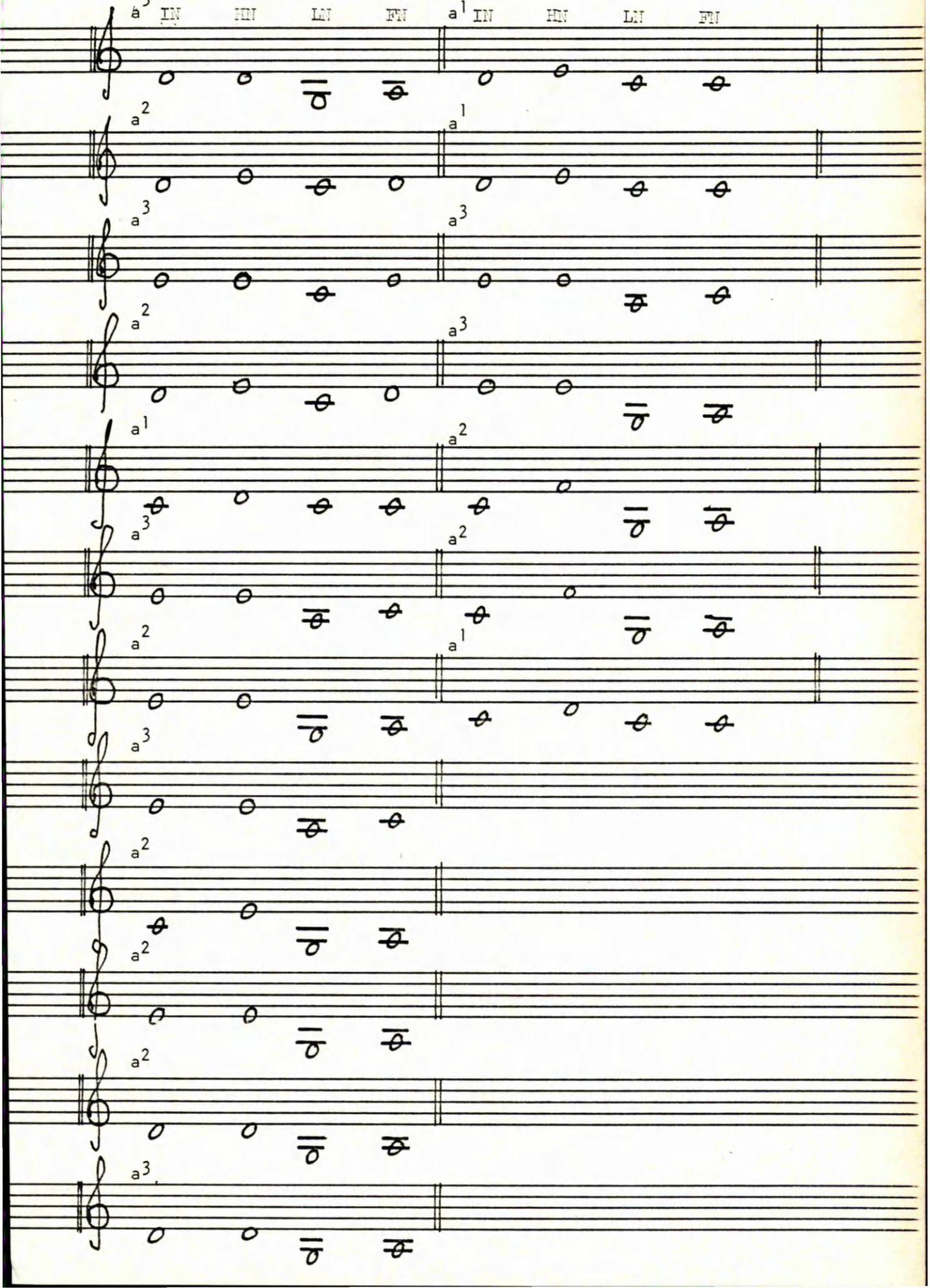


Figure 5

Melodic contours of Eziaru A 78

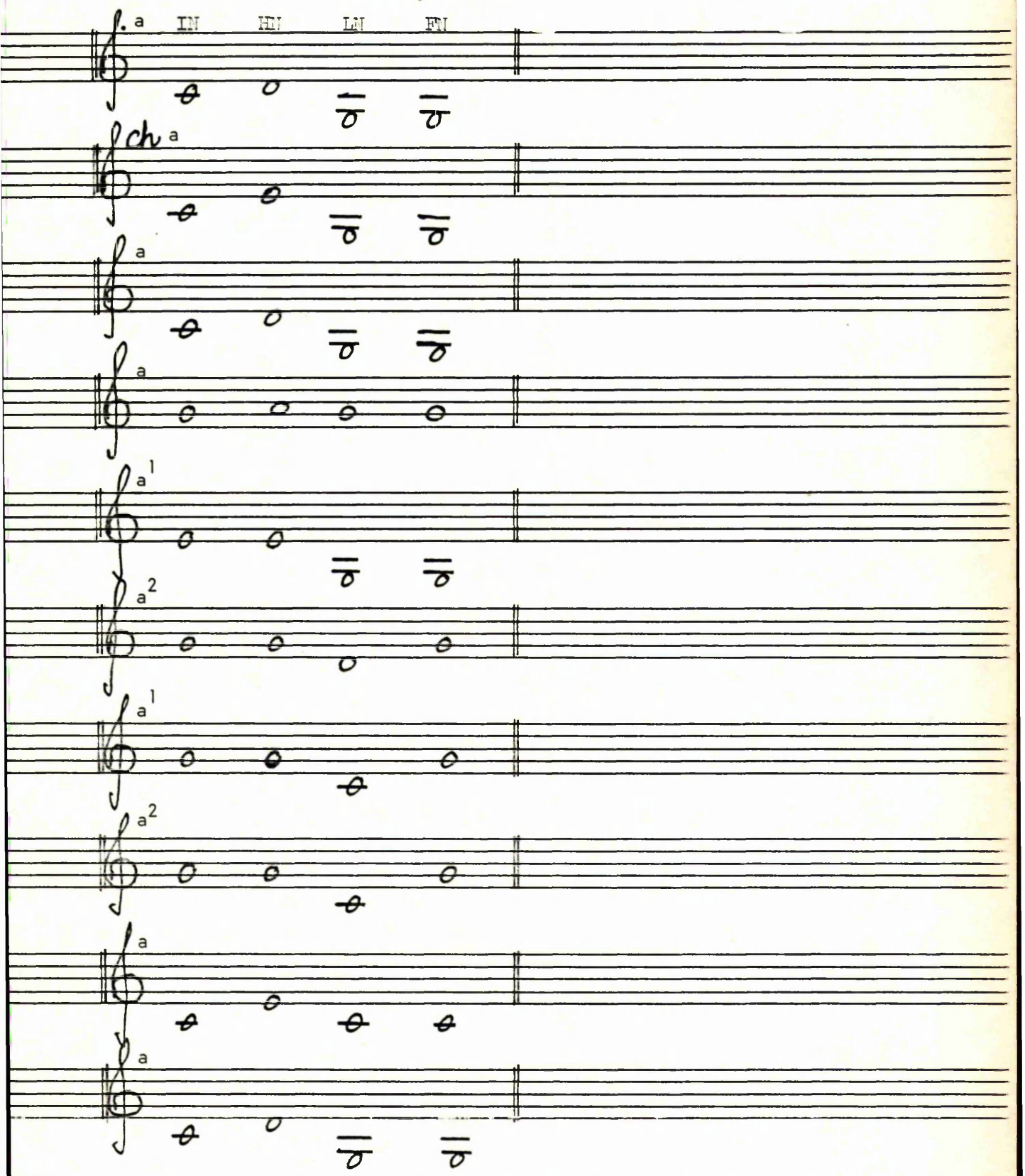


Figure 6

Melodic contours of Mziagu A 54

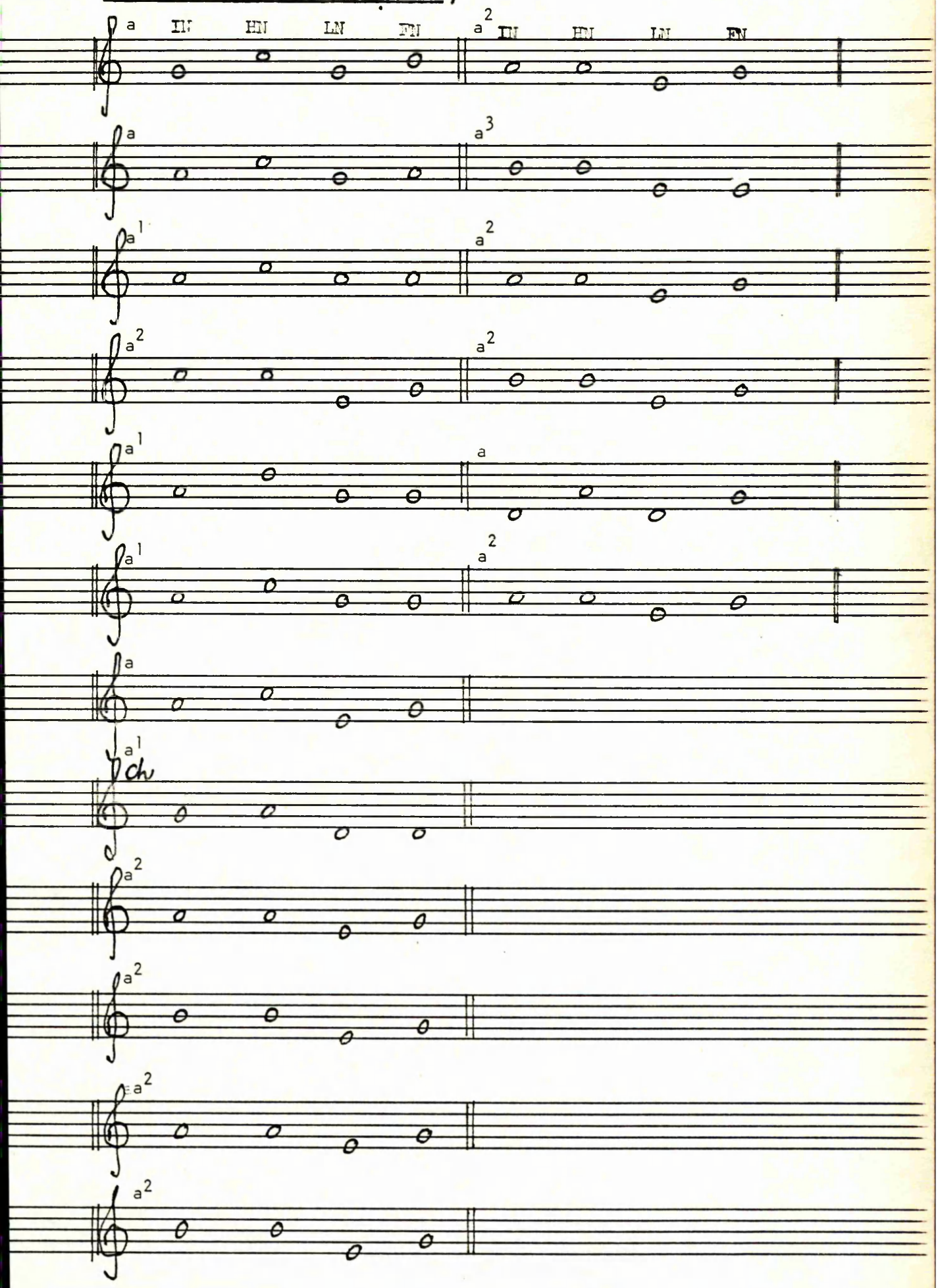


Figure 7

Melodic contours of Eziaru A 55

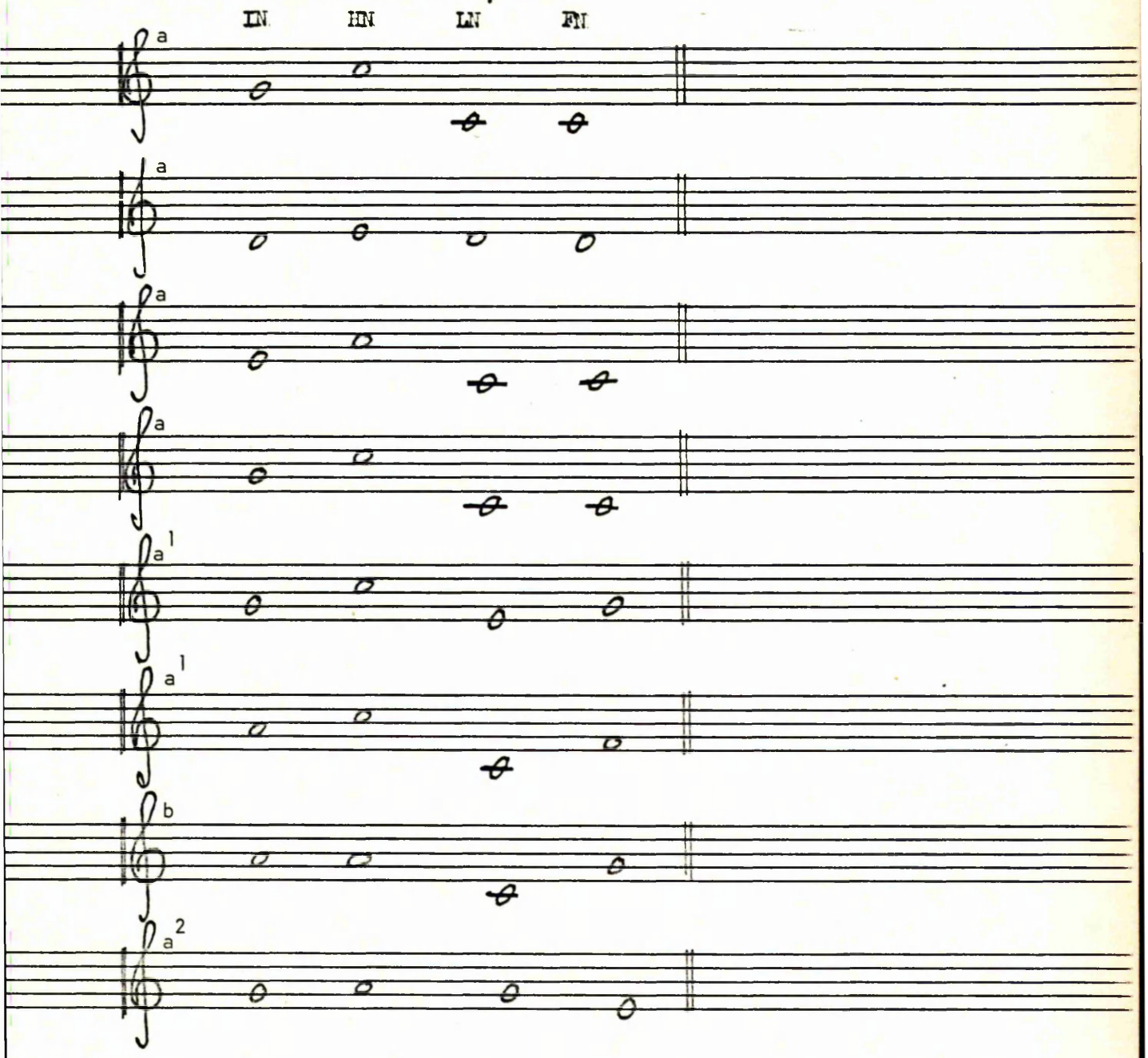


Figure 8

Melodic contours of Eziagu A 56

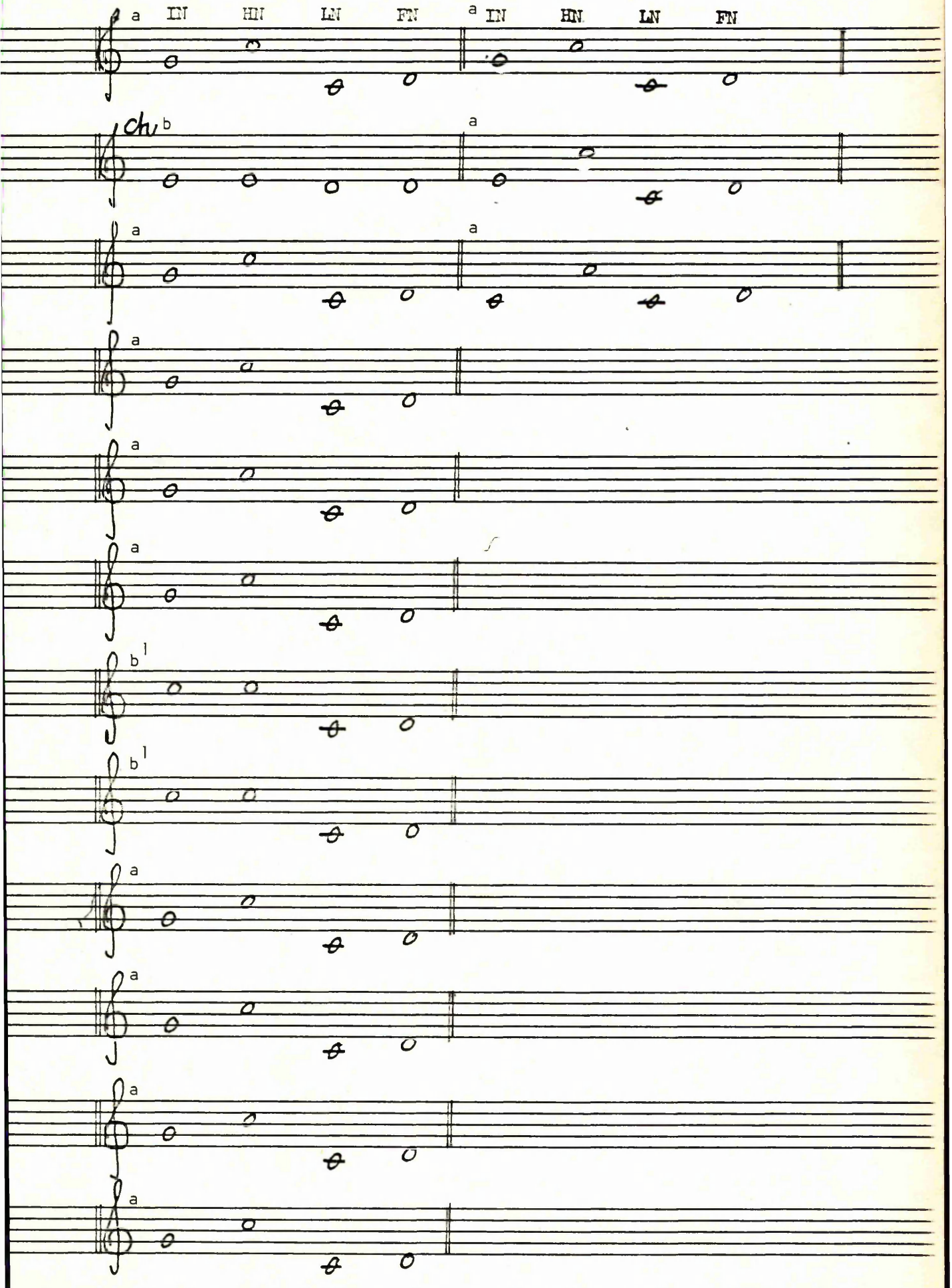


Figure 9

Melodic contours of Eziagu A 2a

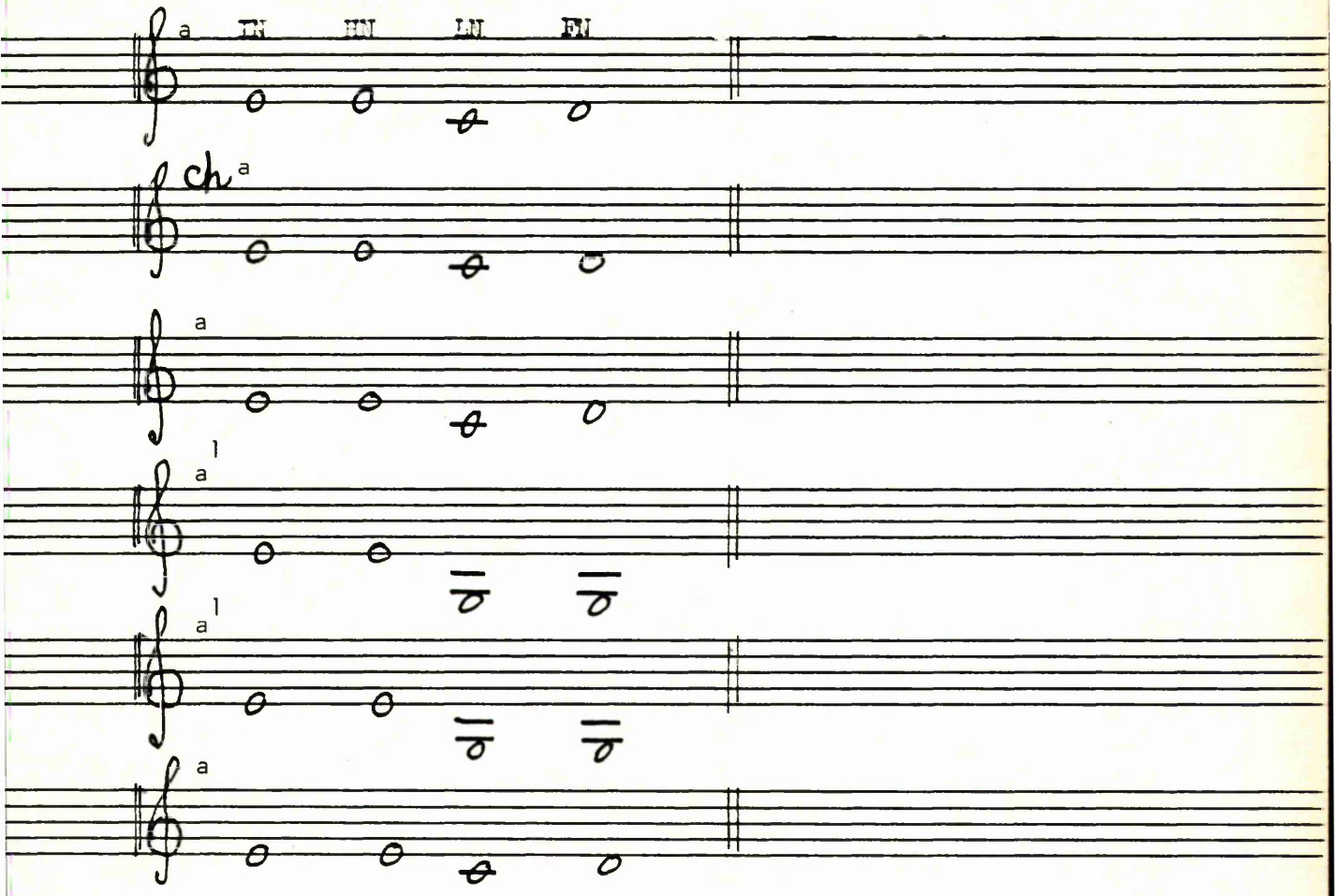


Figure 10

Melodic contours of Eziagu A2b

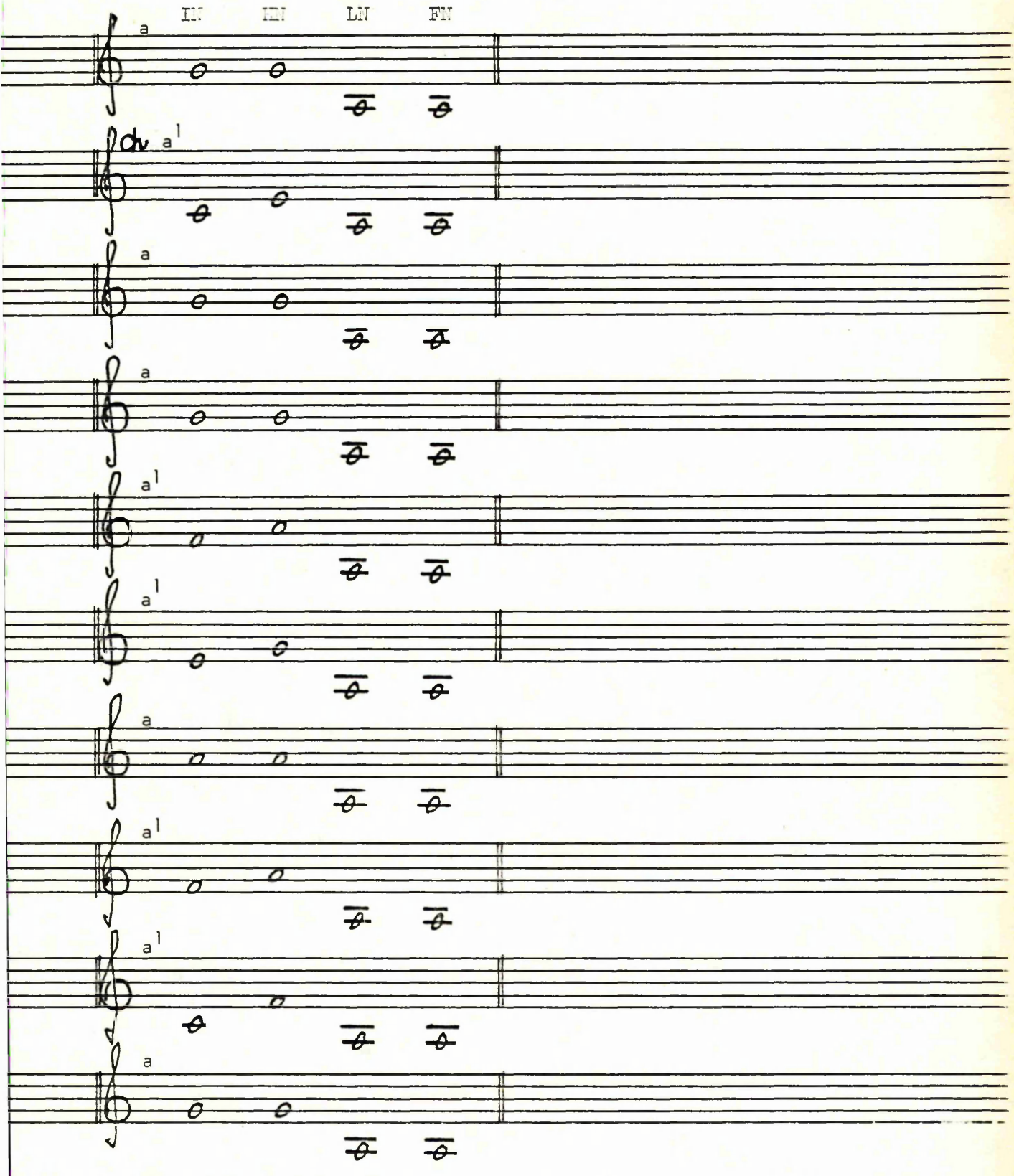


Figure 11a

Melodic contours of Eziaru A32

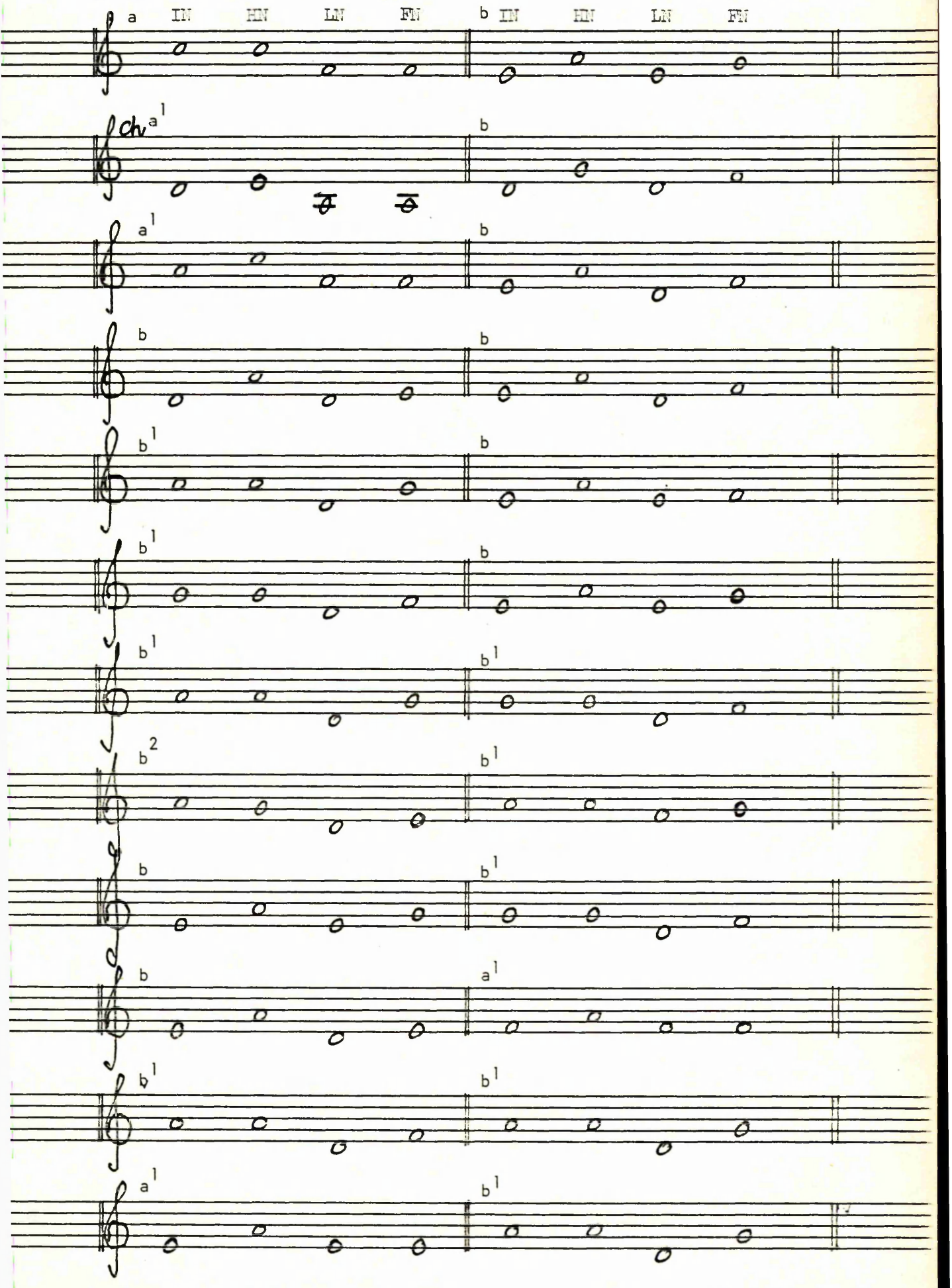


Figure 11b

Melodic contours of Diagram A 32

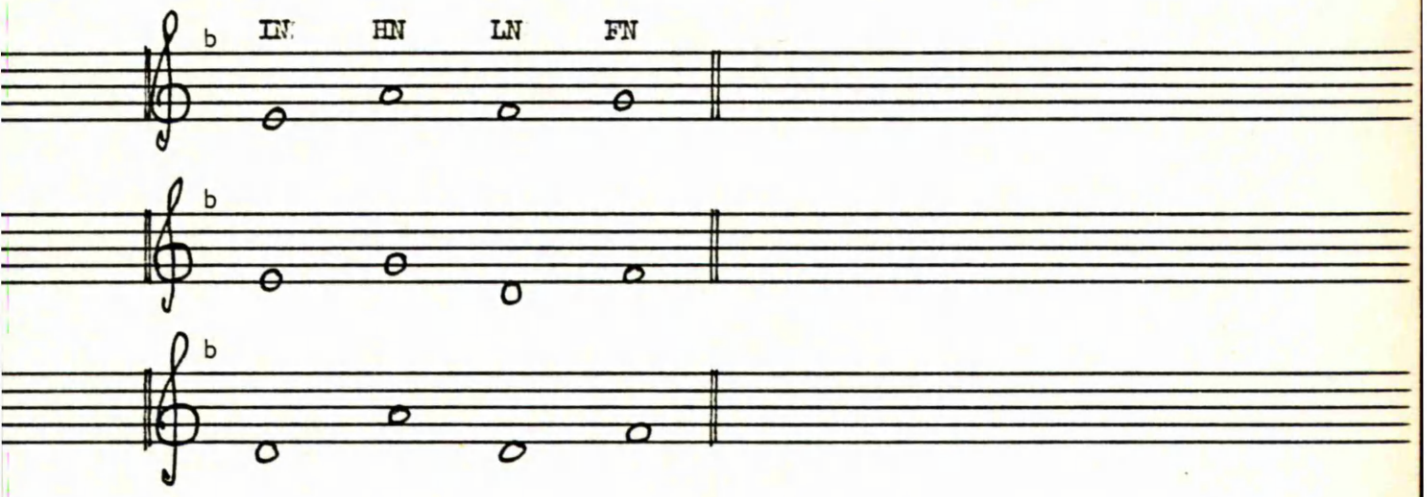


Figure 12a.

Melodic contours of Eziagu A16

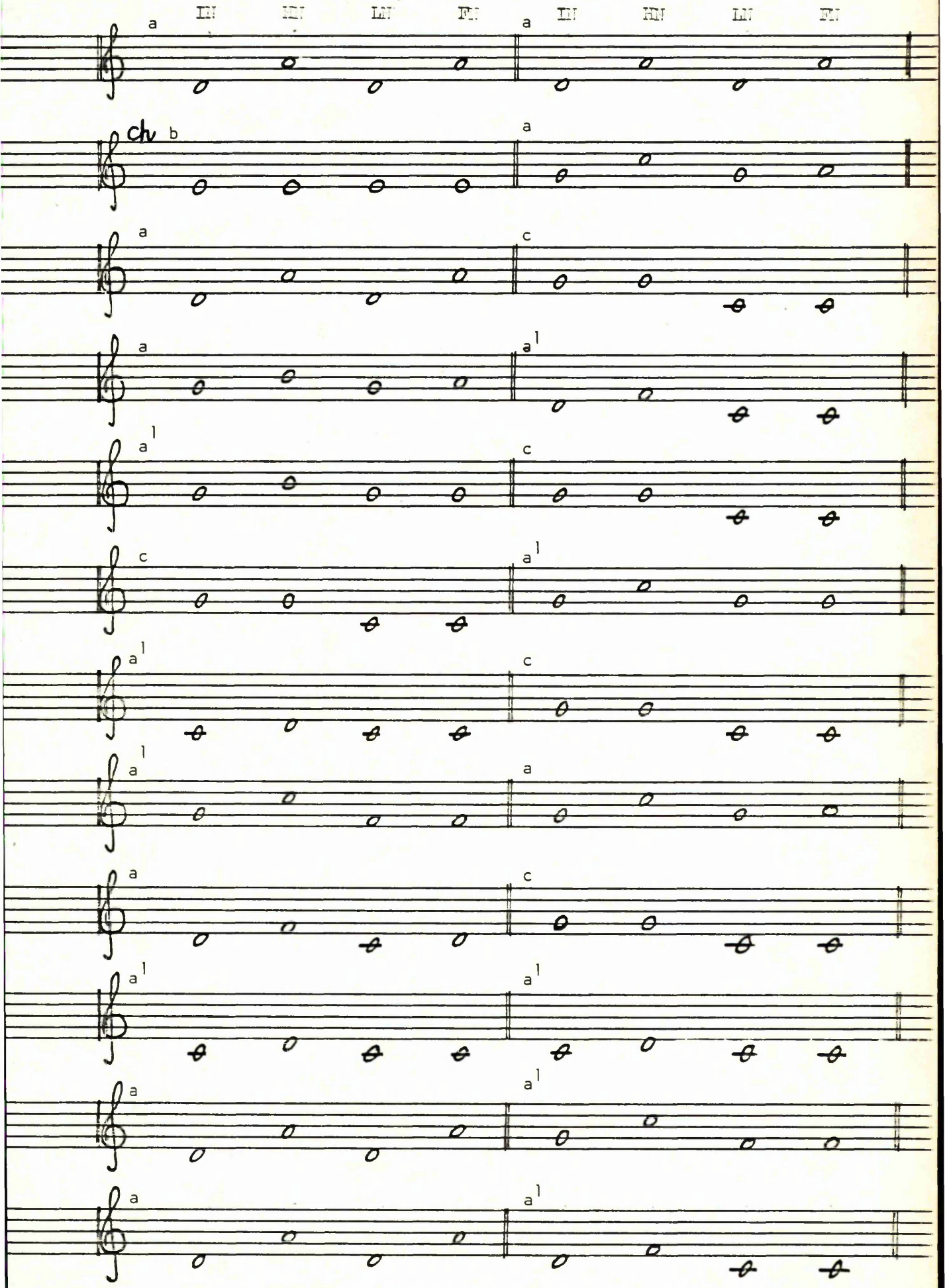


Figure 12b

Melodic contours of Eziaqu A 16

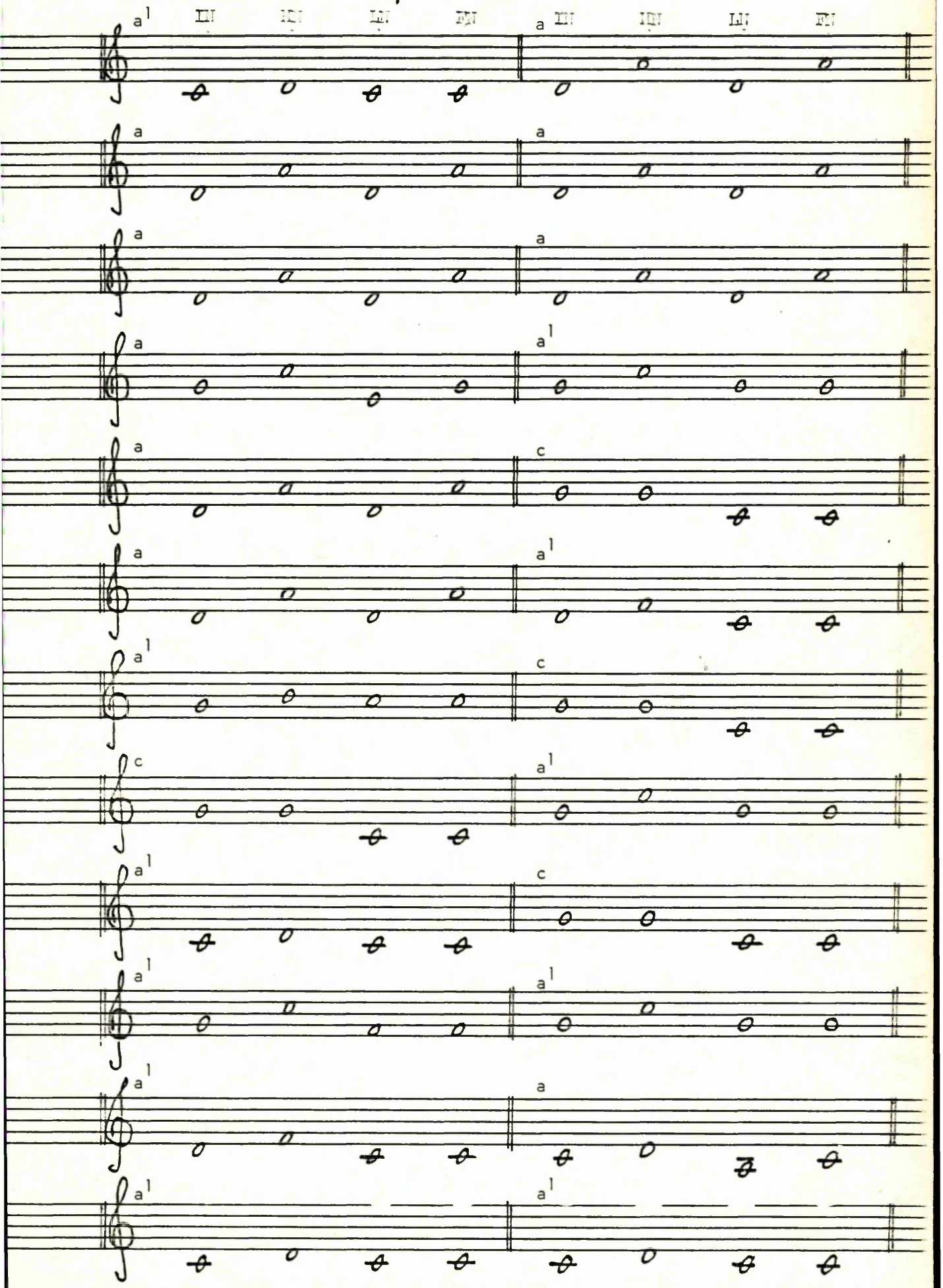


Figure 12c

Melodic contours of Eziama A16

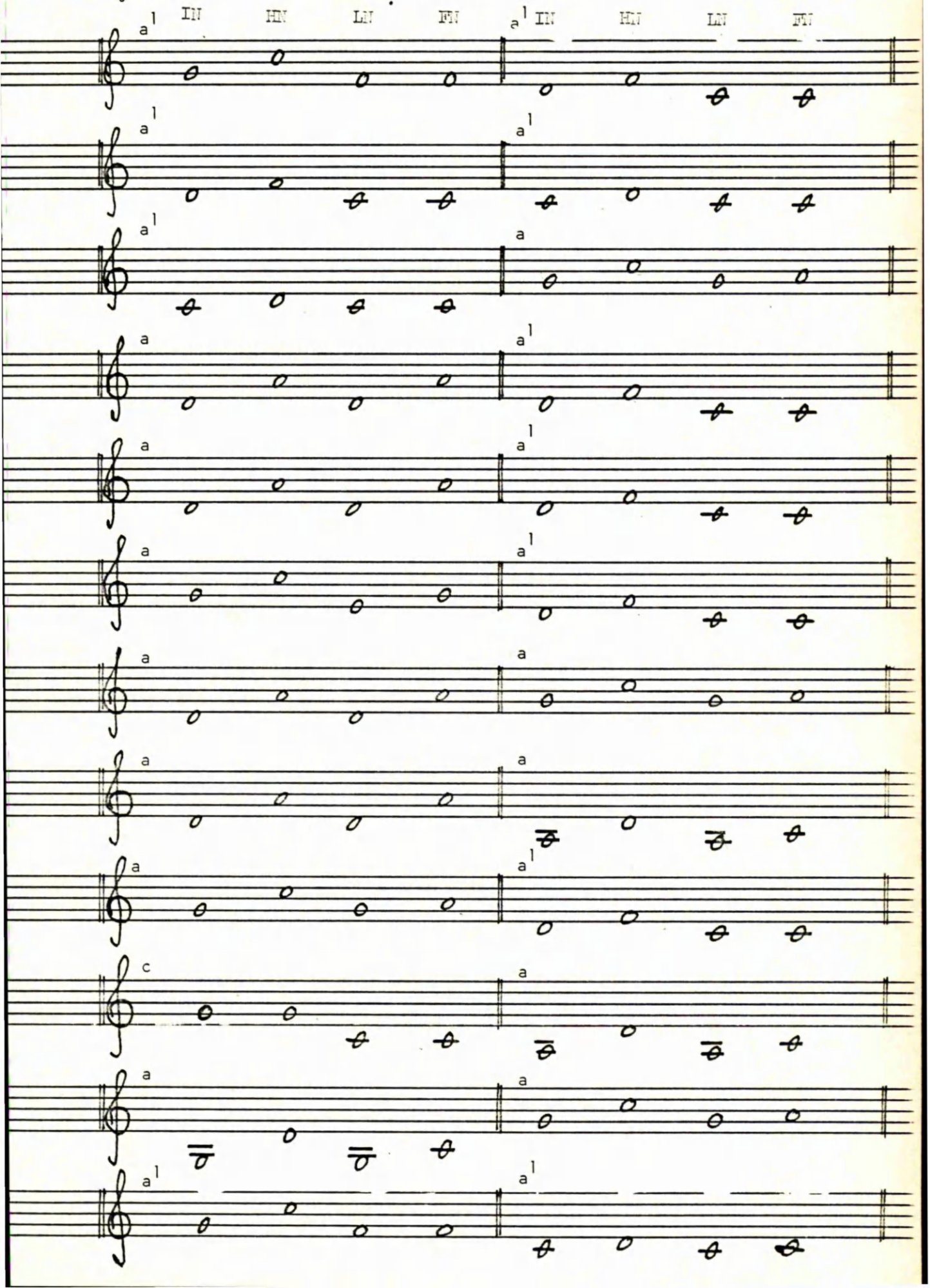


Figure 12d

Melodic contours of Eziqqu A16

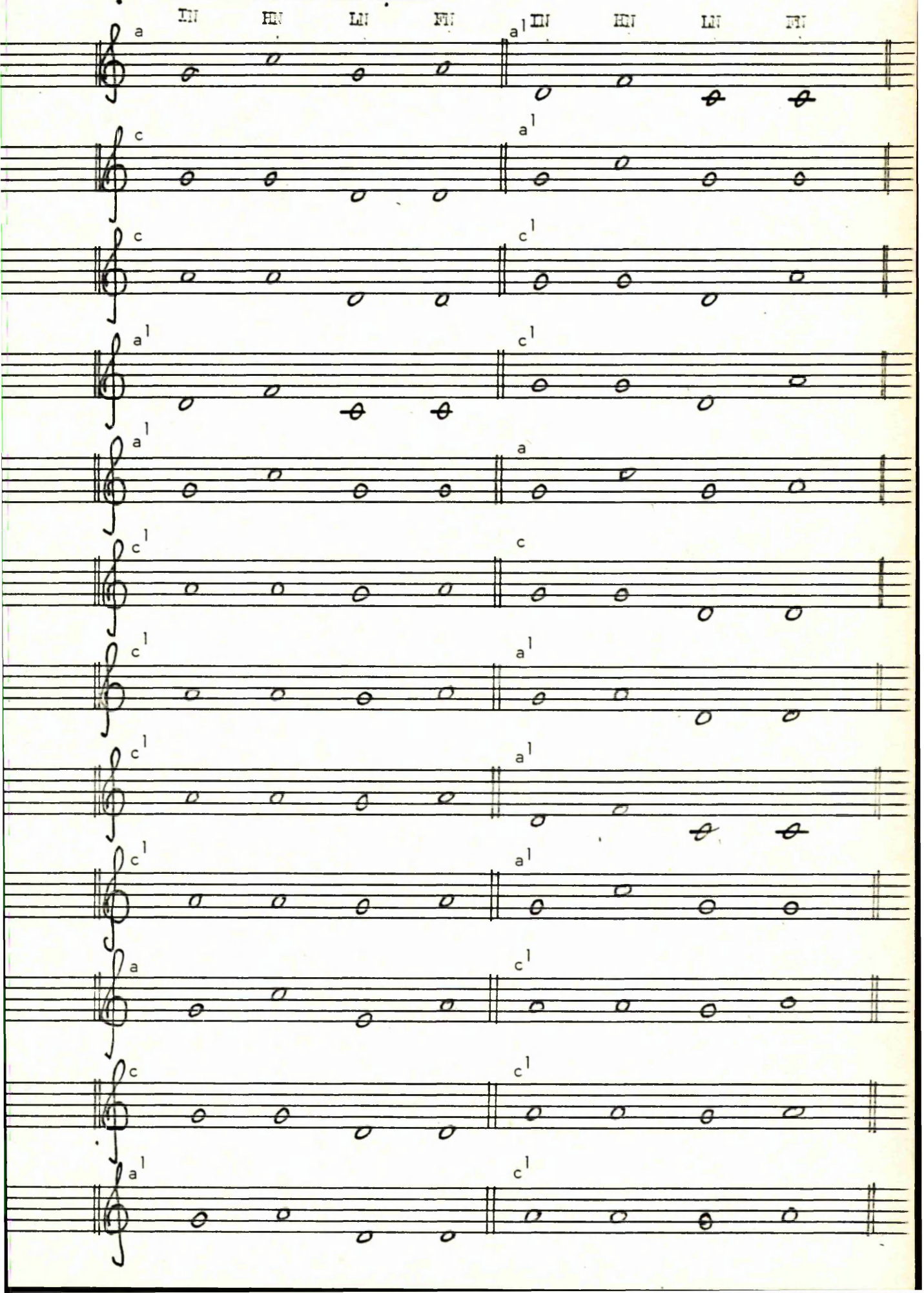


Figure 12e

Melodic contours of Eziagu A16

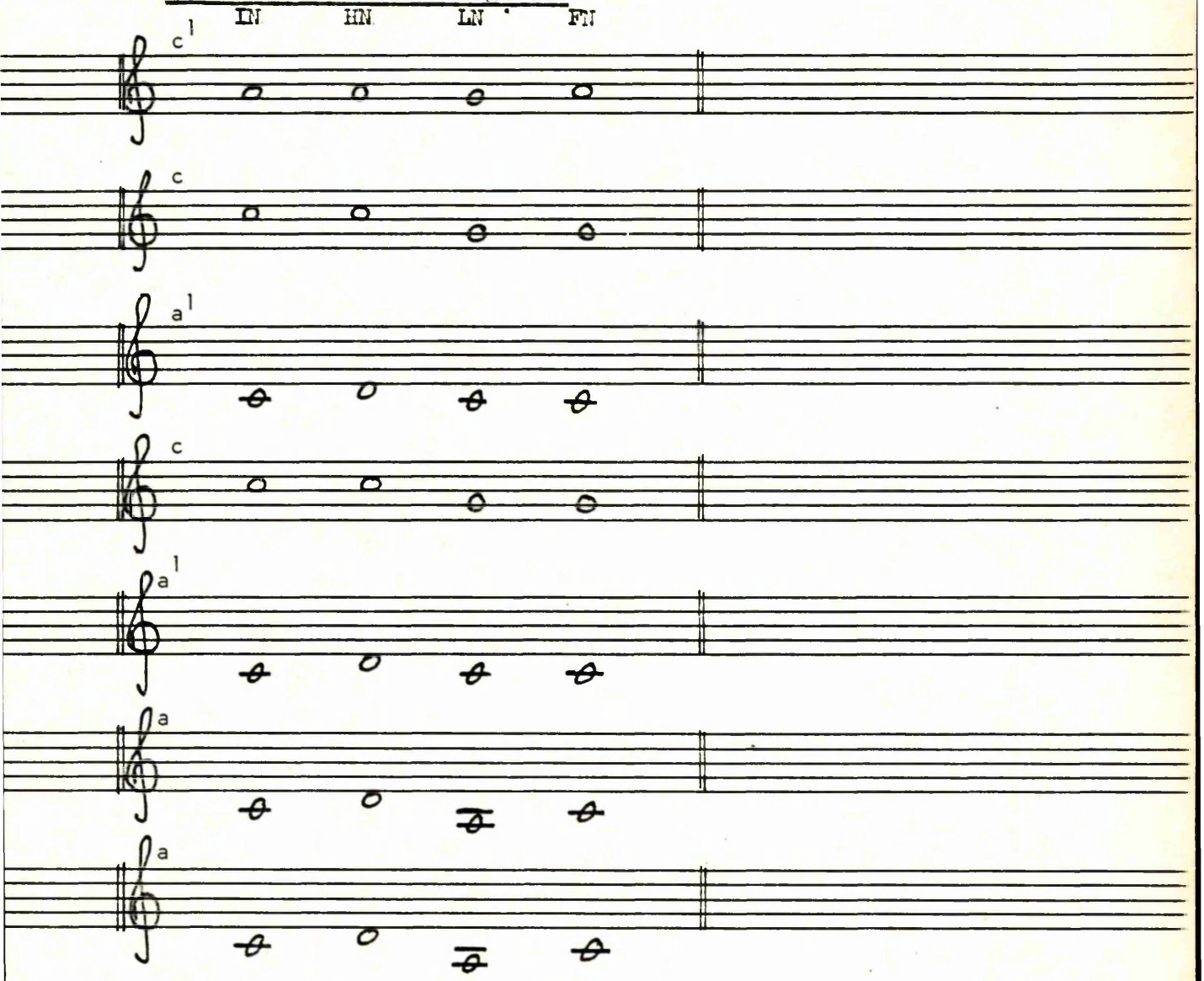


Figure 13
Melodic contours of Dziagu A 24

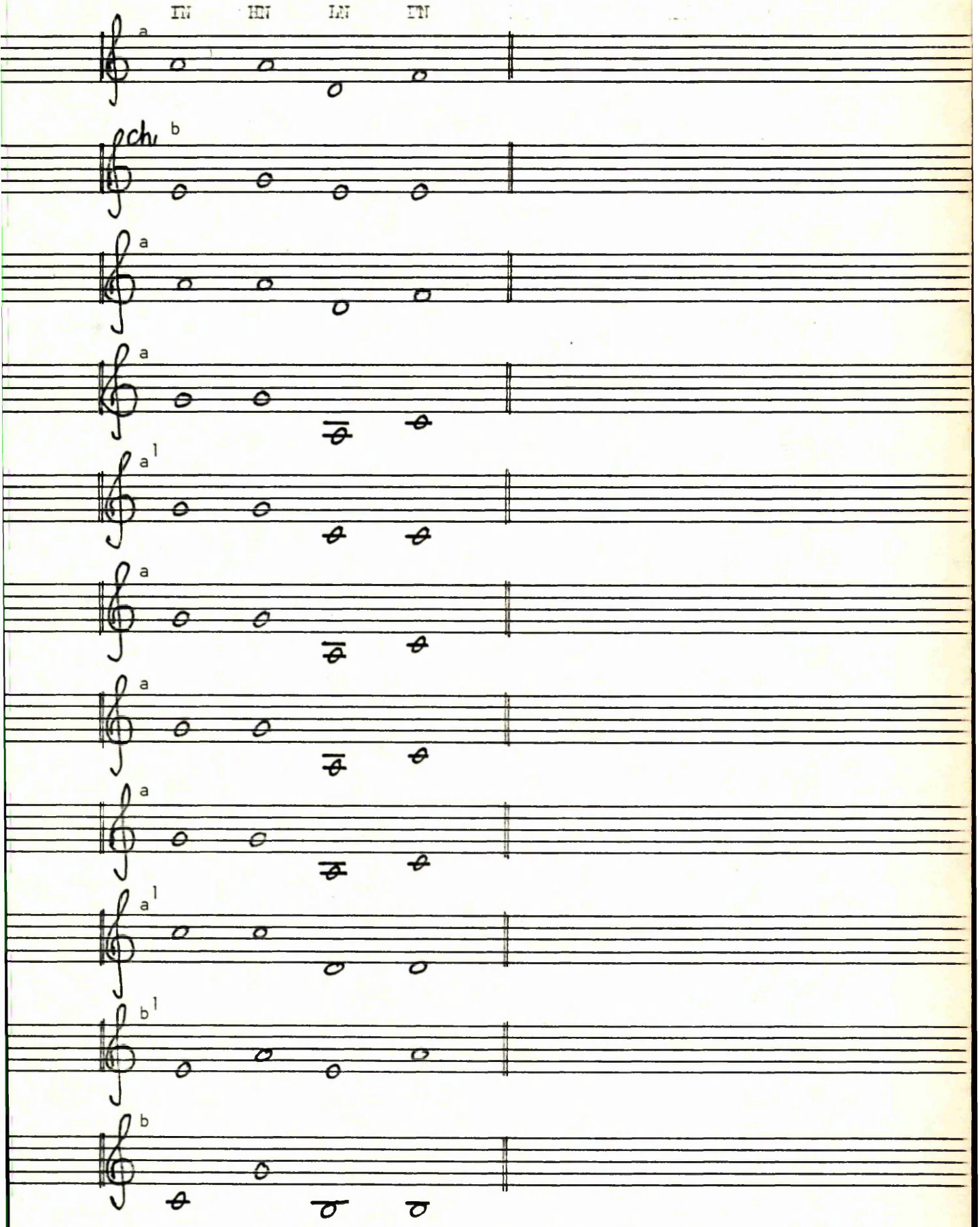


Figure 14
Melodic contours of Eziagu A53

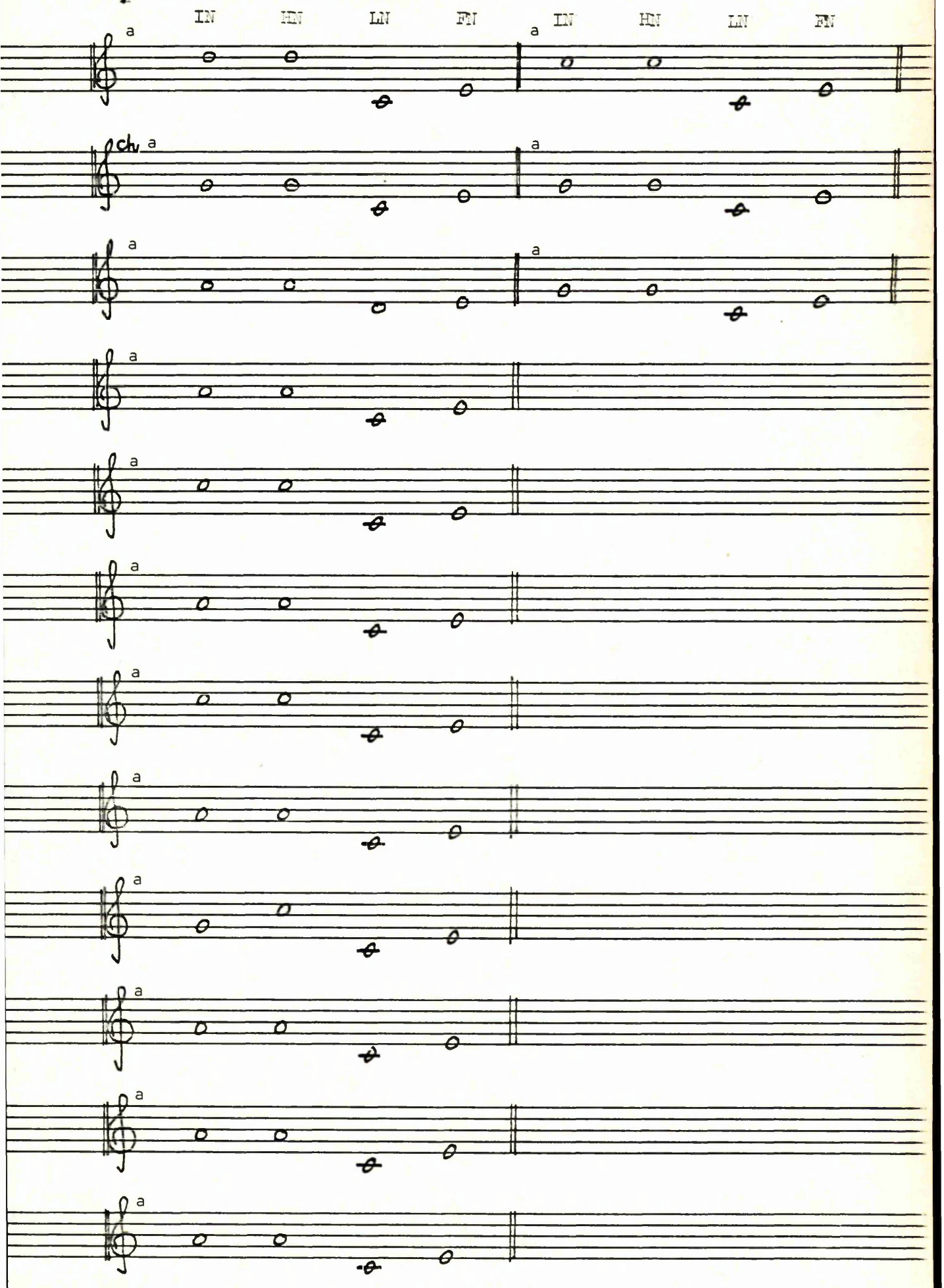

IN
HN
LN
FN
IN
HN
LN
FN
a
a
Ch
a
a
a

Figure 15

Melodic contours of Ezisanu A II

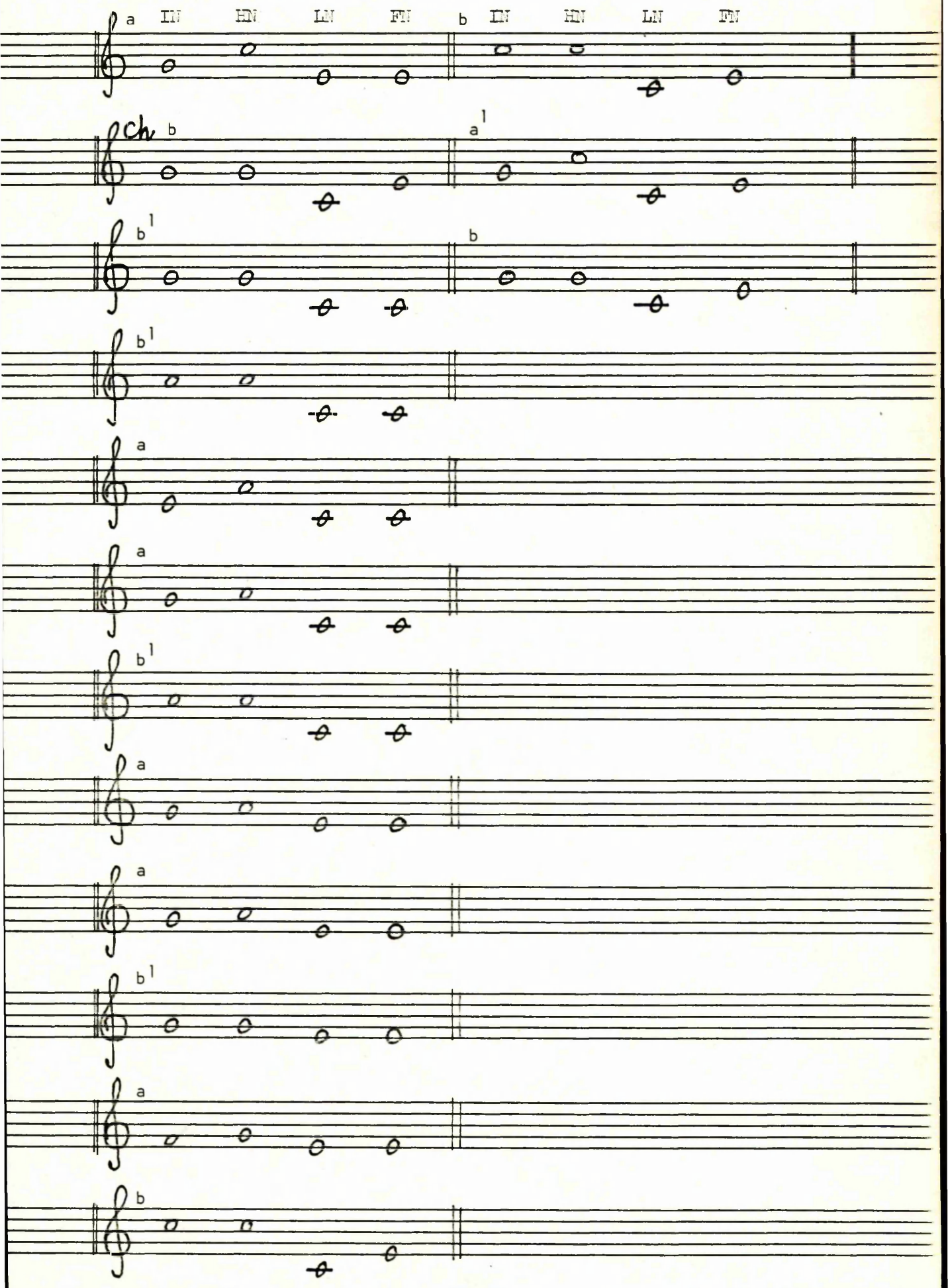


Figure 16

Melodic contours of Eziasu A23

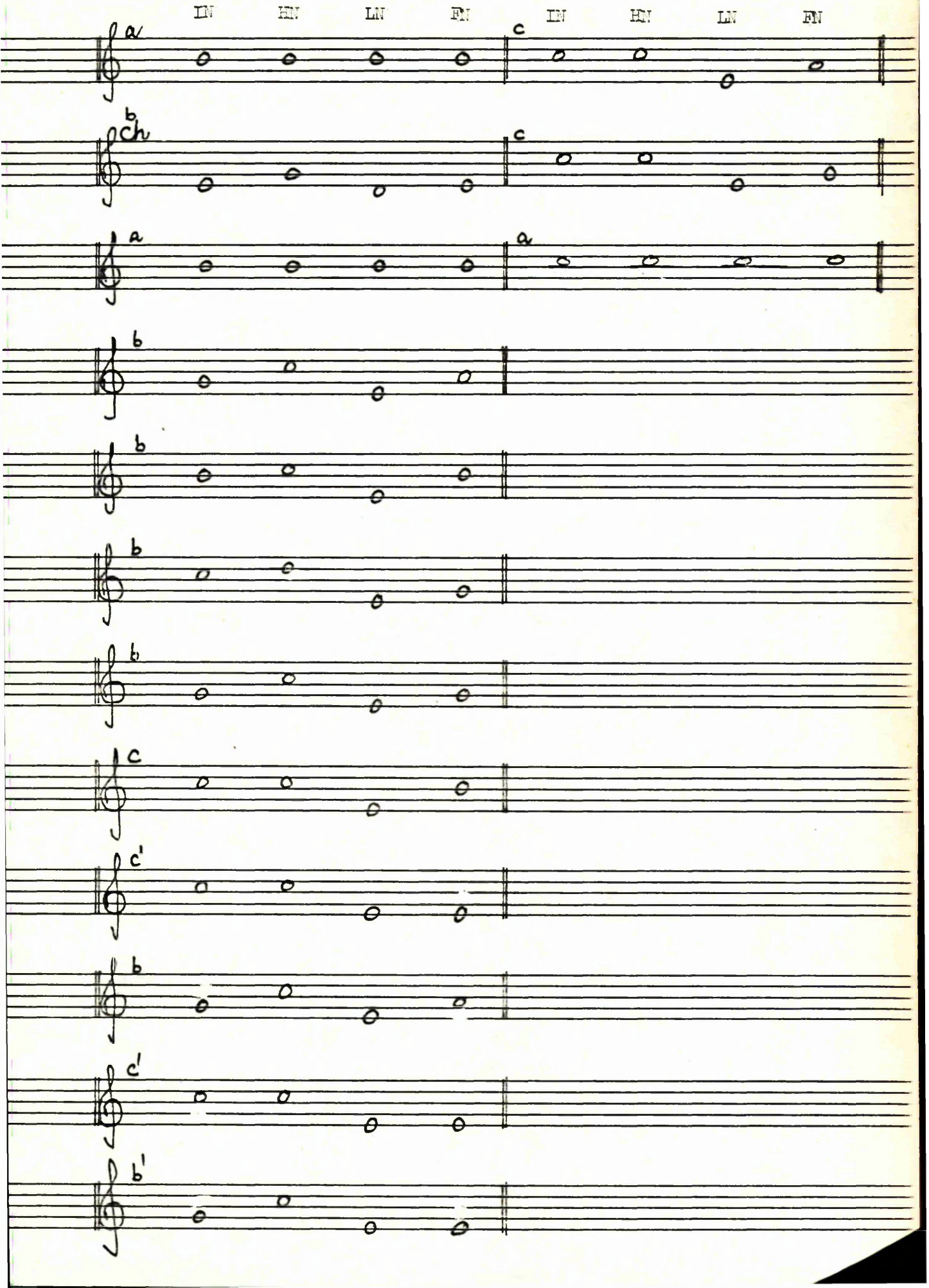


Figure 17a
Melodic contours of Eziagu A15

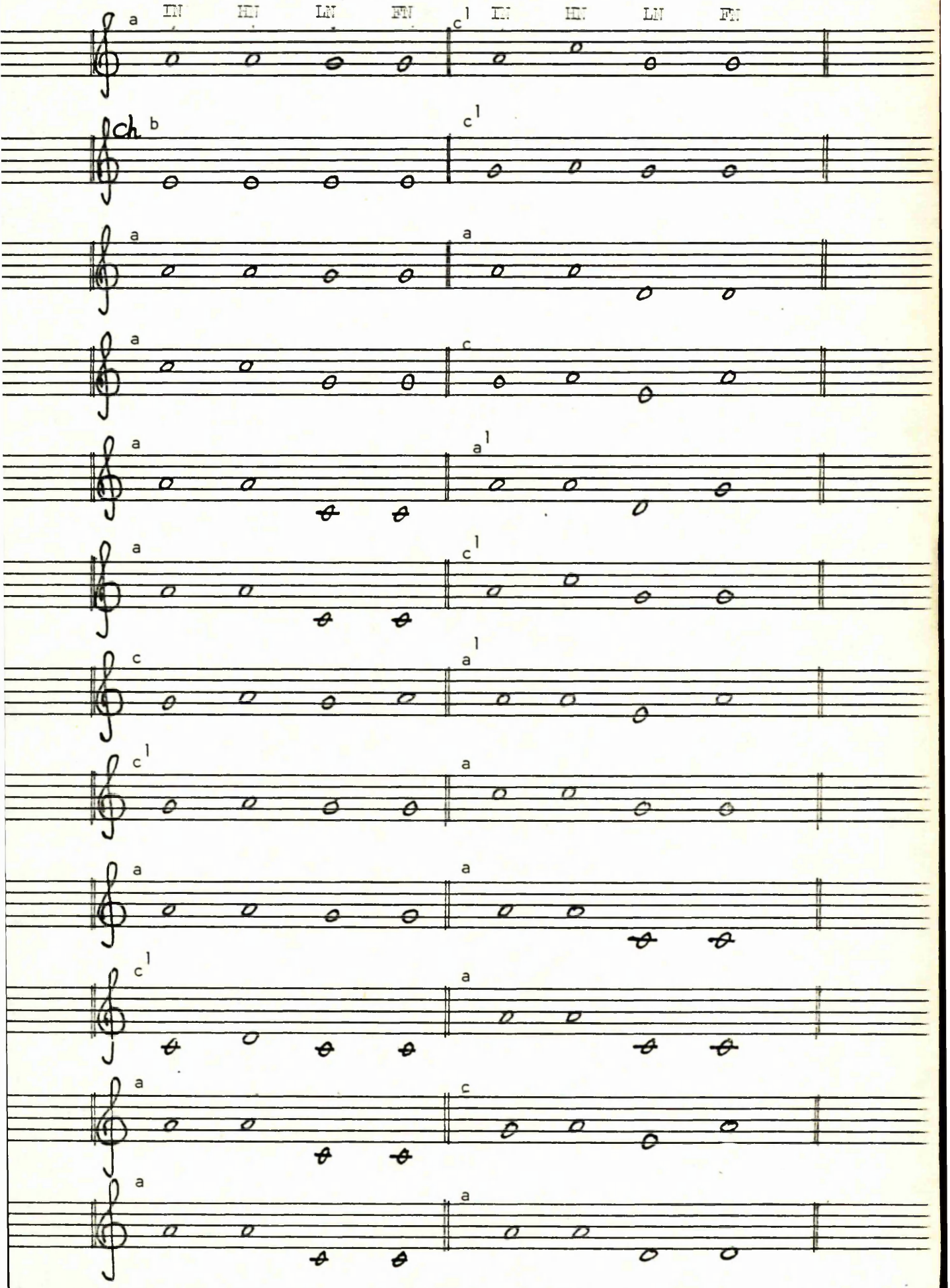
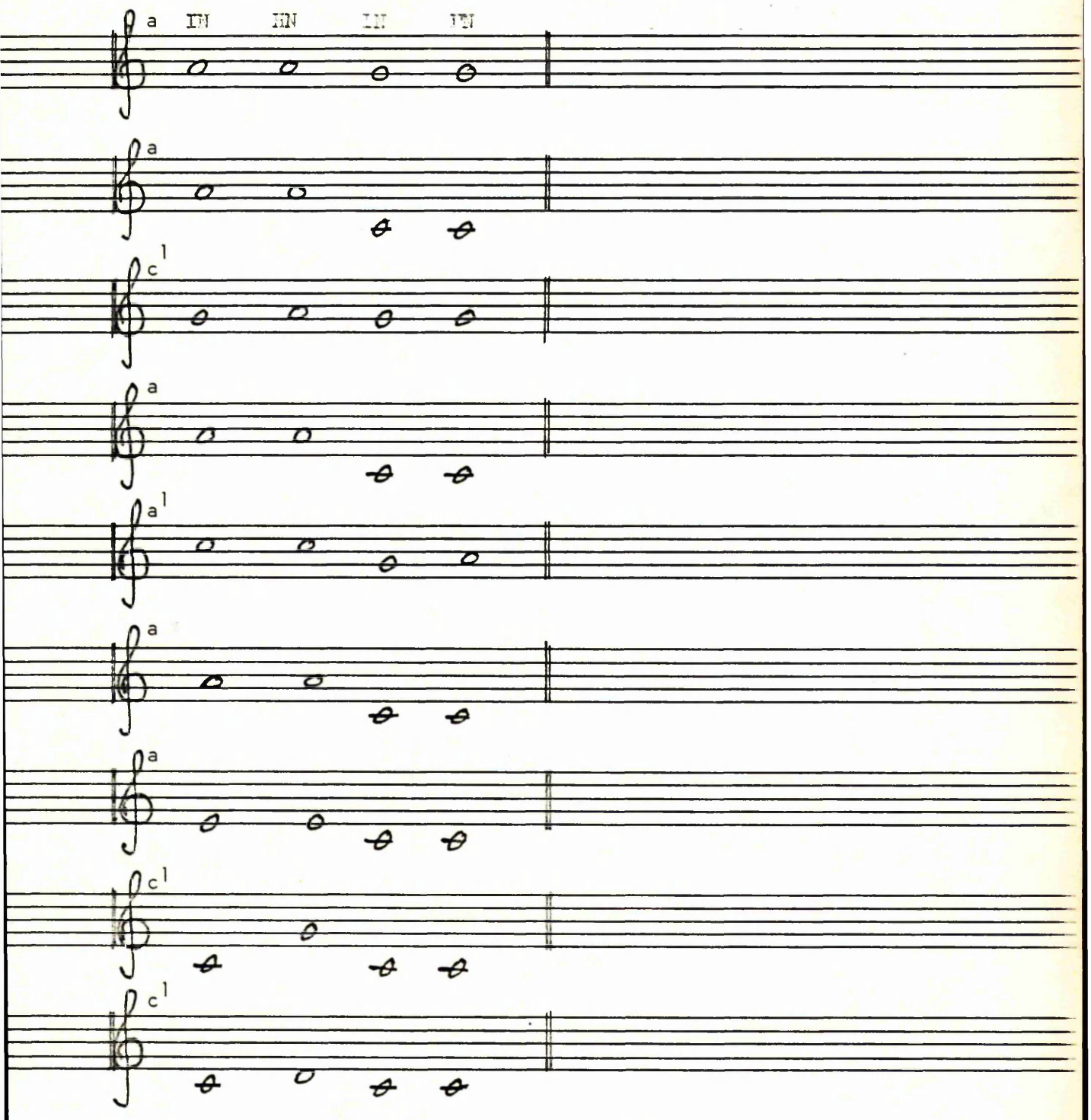


Figure 17b

Melodic contours of Dziadu A15



APPENDIX E

INDEX OF RECORDINGS

Appendix E contains the index of recordings showing titles of songs, song types, characters involved in each Ifo, song variants, the tape and band of each song as it was recorded in the field.

Throughout the body of the report the texts and the songs are referred to by their index numbers. For example, the first song performed by the first group of performers at Eziagu is referred to as Eziagụ A1, the third song performed by the second group as Eziagụ B3, and so on.

The symbols used are as follows:

(i) Types

S songs which tell their own stories, i.e. Ifo per se.

SS stories interspersed with songs, i.e. Akụkọ na Ifo.

(ii) Characters

H Humans

S Spirits

A Animals

P Plants.

INDEX OF RECORDINGS

Eziagụ A: Akụezue Onyeje and group

Ifo No.	Title of Ifo	Types S	Types SS	Charac-ters	Song variants	Tape/ Band
1.	Agbọ ngerede ngede	S	-	H	B3, D3	3/1
2(a)	Akpụ ya gbaghere tụchie	-	SS	HS		1/13
(b)	Nne ya, nne ya tụghe	-	SS	HS		1/14
(c)	Nna ya, nna ya tụghe	-	SS	HS		1/15
(d)	Ọgọ ya, ọgọ ya	-	SS	HS		1/16
(e)	Nna nwunye ya	-	SS	HS		1/17
(f)	Enyị nwunye ya	-	SS	HS		1/18
3.	Aṅara Opokoopo	-	SS	A		3/3
4.	Afọ na-achụ onwe ya					4/3-4
(a)	Kpọghọghọghọ	-	SS	HS		4/3
(b)	Hịọghọghọ	-	SS	HS		4/4
5.	Agụ na ụmụ anụmanụ					5/1-3
(a)	Nchioke nye ya ọkụ	-	SS	A		5/1
(b)	Mmorooke nye ya ọkụ	-	SS	A		5/2
(c)	Mbeoke nye ya ọkụ	-	SS	A		5/3
6.	Aghụ, aghụ	-	SS	A	C2, D6	7/5
7(a)	Akwa eke orima	-	SS	HA	D5a	8/3
(b)	Nwaanyị ime ndo	-	SS	HA	D5b	8/4
8.	Anụ gburu bịa gbara nkwa	-	SS	A		8/5
9.	Anyaahwụrụzobhakụ	-	SS	H		8/10
10(a)	Egbeoke, ị hwụrụ ya Ọkpụụgo nne na-emere?	-	SS	HA		9/3
(b)	Ọgụ wara n'ụtụtụ	-	SS	HA		9/4
(c)	Ugo nwunye di ya	-	SS	HA		9/5
11.	Eke nne ya, Eke nne ya	-	SS	HS	C5	1/2
12.	Ejebhenu ya de akọlị anyị	S	-	A		2/3
13(a)	Egbe di ugo di nne	-	SS	HA		7/6
(b)	Tịịrọrọrọ ...	-	SS	HA		7/7
14.	Ewu nwunye di ya!	-	SS	H		7/9
15.	Gbata m, gbata m: (Ikụ ana Ifo - Prelude to Ifo sessions)	S	-	H		1/1

Eziagụ A continued

Ifo No.	Title of Ifo	Types S	Types SS	Charac-ters	Song variants	Tape/ Band
16.	Ha jere gabha	S	-	H	B10	2/1
17.	Hwị-hwị-hwị-hwị	-	SS	A		6/2
18.	Inine (Lament, dirge)					4/11
19.	Ịjịjị chara akwụ n'ishi	S	-	PA		5/10
20.	Imeru nso Ifo (Spoken					
(a)	Nwa nnakoroche mụ na ya hworo Ihwo					7/14
(b)	Onye mụ na ya hworo ihwo ehihie					7/15
21.	Ihiriihi fụta bịa rie nrị	-	SS	H	D41	9/1
22.	Itu, itu!	-	SS	A		9/2
23.	Kpoo, kpoo, kpoo!	-	SS	A		1/5
24.	Kpọbha ndi ọma	-	SS	HP		1/8
25.	Ka ngaje nwa ije di	S	-	H		2/7
26.	Kpụkpụrụ ike	S	-	HA		9/6
27.	Mbe di oke	-	SS	A		4/7
28.	Mbe na nchi					4/8-10
(a)	Nnovi nnovi	-	SS	A		4/8
(b)	Odi ịgaje ka one?	-	SS	A		4/9
(c)	Mbe gị agbana ọsọ	-	SS	A		4/10
29.	Mbe na ndi ọrụ agụ					9/7-8
(a)	Olee anu je nhahụ?	-	SS	A	D31	9/7
(b)	Agụ na-abọ bịa	-	SS	A		9/8
30.	Mbe mla-akpụ ahwọ	-	SS	A	C27	6/17
31.	Mgberegede mgbe mgbe	S	-	H		7/10
32.	Ndụ be Ijere Oru	-	SS	HA	C8	1/3
33.	Nwaanara, Nwaanara	S	-	HA		1/9
34.	Nna ya Igwe	-	SS	S	C7	1/12
35.	Nne ya ya ji ya	-	SS	H		3/2
36.	Nwata na Chi ya					4/5-6
(a)	Nne ya ịlọ!	-	SS	HS		4/5
(b)	Nwa nne ya ịlọ!	-	SS	HS		4/6
37.	Nwa ọla ya	-	SS	HA		4/12, S/2
38.	Nna ya agụ kaa-o!	-	SS	A	D1	5/8

Eziagụ A continued

Ifo No.	Title of Ifo	Types S	Types SS	Characters	Song variants	Tape/ Band
39.	Nwa nne ya ghara akwa	-	SS	HP		5/9
40.	Nne ya ewere ya gabha Orie Ngene	-	SS	HA		6/1
41.	Nne nwa ọsa na-akpọ ntụ	-	SS	A		3/12
42(a)	Nwa manụ Ezedumishi	-	SS	HSA		6/6
(b)	Okụkọ be Ezedumishi	-	SS	HSA		6/7
(c)	Eghụ be Ezedumishi	-	SS	HSA		6/8
(d)	Ezedumishi tụbha mbọ	-	SS	HS		6/9
(e)	Dibie shi be Ezedumishi	-	SS	HS		6/10
(f)	Manụ ọma, manụ ọma	-	SS	HS		6/11
(g)	Shịrị ya Eze di ye	-	SS	H		6/12
43.	Nwaanyị ị jata egbu ya	-	SS	HA		7/8
44.	Nwaenyomma	-	SS	H		7/18
45(a)	Nwaanyị na ero mmụọ	-	SS	HP		7/19
(b)	Nwatakịrị na ero mmụọ	-	SS	HP		7/20
46.	Nza na ovu					7/22-23
(a)	Kwukwukwuu	-	SS	A		7/22
(b)	Tịtịtịị	-	SS	A		7/23
47.	Ndị be Agbamịro					7/24-26
(a)	Okpara Agbamịro	-	SS	HS		7/24
(b)	Ndị be Agbamịro	-	SS	HS		7/25
(c)	Nwa mmụọ na-ana ya ogwu	-	SS	HS		7/26
48(a)	Ndị ọrụ leelenu m	-	SS	A		7/30
(b)	Huhuhu ndu, hu ndu	-	SS	A		7/31
49(a)	Nwa ya, nwa ya, latabha	-	SS	H		8/6
(b)	Nne ya, nne ya labha	-	SS	H		8/7
(c)	Nwa nne ya labha	-	SS	H		8/8
50.	Nne ya lọnlọnụ	-	SS	HA		8/9
51.	Nne ya ngene	-	SS	H		8/13
52.	Nwaebe Nwaume	-	SS	HS	D15	8/14
53.	Ọmaringwọ ka mma	-	SS	H	D48	1/4
54.	Onye nọ n'ụzọ ndụ mmụọ?	-	SS	HS		1/7

Eziagụ A continued

Ifo No.	Title of Ifo	Types S	Types SS	Characters	Song variants	Tape/ Band
55.	Olee anụ bịa wụrụ ogwe	-	SS	A		1/10
56.	Odi ye, ya alaghụ, onwere?	-	SS	H	C32	1/11
57.	Olee anụ je nhahụ-o?	-	SS	A	A73a-c, B26,C23	2/2
58.	Onye onye kọọ ji	S	-	H		2/4
59.	Onye onye gwa m gwa m	S	-	H		2/5
60.	Onye nwa nne ya	S	-	H	A68,A74, B25,D36	2/6
61.	Olee anụ na-akụ?					3/4-6
(a)	Nchioke na-akụ	-	SS	HA	B24a, C26a,D26a	3/4
(b)	Mgbadaoke na-akụ	-	SS	HA	B24b	3/5
(c)	Nzeoke na-akụ	-	SS	HA	B24c, C26b,D26b	3/6
62.	Oriehi Eze na mbe					3/7-11
(a)	Ọta ya, ọta ya	-	SS	HA		3/7
(b)	Nwa mbe futabhanu	-	SS	HA		3/8,3/10
(c)	Oriehi Eze	-	SS	HA		3/9
(d)	Ọ kwadu Ezedumishi?	-	SS	H	C1	3/11
63.	Onye na-eme na nwa ọkụ m?	S	-	HSAP	C13,D33	4/13
64.	Oney onye ọwa n'achara?	S	-	H	C30,D46	5/4
65.	Odudu anụmodu					5/5-7
(a)	Onye na-akpọ nna ya?	-	SS	A	B23	5/5,9/12
(b)	Odudu anụmodu ọ nọkwa..?	-	SS	A		5/6
(c)	Okoroobịa kwenụ 'ịnwere'	-	SS	A		5/7
66.	Okeọkpa ụnaagụ					6/4-5
(a)	Onye gburu okeọkpa ụnaagụ?	-	SS	A		6/4
(b)	Hụ ghụ ya nna ghụlaagụ	-	SS	A		6/5
67.	Oshimara na mbe					6/15-16
(a)	Oshimara i je ka one?	-	SS	A		6/15
(b)	Oshimara laahụ azụ!	-	SS	A		6/16
68.	Onye nwa nne ya	S	-	H	A60,A74, B25,D36	7/1

Eziagụ A continued

Ifo No.	Title of Ifo	Types S	Types SS	Characters	Song variants	Tape/ Band
69(a)	Onye ahụ nwa Onyekwere	-	SS	H	C35a, D28b	7/2
(b)	Ọnwụhaa nwa Onyekwere	-	SS	H	B29, C35b,D28c	7/3
70.	Onye na-ero m iro	S	-	H		7/4
71(a)	Onye onye kọrọ m aha enyi ye	S	-	H	A71b, C29,D38	7/11
(b)	Onye kọrọ m aha enyi ya, ịgbaragịdị mma	S	-	H	A71a, C29,D38	7/12
72.	Onye nwa nne ya, kpambele	S	-	H	A60,A68, B25,D36	7/13
73(a)	Olee anụ je nhahụ-o?	-	SS	A	A57,B26, C23	7/27
(b)	Olee anụ je nhahụ-o? (whistled)	-	SS	A		7/28
(c)	Olee anụ (hummed)	-	SS	A		7/29
74(a)	Onye nwa nne ya (Sung)	S	-	H		7/32
(b)	Onye nwa nne ya (whistled)	S	-	H		7/33
(c)	Onye nwa nne ya (hummed)	S	-	H		7/34
75.	Onye ja-akacha mma n'ụwa?	S	-	H	B21	8/1
76.	Onyike Uturubo jere mgba					9/9-11
(a)	Olee anụ bu nọọnwa: Nchi	S	-	A	C33	9/9
(b)	Mgbada bu nọọnwa	S	-	A		9/10
(c)	Okeokpa bu nọọnwa	S	-	A		9/11
77.	Ta! Nwata ijeke ebe?	-	SS	HS	C37	6/3
78.	Ụzụntị, Ụzụntị	-	SS	A	C28	1/6
79(a)	Ụdara gbara nwa ogbi nne	-	SS	HP	C40a	4/1
(b)	Ụdara toro nwa ogbi nne	-	SS	HP	C40b	4/2
80(a)	Ụmụ agbọghọ ndi ọgọ m	-	SS	HS		4/14
(b)	Ụmụ okoro ndị ọgọ m	-	SS	HS		4/15
81.	Ufuoke di m ọma	-	SS	A		5/11
82(a)	Ụbọ onye ọma ejeghụ ọrụ	-	SS	A		8/11
(b)	Ụbọ ọgọ ya na-ekwu	-	SS	A		8/12
83.	Vịrịshịa					7/16-17
(a)	Nne ya, nne ya	-	SS	H	D17	7/16
(b)	Nna ya, nna ya	-	SS	H		7/17
84(a)	Ya na onye ja-akwị mbịa?	-	SS	A		6/13
(b)	Ya na ghụ ja-akwị mbịa	-	SS	A		6/14

Summary Eziagu A

Songs	Types			Characters			Variants		
	S	SS		S	SS	Total	S	SS	Total
133	26	107	H	18	17	35	9	7	16
			S	-	1	1	-	1	1
			A	4	40	44	1	8	9
			HS	-	22	22	-	3	3
			HA	2	18	20	-	6	6
			HSA	-	3	3	-	-	-
			HP	-	6	6	-	2	2
			PA	1	-	1	-	-	-
			HSAP	1	-	1	1	-	1
133	26	107		26	107	133	11	27	38

Eziagụ B: Ọgọewenam Onyeje and group

Ifo No.	Title of Ifo	Types S	Types SS	Characters	Song variants	Tape/ Band
1.	Amanzukwe	-	SS	H	C15	1/5,3/9
2.	Ayoro nna m	-	SS	H		1/6,3/11
3.	Agbọ a ja anụghụ ka one?	S	-	H	A1,D3	1/8
4.	Aguọke leelele!	-	SS	A		1/12,3/12
5(a)	Anyanwụ Ọzụkọọzụ	-	SS	H		3/1
(b)	Omeji Orokooro	-	SS	H		3/2
(c)	Ọkarị Ezekudene	-	SS	H		3/3
(d)	Eze na edukege udene	-	SS	H		3/4
(e)	Erurende nwa m kpọbha ya	-	SS	H		3/5
6.	Ene gara n'ohe iyi	-	SS	A		2/2
7.	Eze na ọkadiro	-	SS	H		2/3
8(a)	Eke nwa Dim, ị nwere di ...	-	SS	HA		3/6
(b)	Eke nwa Dim, nye m aja m (Spoken by the lizard)	-	SS	HA		3/7
9.	Gbagbute nwa nnụnụ mụ-o	-	SS	HA	D34	1/7
10.	Ha jere gabha	S	-	H	A16	1/4,3/15
11.	Iyi Agba-Ọrọ	-	SS	H		1/9,3/10
12.	Kpụkpando nwa ndoobilọma	-	SS	S		2/10
13(a)	Mata, Mata	-	SS	H	C11,D21a	2/4
(b)	Ọkpụ na-akpụ nwa	-	SS	HS	D21b	2/5
14.	Mgbe ya di ime Nwamgbọgọ	-	SS	H		1/11,3/17
15.	Nja ka nja madụ	S	-	H		1/1,3/8
16.	Nne egbue m ịgọlọ	S	-	H	C19	1/2,3/13
17.	Nne ya Mgbọngene hị-ịị	-	SS	H		1/10
18.	Nwa eyi, nwa eyi	-	SS	A		2/6
19(a)	Nwoke ye bịabha	-	SS	H	D32	2/7
(b)	Nwoke ye jebhe	-	SS	H		2/8
20.	Nwaịjerekwe na mbe					2/12-14
(a)	Shị Nwaịjerekwe wete ngwa	-	SS	HA		2/12
(b)	Nwaịjerekwe dioruo ana	-	SS	HA		2/13
(c)	Nwaịjerekwe tụkwasa ọkpa	-	SS	HA		2/14
21.	Onye ja-akacha mma n'ụwa?	S	-	H	A75	1/13

Eziagu B: continued

Ifo No.	Title of Ifo	Types S	Types SS	Characters	Song variants	Tape/ Band
22.	Ọzọ-pịa, ọzọ-pịa	-	SS	A		2/1
23.	Onye na-akpọ nna ya?	-	SS	A	A65a	2/9
24(a)	Ọnụbhụaku na Nchioke	-	SS	A	A61a, C26a,D26a	2/17
(b)	Ọnụbhụaku na Mgbadaoke	-	SS	A	A61b	2/18
(c)	Ọnụbhụaku na Eneoke	-	SS	A	A61c, C26b,D26b	2/19
25.	Onye nwa nne ya	S	-	H	A60,A68, A74,D36	2/20
26.	Olee anụ je nhahụ-o?	-	SS	A	A57,A73, C23	3/16
27.	Ụbụba oche ndo	-	SS	HP		1/3,3/14
28.	Ụbọ m gwegịrịgwegịrị	-	SS	HA		2/15
29.	Ụbajaekwe	-	SS	H	A69b, C35b,D28c	2/11
30.	Were ọkụkọ gbaa nwa aja	-	SS	H	D47	2/16

Summary Eziagu B

Songs	Types			Characters			Variants		
	S	SS		S	SS	Total	S	SS	Total
40	6	34	H	6	16	22	5	5	10
			S	-	1	1	-	-	-
			A	-	9	9	-	5	5
			HS	-	1	1	-	1	1
			HA	-	6	6	-	1	1
			HSA	-	-	-	-	-	-
			HP	-	1	1	-	-	-
			PA	-	-	-	-	-	-
			HSAP	-	-	-	-	-	-
40	6	34		6	28	40	5	12	17

Eziagụ C: Monica Ike and Group

Ifo No.	Title of Ifo	Types S	Types SS	Characters	Song variants	Tape/ Band
1.	Agalagwe le!	-	SS	H	A62d	1/2
2.	Aghụ aghụ	-	SS	A	A6,D6	1/10
3.	Anụ gburu nna ya	-	SS	A		2/23
4.	Chukwu! Chukwu!	-	SS	A		2/25
5.	Eke nne, Eke nne	-	SS	HS	A11	1/3
6.	Edebere ye ji	-	SS	H		2/2
7.	Igwe ka ala	-	SS	S	A34	/20
8.	Ijom ijoroko	-	SS	HA	A32	1/6
9.	Kpịkpịnnọm, kpịkpịnnọm	-	SS	HS	D19	2/1
10.	Mburu ọnya m dụdụdụdụ	-	SS	HA		2/7
11.	Mata Mata-o	-	SS	H	B13a, D21a	2/16
12.	Nwadioke nọ n'abọ	-	SS	H	C31	1/1
13.	Nwakalụkpọrọ	S	-	HSAP	A63,D33	1/4
14.	Nkịta be eze	-	SS	HA	D25	1/5
15.	Nwangọji-o	-	SS	H	B1	2/11
16.	Nwa ehi-o	-	SS	A		2/15
17.	Nne, nne	-	SS	H		2/18
18.	Nwa nne na nwa nne	-	SS	H		2/24
19.	Nne ye egbuo ye ịgọlọ	S	-	H	B16	2/9
20.	Ọnụọra nwa Ume	-	SS	H		1/8
21.	Ọburụ m rachara ogiri	-	SS	A		1/9
22.	Ọbụdụ onye ja alụ ya di?	-	SS	H		1/11
23.	Ọbụdụ olee anụ na-aga	-	SS	A	A57,A73a-c,B26	1/12
24.	O Nwịine suru ụtara	-	SS	H		1/13
25.	Oke enwe ọdụ naabọ	-	SS	A		1/14
26(a)	Ọnaraakụego na nchi	-	SS	HA	A61a, D26a	1/15
(b)	Ọnaraakụego na ọgịnịoke	-	SS	HA	A61c, B24c,D26b	1/16
27.	Oke nta ahga na-abịa	-	SS	A	A30	1/17
28.	Ochinti Ochinti	-	SS	A	A78	1/18
29.	Onye onye koo enyi ye	S	-	H	A71a-b, D38	1/19

Eziagụ C: continued

Ifo No.	Title of Ifo	Types S	Types SS	Charac-ters	Song variants	Tape/ Band
30.	Onye onye ọ wa n'achara	S	-	H	A64,D46	1/21
31.	Ọkụ ngwọ na-akụ n'abọ	-	SS	H	C1	2/8
32.	O di ye, o	-	SS	H	A56	2/10
33.	Onye na onye?	S	-	A	A76	2/17
34.	Ọgọ ya eze akwọta m enyi	-	SS	HA		2/19
35(a)	Onye a, onye ahụ	-	SS	H	A69a, D28b	2/21
(b)	Ụbajekwe	-	SS	H	A69b,B29, D28c	2/22
36.	Otu nwata na nwunye nna ya	-	SS	H		2/20
37.	Ta nwata ị gaje ebe?	-	SS	HS	A77	2/16
38.	Udegwururu che m kara ghụ	-	SS	HS	C39	1/7
39.	Udenguma	-	SS	HS	C38	2/3
40(a)	Ụdara ya fubhe	-	SS	HP	A79a	2/4
(b)	Ụdara ya tobhe	-	SS	HP	A79b	2/5
(c)	Ụdara ya sụbha	-	SS	HP		2/6
41(a)	Udele bụ l'ama Orie	-	SS	HA		2/12
(b)	Ya loro, ya loro	-	SS	HA		2/13

Summary Eziagu C

Songs	Types			Characters			Variants		
	S	SS		S	SS	Total	S	SS	Total
46	5	41	H	3	15	18	3	8	11
			S	-	1	1	-	1	1
			A	1	9	10	1	4	5
			HS	-	5	5	-	5	5
			HA	-	8	8	-	4	4
			HSA	-	-	-	-	-	-
			HP	-	3	3	-	2	2
			PA	-	-	-	-	-	-
			HSAP	1	-	1	1	-	1
46	5	41		5	41	46	5	24	39

Eziagụ D: Onyiridie Ike and group

Ifo No.	Title of Ifo	Types S	Types SS	Characters	Song variants	Tape/ Band
1.	Aguọke kaa-o	-	SS	A	A38	1/22
2½	Akaghụeze	-	SS	H		2/2
3.	Agbọ aja anụ ghụ ibe one?	S	-	H	A1,B3	3/9
4.	Awaigu aja awai?	-	SS	A		3/11
5(a)	Akwa eke orima	-	SS	HA	A7a	3/7
(b)	Nwaanyị ime, ndo!	-	SS	HA	A7b	3/8
6.	Aghụ aghụ	-	SS	A	A6,C2	2/14
7.	Di ye, di ye	-	SS	H		3/5
8.	Duuya duuya	S	-	H		1/6
9.	Ede nwunne	-	SS	H		3/10
10(a)	Ele di ye oma	-	SS	A		3/2
(b)	Kwagbụrụ kwagbụrụ	-	SS	A		3/3
11.	Egbe tụrụ ime nwa ugo tụrụ	-	SS	A		2/12
12.	Eje m ka m je	S	-	H		2/13
13.	Eze erile erile	-	SS	H		1/1
14.	Ezeala, Ezeala-o	-	SS	H		1/2
15.	Eke, Eke mma	-	SS	HS	A52	1/4
16.	Ikwu nwadibie	-	SS	H		1/19
17.	Igbudu ga je n'ọhịa	-	SS	A	A83a	2/4
18.	Ka n gaje, ka m gaje	-	SS	H		1/20
19.	Kpịkpịnnọm, kpịkpịnnọm	-	SS	HS	C9	3/1
20.	mma-o, mma-o	-	SS	H		1/11
21(a)	Mata Mata	-	SS	H	B13a,C11	1/12
(b)	Chukwuukwu, Chukwuukwu	-	SS	H	B13b	1/13
22.	Mbe ejebhe	S	-	A		1/21
23.	Nwa Anụnụ, Nwa Anụnụ	S	-	HA		1/3
24.	Nne ye doo-doo	S	-	H		1/8
25.	Nkịta be eze	-	SS	HA	C14	1/9
26(a)	Nchi na-eme n'ụzọ	-	SS	A	A61a, B24a,C26a	1/14
(b)	Ogini na-eme n'ụzọ	-	SS	A	A61c, B24b,C26b	1/15

Eziagụ D: continued

Ifo No.	Title of Ifo	Types S	Types SS	Charac-ters	Song variants	Tape/ Band
27.	Nwoke ibe m	-	SS	H		1/18
28(a)	Nne ya-o	-	SS	H		1/23
(b)	Onye ahụ-o	-	SS	H		1/24
(c)	Obujaekwe	-	SS	H	A69b, B29,C25b	1/25
29.	Nne m, nne m, nne m	S	-	H		1/27
30(a)	Nwaeze na anụ ya	-	SS	H		2/7
(b)	Nwaeze na anụ ya (nasalized)	-	SS	H		2/8
31.	Nchioke i je ka one?	-	SS	A	A29a	2/11
32.	Nwa miri na-eru warara	-	SS	H	B19a	2/15
33.	Nwakaduukpọrọ	S	-	HSAP	A63,C13	2/16
34.	Nnụnụ mmụọ					2/17-23
(a)	Ndụbụeze vutebhe ye	-	SS	HSA		2/17
(b)	Ndụbụeze ribhenụ ye	-	SS	HSA		2/18, 2/21
(c)	Ndụbụeze hwukee oku	-	SS	HSA		2/19
(d)	Ndụbụeze bọbhanụ ya	-	SS	HSA		2/20
(e)	Ndụbụeze nyebhenụ ye	-	SS	HSA		2/22
(f)	Shịa, atụkarịna!	-	SS	HSA		2/23
35.	Nwunye nna ya	-	SS	H		3/3
36.	Onye onye nwa nne ye	S	-	H	A60,A68, A74,B25	1/5
37.	Onye mmeghe ụzọ	-	SS	H		1/7
38.	Onye na ajụọnụ m ya?	S	-	H	A71a-b, C29	1/10
39.	Onye gara be enyi ye?	S	-	H		1/16
40.	Oru bịara okwu	-	SS	H		1/17
41.	Ọjị, Ọjị nwa ya	-	SS	H	A21	1/26
42.	Onye onye kwebhe 'igha'	S	-	H		2/1
43.	Onye onye gburu ene mma?	S	-	H		2/3
44.	Onye?	S	-	H		2/5
45.	Onyịa mbe	-	SS	A		2/6
46.	Onye onye ọwa n'achara	S	-	H	A64,C30	2/9

Eziagụ D: continued

Ifo No.	Title of Ifo	Types S	Types SS	Charac-ters	Song variants	Tape/ Band
47.	Ure ndoorima	-	SS	H	B30	2/10
48.	Ọmarịngwọ ka mma	-	SS	H	A53	3/12
49.	Ọka mgba	-	SS	H		3/13
50.	Ọ bụ onye?	S	-	H		3/6

Summary Eziagu D

Songs	Types			Characters			Variants		
	S	SS		S	SS	Total	S	SS	Total
62	16	46	H	13	24	37	4	8	12
			S	-	-	-	-	-	-
			A	1	11	12	-	6	6
			HS	-	2	2	-	2	2
			HA	1	3	4	-	3	3
			HSA	-	6	6	-	-	-
			HP	-	-	-	-	-	-
			PA	-	-	-	-	-	-
			HSAP	1	-	1	1	-	1
62	16	46		16	46	62	5	19	24

Summary of Eziagụ A-D

Songs	Types			Characters			Variants		
	S	SS		S	SS	Total	S	SS	Total
281	53	228	H	40	72	112	21	28	49
			S	-	3	3	-	2	2
			A	6	69	75	2	23	25
			HS	-	30	30	-	11	11
			HA	3	35	38	-	14	14
			HSA	-	9	9	-	-	-
			HP	-	10	10	-	4	4
			PA	1	-	1	-	-	-
			HSAP	3	-	3	3	-	3
281	53	228		53	228	281	26	82	108